HISTORIÆ ANGLICANÆ

CIRCÀ TEMPUS

CONQUESTÛS ANGLIÆ

À GULIELMO NOTHO, NORMANNORUM DUCE,

SELECTA MONUMENTA.

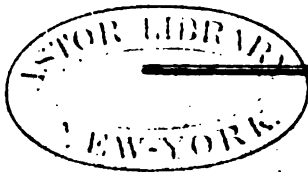
EXCERPTA EX MAGNO VOLUMINE, CUI TITULUS EST

"*HISTORIÆ NORMANNORUM SCRIPTORES ANTIQUI,*"

À DOCTISSIMO VIRO ANDREÂ DUCHESNE, TURONENSI, OLÌM EDITO, LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM, ANNO DOMINI JESÙ CHRISTI M. DC. XIX.

Cum notis plurimis, Anglico sermone, ad illustrandum textum, conscriptis,

À FRANCISCO MASERES,

ANGLO, CURIÆ SCACCARII REGIS MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ IN ANGLIÀ BARONE QUINTO.

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M. DCCC. VII.

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THE PREFACE.

THE volume of tracts here presented to the Publick, is taken from a much larger collection that was published at Paris, in the year 1619, by the learned French antiquarian, *Mr. Andrew Duchesne*, of Touraine, in France, in one very large volume, folio, under the following title: *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui; Res ab illis per Galliam, Angliam, Apuliam, Capuæ Principatum, Siciliam, et Orientem, gestas explicantes, ab anno Christi,* D.CCC. XXXVIII. *ad annum* M.CC.XX.

Insertæ sunt Monasteriorum Fundationes variæ; series Episcoporum ac Abbatum; Genealogiæ Regum, Ducum, Comitum, et Nobilium: plurima denique alia vetera, tàm ad Profanam, quàm ad Sacram, illorum temporum Historiam pertinentia.

Ex manuscriptis Codicibus omnia ferè nunc primùm edidit Andreas Duchesnius, Turonensis.

Lutetiæ Parisiorum

M. DC. XIX.

Cum Privilegio Regis.

This collection of Mr. Duchesne contains 1104 pages, besides the Preface and the Index; and the tracts of which it is composed give us the fullest and most authentick accounts of the exploits of the Normans in France, Italy, and England, during a period of near 400 years, to wit, from the year 838 to the year 1220, of the Christian æra, that are, as I believe, any where to be found. And it is now grown a very scarce book, there never having been a second edition of it. I therefore thought it would be an acceptable service to the lovers of English history, and the foundations of

the English laws and government, to select and re-publish such of the tracts in this collection as relate to the conquest of England, in the year 1066, by William the Conquerour, duke, or, rather, *earl*, of Normandy, (for *that* was the title by which he governed Normandy at the time of that great event, though subsequent writers have given him the title of *duke*,) and to the state of England for some years, both before and after that important change in its condition; and the tracts I have selected for this purpose, are as follows:

The first of them is intitled, *Emmæ, Anglorum reginæ, Richardi primi, ducis Normannorum, filiæ, Encomium. Incerto auctore, sed co-ætaneo.*

This tract seems to have been written about the year 1040, or 26 years before the Norman conquest, when, upon the death of *Harold I.* the son of *Canute*, or, *Knute*, king of England, (who had succeeded his father in that kingdom,) the nobles, or great men of England, invited *Harde-Knute*, the other son of Canute, or Knute, by his queen *Emma*, (princess of Normandy, and widow of *Ethelred II.* king of England,) to be king of England in lieu of his deceased half-brother Harold.

For this invitation of Harde-Knute, to succeed his brother Harold as king of England, and his acceptance of it, and his going to England for that purpose, accompanied by his mother, the Dowager-queen *Emma*, and a numerous train of courtiers and attendants, from a castle, near the town of *Bruges*, in Flanders, in which his mother had lately resided, is the last event related by this writer. This tract contains, as I believe, the fullest and best, or, at least, the oldest, account of the invasion and conquest of England, by *Swein*, king of Denmark, and his son *Knute*, or *Canute*, and of the reign of Canute, and of his eldest son Harold I. over the English nation, that is any where to be met-with; and it comprises the space of 27 years, from A.D. 1013, to the year 1040.

The second tract in this collection is intitled, *Gesta Guillelmi, Ducis Normannorum, et Regis Anglorum; à Guillelmo, Pictavensi, Lexoviorum Archidiacono, contemporaneo, scripta.* The beginning of it is wanting: but this part could not be long; because the part now remaining begins with the

the death of Canute, king of Denmark and England, which happened in the year 1035, when William, duke of Normandy, was only eight years old. And from this year it gives a pretty full and clear account of the events that happened in Normandy down to the invasion of England, by the duke of Normandy, in the month of September, in the year 1066, and likewise of that great event, and of the defeat of the English army, under king *Harold II.* and the death of Harold and two of his brothers, in the famous battle of Hastings, and of the subsequent progress of the Norman army through Romney, Dover, Canterbury, and Southwark, and thence along the south side of the river Thames, to a place not far from *Wallingford*, in Berkshire, where they crossed the river, and then marched on the north side of it towards London; and, at the distance of about four miles from London (which must have been pretty near the village now called *Kensington*) the English prince *Edgar Atheling*, and *Stigand*, archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the great nobles of England, (who had been assembled at London for some time past, in hopes of making a further opposition to his invasion,) came out to meet the duke, and make their submission to him, and invite him to the city of London; where, on the 25th of December, in the same year, 1066, he was received with great marks of respect, and crowned as king of England. All these things are clearly and distinctly related by this contemporary writer, and likewise the subsequent proceedings of the new king, both in England and Normandy, for the next three, or four, months after his coronation. But there the manuscript from which the learned editor, Mr. Andrew Duchesne, printed this tract, (and which had belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, the celebrated English antiquarian,) ends suddenly and abruptly; though we are informed by *Ordericus Vitalis*, (a very respectable historian, who flourished in Normandy in the reign of the conqueror's youngest son, king Henry I.) that the author had continued his narrative to the death of *Edwin*, earl of *Mercia*, in the year 1070, or the 4th year of king William's reign over England. It is much to be wished, that this hitherto-undiscovered part of this valuable history of *William of Poitiers*, should be found in some other manuscript copy of

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it that may poſſibly exiſt, without having been noticed, in the library of ſome monaſtery in Normandy, or in ſome other part of France.

The third tract contained in the preſent publication, is intitled, *Excerpta ex Orderici Vitalis, Uticenſis monachi, Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ libris tertio et quarto: Quorum ope ſuppleri quodam modo poſſint defectus in manuſcripto Cottoniano ſupra-memorato Hiſtoriæ geſtorum Guillelmi, Ducis Normanniæ, et Regis Anglorum, à Guillelmo Pictavenſi ſcriptæ.*

Amongſt the tracts publiſhed in Ducheſne's large volume, is an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, written by a monk of the monaſtery of *Uticum*, or of *Saint Evroult* [Sancti Ebrulfi] in Normandy, named *Ordericus Vitalis*, who was born in England, but ſent, when a boy of ten years of age, to this monaſtery to be educated; where he afterwards became a monk, and was employed by his ſuperiour, the abbot, in the capacity of their hiſtorian, or recorder of all the publick events of the time, and of former ages, that related to that convent, or to the church in general; which was an office aſſigned to ſome of the more learned monks in many of the Benedictine convents of thoſe days. In this monaſtery he continued all his life, which extended through the whole reign of king Henry I. and part of the reign of king Stephen, and beyond the year 1141, of which he makes mention in his hiſtory. And the whole of this work of his, which was publiſhed by Ducheſne, under the title of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, extends from page 320 in that large folio volume, to page 925, making more than half of the whole collection. But what I have here reprinted of this long work, is only 47 pages of Ducheſne's large volume, beginning with the words *Menſe Auguſto Heraldus, Noricorum rex,* &c. in page 499, and ending with the fourth book, in page 546; which is little more than a thirteenth part of the whole work of *Ordericus*. But it is that part of it which relates to the time of the Norman conqueſt, and to the meaſures taken by William the Conqueror to eſtabliſh his authority over the Engliſh nation, in oppoſition to the numerous endeavours to reſiſt it, during the firſt part of his reign; which are the events that are moſt likely to be intereſting to the lovers of Engliſh hiſtory. The firſt event related in it is the inva-

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ſion of the north of England, beyond the river *Humber*, by *Harold Harfager*, king of Norway, and *Toſti*, (an elder brother of Harold II. king of England,) at the head of a powerful army of Norwegians, in the month of Auguſt, in the year 1066, or leſs than two months before duke William landed with his Norman army on the coaſt of Suſſex: which army of Norwegians was totally defeated with very great ſlaughter by the Engliſh army, under king Harold, in a battle fought at Stamford-bridge, in which Harold Harfager and Toſti were both killed. And the laſt event related in it is the trial and condemnation (before ſome Norman judges, appointed by William the Conqueror) of the powerful and valiant Engliſh nobleman, *Waltheof*, or *Waldevus*, earl of Huntingdonſhire and Northamptonſhire, for high treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, and his being afterwards beheaded on that account at Wincheſter, by the order of king William, in the month of April, in the year 1075, for his ſuppoſed participation in the great rebellion of *Ralph de Guader*, earl of Norwich, and *Roger de Britolio*, or *de Breteuil*, earl of Hereford, which king William had had great difficulty in ſuppreſſing. After the ſuppreſſion of this formidable rebellion, king William's authority over the Engliſh nation ſeems to have been compleatly eſtabliſhed, and no further attempts ſeem to have been made by them to ſhake it off. But he had new difficulties to contend with in his own native dominion of Normandy, which gave him great diſquiet through the whole remainder of his life: which aroſe chiefly from the turbulent ambition of his eldeſt ſon *Robert*, who was of as warlike a diſpoſition as the king himſelf, and was anxious to have the dukedom of Normandy transferred to him during his father's life, and pretended that his father, when he was making preparations for his expedition againſt England to enforce his claim to that crown, and had convened the nobles of Normandy to deſire their aſſiſtance in that attempt, had made them a promiſe that, if he was ſucceſsful in that expedition, and became fully poſſeſſed of the kingdom of England, he would, as ſoon as his eldeſt ſon Robert ſhould be of full age, reſign the dukedom of Normandy to him. Whether this pretenſion of Robert was true, or not,

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does not appear to be aſcertained by the hiſtorians I have ſeen. But Robert prevailed upon ſome of the young nobles of Normandy to ſupport him in this claim againſt his father; and a war took place between them, in the courſe of which, on ſome occaſions, the king was worſted by his ſon, though in the end, he reduced him to obedience, and kept poſſeſſion of the government of Normandy to the end of his life. But theſe domeſtick contentions amongſt the princes and nobles of Normandy are not a part of the hiſtory of England: and therefore I have carried this extract from the hiſtory of *Ordericus*, no further than to the ſuppreſſion of the above-mentioned rebellion of the earls of Norwich and Hereford, againſt king William in England, and the beheading of the much-lamented Engliſh earl Waltheof on that account, in the year 1075.

And to this and the two former tracts, I have ſubjoined a great number of explanatory notes, written in Engliſh, (as this publication is intended chiefly for the uſe of Engliſhmen,) ſome of which are very long, and contain ſeveral diſcuſſions of doubtful points, with citations from *Ingulphus's* Hiſtory of Crowland-Abbey, and *William of Malmſbury's* Hiſtory of the Times near the Conqueſt, and from *Willielmus Gemmeticenſis*, and *Eadmerus*, and other old authors near the time of the conqueſt; in order to aſcertain, as far as poſſible, the principal circumſtances of the grand events that took place in England about that time. And I have alſo added to all theſe tracts, in the margins of the texts of them, ſhort abſtracts of the principal matters contained in them, which are printed in a ſmaller letter than the texts themſelves; which will be found of great convenience to the reader, in enabling him, when he has read any of theſe tracts, to find with readineſs any particular paſſages in them, that he may wiſh to refer to.

The fourth hiſtorical tract reprinted in this collection, is a ſhort yearly chronicle of public events, from the year of Chriſt 633, to the year 1293, from a manuſcript found in the monaſtery of Saint Stephen, at *Caen*, [*Cadomum*,] in Normandy, and which was publiſhed, for the firſt time, in *Mr. Ducheſne's* large volume above-mentioned, in the year 1619. It takes

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up only twelve pages of the present publication, beginning in page 355, and ending in page 366. It is entitled, *Annalis Historia brevis, in monasterio Sancti Stephani Cadomensis conscripta, et nunc primùm* [*id est, Anno Domini,* 1619,] *ex antiquo Codice descripta*; or, more shortly, *Chronica Sancti Stephani Cadomensis.*

The next, or fifth, historical piece reprinted in this collection, is a list of the names of several eminent Normans, who had resided in England before the Norman conquest, in the reign of king *Edward the Confessor*; who had spent his youth in Normandy; and had contracted a friendship for several persons he had known there, whom, when he afterwards was recalled to the government of England, he invited to follow him thither, and promoted to honourable offices in church and state. This list is said to have been copied from a manuscript book; but we are not told where the said manuscript book was found. It seems probable, however, that the list is true. It is very short, not extending through more than half of page 367.

The sixth piece is a list of the names of the nobles, or eminent military officers, both of Normandy and other parts of France, who served under William, duke of Normandy, in his invasion of England; copied from a list preserved in the famous monastery called *Battle-Abbey*, in the county of Sussex; which had been built by William the Conqueror, in honour of his great victory, on the very spot on which he had obtained it, and king Harold had been killed by an arrow. This list, one would naturally suppose, might be considered as perfectly authentick: but the celebrated antiquarian, William Camden, has produced strong reasons for doubting of it. The names are placed in alphabetical order, and take up three pages of the present volume, to wit, pages 368, 369, and 370.

The seventh piece is another list of the names of the military officers who accompanied William the Conqueror in his invasion of England, taken from a manuscript history written by *John Brampton*, abbot of *Jorval*, who flourished in the year of Christ, 1199, or near the end of the reign of king Richard I., (surnamed *Cœur de Leon*;) and the accession of

his brother, king John, to the crown. The title of it is as follows: *Cognomina eorum qui cum Guilielmo Conquæstore Angliam ingressi sunt.*

Ex Historiâ manuscriptâ Jorvalensi, authore Joanne Bramptono, Abbate Jorvalensi, qui floruit anno M.C.XC.IX.

It takes up only two pages of the present volume, to wit, pages 371 and 372.

The eighth piece is a list of the great Norman chiefs and landholders, or *magnates*, in England, who were alive in the twentieth year of the reign of king William the Conqueror, with the names of the several counties of England, in which each of them possessed estates in land. It takes up only one page and part of a second, to wit, page 373, and part of page 374. It seems to contain the names of only the richest and most powerful of the Norman nobles then living and settled in England. The title of it is as follows:

Magnates Superstites anno XX. *regis Willelmi Conquæstoris.*

Et Quibus in Comitatibus terras tenuerunt.

The ninth piece is a catalogue, or list, of all the noblemen who held lands in England immediately from king William the Conqueror, in the 20th, or last, year of his reign; taken from the general survey of England, called *Doomsday-book*, which the king had caused to be made in the latter part of his reign, and which was finished in that year. It begins in page 374 of the present volume, and ends at the bottom of page 380, taking up six pages and a half: and the names are placed in alphabetical order. The number of these tenants *in capite*, or in chief, of the king set down in the list is 447. The title of it is as follows:

Catalogus Nobilium qui immediatè prædia à rege Conquæstore tenuerunt.

Ex Censuali Angliæ Libro, quem Conquæstor anno regni XX. *confici jussit.*

The tenth and last piece in this collection, is an account of the pedigrees of the kings, dukes, earls, and other noble persons, who are mentioned in Mr. Duchesne's aforesaid large volume of the *Scriptores Normanniæ*: from some of whom most of the kings and noblemen of high rank and ancient families, both of France and England, since the Norman conquest,

conqueſt, are deſcended. This account begins in page 387, and ends in page 425.

And at the end of theſe tracts I have added two Indexes; the firſt of which is an Index of the principal events recorded in the tracts here reprinted, placed (as far as the nature of the things referred-to would admit of it,) in alphabetical order; and the ſecond is an Index of the names of all the perſons that have been mentioned in theſe tracts, placed likewiſe in alphabetical order.

And, for the further information and ſatisfaction of the reader, I have reprinted alſo the Epiſtle Dedicatory of *Andrew Duchesne*, to the clergy, parliament, and people, of the city of *Rouen*, or *Roan*, in Normandy, of his aforeſaid large volume of tracts on the Norman Hiſtory; and likewiſe his learned Preface to it, in which he gives an account of the authors of ſome of the principal tracts contained in it; and, laſtly, his enumeration of all the ſaid tracts; of which it might, perhaps, be uſeful to reprint ſome others, beſides thoſe which are contained in the preſent publication.

FRANCIS MASERES.

Inner Temple,
December 15, 1806.

VIRIS

VIRIS AMPLISSIMIS AC PRÆCLARISSIMIS,

CLERO, SENATUI,

POPULOQVE ROTHOMAGENSI,

ANDREAS DUCHESNIUS *salutem precatur et incolumitatem.*

AVTHORES Normannicæ Hiſtoriæ collectos, & in ordinem digeſtos, quibus potiùs offeram quàm vobis, Viri præclariſſimi, qui Rothomagenſis Urbis curam tantâ cum laude ac vigilantiâ geritis ? Urbis, inquam, illius, quæ totius Normanniæ caput, antiqua Ducum veſtrorum ſedes, populis; & omni bonorum genere, opulentiſſima ſemper extitit ? Hiſtoriarum certè ſtudium ejuſmodi eſt, ut cùm omnibus ingenuis hominibus conveniat, tùm eorum, qui Reipublicæ invigilant, proprium ſit : Illarum, dico, præcipuè, quæ gentis ſuæ primordia, majorum priſca inſtituta, labores pace & bello exantlatos, rerum denique vias, tàm in proſperis quàm adverſis, docere poſſunt. Quamobrem, vt ijs magnas debetis gratias, qui in ſcribendis veterum Normannorum præclarè geſtis, ne illorum memoria ſuccedentibus ſæculis obliteraretur, de omni Normannicâ gente benè meriti ſunt : ſic & me operæ pretium, Patriæque veſtræ non contemnendum officium præſtitiſſe, fortè cenſebitis, qui neglectos ejuſmodi Scriptores, ac varijs in Bibliothecis hactenùs deliteſcentes, conquiſiverim, eóſque, nominis veſtri auctoritate protectos, in hominum conſpectum nunc producam. Ut quantum virtute bellicâ Normanni olìm præſtiterint, quibúſque artibus nobiliſſima regna varijs in Prouincijs conſtituerint, & quantâ pietate, religione, ac divino cultu, jam inde à converſione Rollonis, inter pijſſimas ac religioſiſſimas

giosissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruerint, cunctis innotescat. Si vos illorum pietas, prudentia, fortitudo, tangit, in hujusmodi narrationibus delectabimini, meúmque de Collectione hâc consilium probantes, ut magni in vos, ac Urbem, Gentémque vestram universam, affectûs qualecumque monumentum, eam placidè & gratantèr suscipietis. Id unum igitùr opellæ meæ ac laboris pretium opto, & ut Deus O. M. vos, ac Normanniam universam florentem semper custodiat atque conservet, ad sancti nominis sui gloriam, & Regis Christianissimi, Normannorum Ducis*, fidele obsequium, exopto. Valete. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, Kalendis Aprilis, anno M.D.C.XIX.

* The learned author here calls the king of France of that time, (who was Lewis XIII.) *Duke of the Normans*; whereby I conceive that he meant to intimate that the king had no right to govern the people of Normandy in any other manner than their own Dukes might have governed them, if Normandy had still continued a separate province under the government of the successors of Rollo, or Robert I., their first duke, instead of being re-united to the crown of France, in the reign of king *Philip Augustus*. F. M.

AD

AD HISTORIÆ

NORMANNORUM SCRIPTORES,

PRÆFATIO.

NEMINEM generalis Hiſtoriæ totius Regni Franciæ ſtudioſum fore puto, qui non res quoque in ſingulis Provincijs geſtas, ac Populorum & Eccleſiarum, etiam privatarum, Hiſtorias, ad illius cognitionem utiles, ne dicam neceſſarias, judicet. Hâc ego ratione permotus, varias ejuſmodi Hiſtoriarum Collectiones magno hactenùs labore, magnóque interdùm ſumptu, feci: potiſſimùm verò illarum, quæ temporum ſive negligentiâ, ſive incuriâ, latebant, & eas tandèm aliquando, Patriæ Poſteritatíque conſulens, in lucem edere decrevi. Viſum eſt autem ab Hiſtoricis Normanniæ Veteribvs incipere, cùm quòd hæc una ſit inter cæteras Franciæ Provincias celeberrima ac florentiſſima, tùm quòd illi plurimas ac præclariſſimas res noſtras, tam ſacras quam profanas, ſuis inſerant Scriptis: antiquas, nempè, Monaſteriorum fundationes, Epiſcoporúmque ac Abbatum ſeries, annotent: illuſtrium quoque Familiarum origines antehac ignotas aperiant, progreſſus earundem varios acſi digito monſtrent, præclara denique Nobilium domi militiæque geſta referant: quod à multis hodiè ſummo ſtudio deſiderari, ſummâque diligentiâ perquiri, cuicumque paſsìm notum eſt.

Quandoquidem igitùr Normanni è Daciâ* prodeuntes bellicâ virtute ſe-

* Per *Daciam* in hoc loco auctor intelligit *Daniam*, ſive *Danemarchiam*, et alias partes *Scandinaviæ*, et non regionem iſto nomine deſignatam à Romanis, quæ propè fluvium *Danubium* ſita erat. F. M.

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dem in Franciâ quæsiverunt, nobilissima Regna in Angliâ & Siciliâ constituerunt, ac maximas etiam res in Oriente magnâ cum laude gesserunt: ideò plurimi Scriptores gentem illam bellicosissimam celebraverunt, ac multiplices armorum ejus eventus, aut aspectos, aut ab ijs qui viderant acceptos, nec non pietatis ejusdem insignia ergà Ecclesiam monumenta memoriæ commendaverunt. Horum præcipuos & sinceriores; qui tam Latino quàm vernaculo sermone lucubrationes suas texuerunt, in tres divisi Tomos, primúmque nunc publici juris facere meo stetit animo; ut si qualitercúmque Historiæ nostræ amatoribus placuisse compererim, ad reliquos propediem edendos me paritèr accingam. Ordo verò, quem in eo observavi, sic habet.

Primus sine nomine Scriptor, ex Codice magno Carthusiæ Montis-Dei descriptus, orditur à primis Normannorum per Frisiam, Hollandiam, Belgicam, Franciam, Germaniámque incursionibus, & finit post sedes Rolloni in Neustriâ concessas: Historiam continens annorum LIX. ab anno DCCCXXXVII. ad annum DCCCXCVI. Belgam fuisse suspicio est, eúmque eruditissimi viri D. Iacobi Sirmundi beneficio habui. Quæ autem subsequuntur, ex Rheginone, Annalibus Moguntinis, & alijs Chronicis, ac Sanctorum Vitis adjecta sunt. Deinde Abbonis, Floriacensis Abbatis, Libros duos, quos *de obsidione Lutetiæ Parisiorum à Normannis* inscripsit, primúsque, Vir Clarissimus Petrus Pithœus publicavit, subdidi.

Hunc sequitur Dudo. Is primùm Clericus, pretiosi, ut ait, Martyris Christi, Quintini Canonicus, & hoc nomine ab Alberto, Viromandensium Comite, ad Richardum, Normannorum Ducem, missus, ut interventu suo Regem Franciæ, Hugonem, ipsi Comiti infensum, pacificaret. Posteà verò super totam Sancti Quintini Congregationem Decanus constitutus, ut idem prænotat. Initium scribendi facit ab Hastingo, Danorum Duce, qui Rollonem præcessit: finem in morte Richardi I. Normanniæ Ducis, cujus avus Rollo. Declarátque se Opus incepisse, non voluntate spontaneâ, sed ut Duci illi redderet suæ servitutis officium, propter innumera beneficia, quæ absque suo merito ei dignatus erat impertiri. Operis autem necdum primas partes attigerat, cum lacrymabilis fama Richardum

Epist. ad Adalb. Laudun. Episc.

Principem

Principem obijsse nunciavit. Et tunc omnia in illius dolore postponere voluit, ut ipse testatur, propter nimium fletum intolerablilémque planctum. Sed per filium ejus Ducem Richardum, & præcipuum Comitem Rodulphum Ibreicensem, res eadem illi repræsentata fuit. Institerunt ambo precibus, ut quod Richardus pater præceperat exequeretur, & ne propositum imperfectum relinqueret contestati sunt. Adquievit ille præceptis precibúsque eorum, executus est, & absolutum Opus Adalberoni Episcopo Laudunensi, auctoritate suâ confirmandum, dedicavit. Peritum virum appellat Guillelmus, Gemmeticensis Monachus, in Epistolâ suâ ad Guillelmum I. Anglorum Regem. Et Ordricus, Monachus Vticensis, sive sancti Ebrulsi, de eodem sic paucis verbis loquitur in Prologo Libri III. Historiæ suæ: "Bellicos actus trium Ducum Dudo, Veromandensis Decanus, eloquentèr enarrauit, affluénsq; multiplicibus verbis & metris Panegyricum super illis edidit, & Richardo Gunnoridæ, gratiam ejus captans, transmisit." Necnon Libro VI. sub finem, "De adventu, inquit, Normannorum, & crudeli barbarie illorum, Dudo, Veromandensis Decanus, studiosè scripsit, & Ricardo II. Gunnoridis filio, Duci Normannorum, destinavit." In hujus editione duobus Codicibus usus sum, uno viri illustrissimi, D. Francisci Ambosij, altero D. Iacobi Sirmundi, qui, & solus, carmina, varia, rustico magis quàm poëtico stylo, intertexta exhibuit. Nec illa tamen prætermissa volui, ne fidem Historiæ minuisse quibusdam fortè viderer.

Dudo, Veromandensis Decanus.

Post Dudonem locum dedi Eulogio Emmæ, Anglorum Reginæ, filiæ Ricardi II. Normannorum Ducis, matrísque Edwardi Regis Angliæ, qui Guillelmum, cognomine Bastardum, Normanniæ Ducem, in filium & successorem adoptavit. Auctor illius anonymus, sed coætaneus, &, ut ipse dicit, sancti Bertini vernula, sive Monachus. Historiam enim suam ipsi Emmæ Reginæ, adhuc viventi, consecrat, atque Regem Cnutonem, secundum ejus maritum, ingentes oblationes in Monasteriis sancti Audomari & sancti Bertini facientem se vidisse contestatur. Hujus, ut & sequentis authoris, Guillelmi Pictavini, scripta debentur viro perillustri D. Roberto Cottono, Anglo, non solùm familiæ vetustate ac splendore, (quæ honoratissimas cognatione complexa est,) atque equestris ordinis dignitate Baronettâ;

Encomium Emmæ, Anglorum reginæ.

ſed etiam eruditione multifariâ, nec non feliciſſimâ induſtriâ in congerendâ antiquâ rariſſimorum librorum nummorúmque ſupellectile, quam, pro candore ſuo, omnibus ſtudioſis libentiſſimè aperit, commendatiſſimo. A quo, maximi vir nominis inter doctos, D. Guillelmus Camdenus, Anglus, exemplaria manuſcripta impetravit; eáque tranſmiſit ad virum illuſtrem & de litteris benè meritum, D. Nicolaum Fabricium de Petriſco, Regium in Aquiſextienſi Provinciæ Curiâ Senatorem, mihi ſummo amicitiæ vinculo chariſſimum.

Guillelmus Pictavenſis.

Guillelmi Pictavini Codex, qui, ut diximus, ex inſtructiſſimâ Nobiliſſimi Cottoni Bibliothecâ prodit, antiquiſſimus eſt, taliſque notæ quem autographum non immeritò plerique exiſtiment. Geſta continet Guillelmi Ducis, qui virtute bellicâ Regem Haraldum proſtravit, ac univerſam Angliam conquiſivit. De horum auctore, primò milite, poſteà Ducis ejuſdem Capellano, ac demùm Lexovienſi Archidiacono, ſic brevitèr Guillelmus, Gemmeticenſis Monachus, cap. xliv. Libri vii: " Si quis verò pleniùs illa, ſcilicet, geſta Guillelmi Regis Anglorum, nôſſe deſiderat, Librum Willelmi Pictavenſis, Lexoviorum Archidiaconi, eadem geſta, ſicut copioſè, ita eloquenti ſermone affatìm continentem, legat." Et Ordricus in fine Libri iii: "Suſceptum itaque imperium Guillelmus Rex in adverſis & proſperis ſtrenuè virilitérque rexit. De cujus probitate & eximiis moribus, ac proſperis eventibus, & ſtrenuis admirandíſque actibus Guillelmus Pictavinus, Lexovienſis Archidiaconus, affluentèr tractavit, & Librum, polito ſermone & magni ſenſûs profunditate præclarum, edidit. Ipſe ſiquidem prædicti Regis Capellanus longo tempore extitit, & ea quæ oculis ſuis viderit, & quibus interfuerit, longo relatu vel copioſo indubitantèr enucleare ſtuduit. Verùm, adverſis caſibus impeditus, hoc ſuum Opus uſque ad finem Regis non perduxit. In morte enim Edwini Merciorum Conſulis, à tribus fratribus, qui ei familiares precipuíque ſatellites erant, Normannis proditi, anno MLXX, deſiit." Quod & idem Ordricus obſervavit ad illum annum, pluráque etiam de eo rurſùs addidit, his verbis: " Huc uſque Guillelmus Pictavinus Hiſtoriam ſuam texuit, in quâ Guillelmi geſta, Criſpi Salluſtij ſtylum imitatus, ſubtilitèr & eloquentèr enucleavit. Hic genere Normannus,

nus, de vico Pratellensi fuit, ibique sororem, quæ in Monasterio sancti Leodegarij præerat Sanctimonialibus, habuit. *Pictavinus* autem dictus est, quia Pictavis fonte philosophico ubertìm imbutus est. Reversus ad suos, omnibus vicinis & consodalibus doctior enituit, & Lexovienses Episcopos Hugonem & Gislebertum Archidiaconatûs officio in Ecclesiasticis rebus adjuvit. In rebus bellicis ante Clericatum asper extitit, &, militaribus armis protectus, terreno Principi militavit. Et tanto certiùs referre visa discrimina potuit, quanto periculosiùs inter arma diris conflictibus interfuit. In senectute suâ taciturnitati & orationi studuit, & plus in dictando, seu versificando, quàm sermocinando, valuit. Subtiles & concinnos versus, atque ad recitandum habiles, frequentèr edidit, studióque juniorum, quibus ipsi emendarentur, sine invidiâ erogavit." Ipse quoque Guillelmus de se pauca sic prælibat paginâ 180, hujus Editionis; "Celeberrimè in Aquitaniâ, dum Pictavis exularem, eadem, quam nostrates contestantur, Normanni Comitis divulgabatur claritudo." Et paginâ 195, ubi de Hugone, Episcopo Lexoviensi, loquitur: "Hugonem, quem propriâ familiaritate conspectavimus, dictatu longiusculo alijs indicare neutiquam gravamur, quoniam ejus cognitionem aliis non dubitamus profuturam." Quæ per omnia cum Ordrici dictis conveniunt.

Sequitur Guillelmi, Gemmeticensis Monachi, Historia de Normannorum Ducum gestis. Cognomentum illi fuit *Calculus*, ut ex eodem Ordrico patet in Prologo Libri iii. Floruítque tempore Guillelmi I. Anglorum Regis, cui Opus suum obtulit. Principium narrationis è Dudonis Historiâ collegit, ut ipse fatetur, eámque elegantèr abbreviavit: ac de aliis Ducibus, qui Richardo I. successerunt, brevitèr & disertè res propalavit, inquit adhuc Ordricus: quæ partìm relatu plurimorum, ad corroborandum fidem æquè idoneorum annis & rerum experimentis, partìm, certissimo judice, proprio visu didicerat, privatìm sua donans. Sed de gestis Henrici I. Anglorum Regis, utrum ab illo quoque post, obitum Guillelmi adjecta sint, an ab altero potiùs Monacho conscripta, dubium movet Epistola, quam Operi suo præfixit, & multo magìs prædictus Ordricus. Hic enim ipsum post Senlaceium certamen narrationem suam terminâsse scribit his omninò verbis:

Guillelmus Calculus.

Prol. l. 3.

Gemetic. ipse in epi. ad Guill. Ducem.

verbis: "Guillelmus quoque cognomento *Calculus*, Gemmeticensis Monachus, Dudonis materiam subtilitèr replicavit, facetè abbreviavit, & successorum actus usque ad subjectionem Angliæ adjecit; post certamen Senlaceium narrationem suam consummavit, Guillelmóque Regi, subtilissimo suæ gentis, obtulit. Ut ut sit, illius Scripta primùm à Viro clarissimo ac doctissimo, D. Guillelmo Cambdeno, Anglo, edita, & inter Anglicarum, Normannicarum, Hibernicarúmque rerum Historicos, in Germaniâ excusa sunt. Eadem ego cum duobus antiquis Codicibus MSS. contuli, qui mihi è locuplete Bibliothecâ, Viri Amplissimi, Iacobi Augusti Thuani perhumanè suppeditati sunt; in illísq; multa Typographorum errore depravata correxi, omissa restitui, confusa variis in locis distinxi, sicut Lector ipse legendo facilè deprehendet.

Ordericus Vitalis. IpseOrdr. lib. 5. p. 548. Eod. l. p. 579. 581.

Guillelmo Calculo succedit *Ordricus* qui & *Vitalis*, Vticensis Cœnobij Presbyter & Monachus, ut ipse inscribit. Hic in Angliâ natus est XIV. Kal. Martij, anno Christi MLXXV. patre Odelerio, Constantii Aurelianensis filio; præcipuo Rogerii de Monte-gomerici, Scrobesburiensis Comitis, Consiliario: Sabbatóque sequentis Paschæ apud Attingesham in Ecclesiâ sancti Eattæ Confessoris, per ministerium Ordrici sacerdotis, sacro fonte renatus est. Post quinquennium Sigwardo, nobili Presbytero, litteris erudiendus à genitore traditus, cujus magisterio prima percepit rudimenta. Undecimo autem ætatis suæ anno pro amore Dei à proprio patre abdicatus est, & de Angliâ in Normanniam tenellus exul, ut æterno Regi militaret, destinatus. Deinde à Mainerio, venerabili Uticensis Cœnobij Patre, susceptus, monachilis habitûs trabeâ togatus, sinceróque Monachorum Conventui fœdere indissolubili sociatus est. Inter quos Ecclesiasticum morem & servitium ediscere laboravit, & semper ad aliquid utile, præcipuè verò ad scribendum, ingenium applicavit. Sed præstat Ordricum ipsum de se sic in fine sui

paginâ 548.

Operis loquentem audire: "Tu es Rex meus & Deus meus, & ego sum servus tuus & ancillæ tuæ filius, qui pro posse meo à primis tibi vitæ meæ servivi diebus. Nam sabbato Paschæ apud Attingesham baptizatus sum, qui vicus in Angliâ situs est super Sabrinam, ingentem fluvium. Ibi, per ministerium Ordrici, Presbyteri, ex aquâ & Spiritu sancto me regenerâsti,

paginâ 924.

& mihi ejusdem sacerdotis, patrini scilicet mei, nomen indidisti. Deinde, cum quinque essem annorum, apud urbem Scrobesburiam scholæ traditus sum, & prima tibi servitia Clericatûs obtuli in basilicâ Sanctorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum. Illìc Sigwardus, insignis Presbyter, per quinque annos Carmentis Nicostratæ litteras docuit me, ac Psalmis & Hymnis, aliisque necessariis instructionibus mancipavit me. Intereà prædictam Basilicam super Molam flumen sitam, quæ patris mei erat, sublimâsti, &, per piam devotionem Rogerij Comitis, venerabile Cœnobium construxisti. Non tibi placuit, ut illìc diutiùs militarem, ne inter parentes, (qui servis tuis multoties oneri sunt & impedimento,) paterer inquietudinem, vel aliquod detrimentum in observatione legis tuæ, per parentum carnalem affectum, incurrerem. Iccircò, gloriose Deus, qui Abraham de terrâ, patrisque domo & cognatione, egredi jussisti, Odelerium, patrem meum, aspirâsti, ut me sibi penitùs abdicaret, & tibi omnimodis subjugaret. Rainaldo igitùr, Monacho, plorans plorantem me tradidit, & pro amore tuo in exilium destinavit, nec me unquam posteà vidit." Et paulo post: "Decennis itaque Britannicum mare transfretavi, exul in Normanniam veni, cunctis ignotus neminem cognovi. Linguam, ut Ioseph in Aegypto, quam non noveram, audivi; suffragante tamen gratiâ tuâ, inter exteros omnem mansuetudinem & familiaritatem reperi. A venerabili Mainerio, Abbate, in Monasterio Uticensi undecimo ætatis meæ anno, ad Monachatum susceptus sum, undecimó que Kal. Octobris Dominico clericali ritu tonsoratus sum. Nomen quoque *Vitalis* pro Anglico vocamine, quod Normannis absonum censebatur, mihi impositum est: quod ab uno sodalium sancti Mauricij Martyris, cujus tunc Martyrium celebrabatur, mutuatum est. In præfato Cœnobio LVI. annis, te favente, conversatus sum, & à cunctis fratribus & contubernalibus multò plus quàm merui amatus & honoratus sum. Aestus & frigora, pondúsque diei perpessus in vineâ Sorech inter tuos laboravi, & denarium, quem pollicitus es, securus, quia fidelis es, expectavi. Sex Abbates, quia tui fuerunt vicarij, ut patres, & magistros, reveritus sum, Mainerium & Serlonem, Rogerium & Guarinum, Ricardum & Ranulfum. Isti, nempè, Uticensi Conventui legitimè præfuerunt, pro me & pro aliis, tanquam rationem redituri,

dituri, vigilaverunt, intùs & exteriùs ſolertiam adhibuerunt, nobiſque neceſſaria, te comitante & juvante, procuraverunt. Idus Martij, cum xvi, eſſem annorum, juſſu Serlonis electi, Gislebertus, Lexovienſis Præſul, ordinavit me ſubdiaconum. Deinde poſt biennium vii. Kal. Aprilis Serlo, Sagienſis Antiſtes, mihi ſtolam impoſuit Diaconi. In quo gradu xv. annis tibi libentèr miniſtravi. Denique xxxiii. ætatis meæ anno, Guillelmus, Archiepiſcopus Rotomagi, xii. Kal. Ianuarij oneravit me ſacerdotio. Eodem verò die ccxlviii. Diaconos, & cxx. conſecravit Sacerdotes, cum quibus ad ſanctum altare tuum in Spiritu ſancto devotus acceſſi, jámque xxxiv. annis cum alacritate mentis tibi ſacra miniſteria fidelitèr perſolvi."

Habuit & idem fratres duos minores ſe natu, quorum unus, Ebrardus nomine, paternæ hæreditatis ſucceſſor, alter, Benedictus, in Cœnobio S. Petri Scrobeſburienſis æquè Monachus extitit. Sic enim Odelerius, ipſorum pater, in exhortatione ad Rogerium de Monte-Gomerici, Scrobeſburiæ Comitem, de fundatione præfati Monſterij verba faciens: "In primis, inquit, advenientibus Monachis cum cæmentariis ad jaciendum Monaſterij fundamentum, ad inchoationem hujuſcemodi porrigam xv. libras ſterilenſium. Deinde meipſum, & Benedictum, filium meum, jam quinquennem, & omnia mea tradam Monaſterio, tali tenore ut omnium rerum mearum medietas mecum ſubdatur Monachorum dominio, aliáque medietas Ebrardo, filio meo, dedatur ſub Monachorum patrocinio. Porrò primogenitum, Ordericum videlicet, meum jamdudùm litteris imbuendum liberali Didaſcalo mancipavi, eíque locum tutæ manſionis inter vernulas Dei apud Uticum in Neuſtriâ procuravi: pro quo eulogias benedictionis, xxx. ſcilicet marcos argenti, futuris ejus magiſtris & conſodalibus de poriſmate meo libentèr erogavi." Et Ordricus, filius, paulo poſt ſubdit; "Sæpedictus quoque Odelerius, pater Vitalis, quod promiſerat ex integro complevit, datíſque ducentis libris argenti, Deo Benedictum filium ſuum ibidem obtulit, & ipſe, poſt obitum Rogerij Comitis, monachile ſchema ſuſcepit. Ibi vii. annis, ſecundùm normam ſancti Patris Benedicti Monachus, Deo ſervivit.

Lib. v. Hiſt. Ordrici paginis 580. 581.

Opus verò ſuum Ordricus præcepto Rogerij, Abbatis Uticenſis, incœpit, &, quia de rebus potiſſimùm Eccleſiaſticis, ac de ſui temporis Chriſtiano-

Prol. lib. 1.

rum

rum eventibus, in eo tractavit, *Ecclesiasticam* illud *Historiam* appellari affectavit, quam & in tria Volumina divisit. In primo enim, duos Libros continente, de quibusdam amicis Dei, Dominísque ac Rectoribus populi sui, (hoc est, de Apostolis & Pontificibus Romanis,) de Imperatoribus, Regibus, & aliis Principibus, locutum se fuisse testatur. In secundo, quod IV. Libros complectitur, plurima dictavit de Monasterio in Uticensi saltu tempore Guillelmi Ducis, posteà Regis, honorificè restaurato, nonnulláque de bonis, seu malis, Primatibus sui sæculi veracitèr adjecit. In tertio denique VII. Libellos peregit, in quibus de morte Guillelmi Regis, & de tribus filiis ejus plura edidit, & iter Hierosolymitanum, casúsque varios suis temporibus contingentes referendo addidit: ultimum terminans anno ætatis suæ LXVII, Christi verò MCXLI. quo Stephanus Rex Anglorum in carcere Mathildis, Andegavorum Comitissæ, gemens detinebatur. In eâ Historiâ edendâ, quam hactenùs multi desideraverunt, tribus Codicibus usus sum, uno Monasterij sancti Ebrulfi, altero sancti Stephani Cadomensis, quos ope ejusdem D. de Petrisco habui, illum, scilicet, à Reverendo admodùm viro D. Carolo Chaliveav, Uticensi Abbate dignissimo, hunc à Jurisconsultissimo virò D. Claudio de Salet, summâ & eruditione & eloquentiâ inter causarum patronos hoc sæculo in Normannicâ suâ Provinciâ celeberrimo: tertio demum ope viri ornatissimi ac rerum antiquarum studiosissimi, D. Ioannis Bigoti, in Rothomagensi vectigalium Curiâ Senatoris.

Prol. lib. 3. Lib. 6.
Prol. lib. 2. Lib. 6. p. 632.

Ordricum excipit alius sine nomine Historicus, qui Gesta Stephani, Anglorum Regis, & Comitis Boloniensis, scripsit. Certè contemporaneum ipsius Regis, & partium ejus fautorem fuisse, quæ refert in pluribus Historiæ suæ locis, indicant. Hunc do ex veteri, sed imperfecto & semiexeso, Exemplari Episcopi Laudunensis, quod mihi benignè obtulit D. Georgius de Y, Doctor Theologus Parisiensis, Regis Christianissimi Consiliarius & Prædicator ordinarius, nec non Vicarius generalis reverendissimi Domini Benjamini de Brichanteau, Episcopi-Ducis Laudunensis ac Franciæ Paris.

Gesta Stephani, regis Angliæ.

Sequitur deinde Chronicum alterius Scriptoris æquè anonymi, ab anno Christi M.C.XXXIX. ad annum M.CC.LIX. quod ex Bibliothecâ Canonicorum Regularium Cœnobij S. Victoris Parisiensis depromptum est. Sed ejus descriptor,

deſcriptor, quiſquis fuit, ferè perpetuos in annis anachroniſmos commiſit; quos tamen emendare, vel aliquid in illis mutare, non præſumpſi. Tantùm, ut à quovis facilè cognoſci poſſint, certius aliud ac brevius Chronicum ex jam memorato Cadomenſis Monaſterij Codice ſubjeci.

Denique, per Appendicis formam, addidi diverſos nobilium Normannorum Catalogos, qui tempore Guillelmi Conquæſtoris in Angliam profecti ſunt, & ab eo feuda immediatè tenuerunt, partim ex Cenſuali Angliæ Libro, Conquæſtoris ipſius juſſu confecto, qui extat apud Acta Londini, partìm ex alijs antiquis Codicibus excerptos, & à D. Guillelmo Cambdeno perhumanitèr tranſmiſſos. Adjunxi præterea Nomina militum ferentium bannerias in Normanniâ, & alijs Franciæ Provincijs, ſub Philippo II. Rege: Notitiam Feudorum Normanniæ, Scriptum de Servitijs militum quæ debentur Normanniæ Duci, Officium ad conſtituendum Ducem, & alia nonnulla ad veterem Hiſtoriam pertinentia.

Chronicum verò Cœnobij Beccenſis antiquum & optimum, quod habui à Reverendiſſimo & Illuſtriſſimo D. Dominico de Vic, Abbate Beccenſi meritiſſimo, in Tomum II. huius Collectionis rejeci, unà cum Hiſtoriis de rebus à Normannis per Siciliam & Apuliam geſtis, ne primum hoc Volumen modum excederet. Quo tu interim, Lector, utere, fruere, lubens; &, ſi quid ab Hiſtoricis (interdùm fortè plus æquo Principibus ſuis addictis) minùs rectè aut verè dictum fuiſſe reperieris, ne id in recti veritatíſve præjudicium trahas. Vale.

EMMÆ,
ANGLORUM REGINÆ,
RICHARDI I.
DUCIS NORMANNORUM, FILIÆ,
ENCOMIUM.

Incerto Auctore, sed coætaneo.

ITEM,

GESTA
GUILLELMI II.
DUCIS NORMANNORUM,
REGIS ANGLORUM I.

A Guillelmo Pictavensi, Lexoviorum Archidiacono, contemporaneo, scripta.

Ex Bibliothecâ nobilissimi Viri ROBERTI COTTONI, Equitis Aurati, et Baronetti, primùm edita Lutetiæ Parisiorum, anno Domini 1619, â doctissimo viro, Andreâ Duchesnio, Turonensi: nunc denuò edita Londini, anno Domini 1783.

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M.DCC.LXXXIII.

EMMÆ, ANGLORUM REGINÆ, RICHARDI I. DUCIS NORMANNORUM, FILIÆ, ENCOMIUM.

Incerto Auctore, sed coætaneo.

PROLOGUS.

SALUS *tibi sit à Domino* IESU CHRISTO, *O Regina, quæ omnibus in hoc sexu positis præstas morum elegantia. Ego servus tuus nobilitati tuæ digna factis meis exhibere nequeo, quoque pacto verbis saltem illi placere nescio. Quod enim cujuslibet periti eloquentis de* * *te virtus tua præminet omnibus, à quibus cognosceris, ipso solis jubare clariùs lucet. Te igitur ergà me adeò benè meritam magnifacio, ut morti intrepidus occumberem, si in rem tibi provenire crederem. Quâ ex re mihi etiàm, ut præcipis, memoriam rerum gestarum, rerum, inquam, tuo, tuorúmque honori attinentium, litteris posteritati mandare gestio: sed ad hoc faciendum me mihi sufficere posse dubito. Hoc enim in historiâ proprium exigitur, ut nullo erroris diverticulo à recto veritatis tramite declinetur: quoniam cum quis alicujus gesta scribens, veritati*

* Hic verba aliqua videntur deesse.

tati falsa quædam, seu errando, sive (ut sæpe fit) ornatûs gratiâ, interserit; profectò, unius tantum compertâ admixtione mendacii, auditor facta velut infecta ducit. Unde historicis magnoperè cavendum esse censeo, ne veritati, quibusdam falsò interpositis, contra-eundo, nomen etiàm perdat, quod videtur habere ex officio. Res enim veritati, veritas quoque fidem facit rei. Hæc mecum, aliáque hujusmodi reputante, rubor animum vehementer excruciat; cum pariter considero quàm pessimè in talibus sese humana consuetudo habeat. Videns enim aliquis quempiam, pro exprimendâ rei veritate verbis indulgentem, vanæ loquacitatis eum mordaciter redarguit; alium verò quem dixi blasphemium fugientem, et æquo modestiorem in narratione, cum operta denudare debeat, aperta occuluisse dicit. Tali itaque angustiâ circumseptus, ab invidentibus loquax dici timeo, si, neglectâ venustate dictaminis, historiam scripturus multiplici narratione usus fuero. Quoniam verò, quin scripturus sim evadere me non posse video, unum horum quæ proponam eligendum esse autumo, scilicet, aut variis judiciis hominum subjacere, aut de his quæ mihi à te, domina Regina, præcepta sunt, præripientem negligendo conticescere. Malo itaque à quibusdam de loquacitate redargui, quam veritatem maximè memorabilis rei per me omnibus occultari. Quocircà jubentem dominam magni pendens, hanc mihi elegi viam: excusabiles deinceps occasiones posthabens, hinc narrationis contextionem faciam.

ARGU-

ARGUMENTUM.

FORTASSE, O lector, ambiges, méque ſcriptorem erroris aut inſcitiæ redargues, cur in hujus libelli capite actus laudéſque SUEINI ſereniſſimi regis promulgaverim, cùm in ſupraſcriptâ epiſtolâ ipſum Codicellum laudi hujus dominæ me ſpoponderim facturum. Quod ita eſſe ipſe fatebere, méque ab ejus laudibus nuſquam accipies deviare; ſi prima mediis, atque ſi extima ſagaci more conferas primis. Atque ut ad hoc intuendum nullâ erroris impediaris nebulâ, à ſimilibus atque à penitùs veris hoc tibi habeas theorema. Æneïda conſcriptam à Virgilio, quis poterit inficiari, ubique laudibus reſpondere Octaviani; cum pene nihil, aut planè parùm ejus mentio videatur nominatim interſeri? Animadverte igitur laudem ſuo generi aſcriptam ipſius decori claritudinis, claritatiſque in omnibus nobilitare gloriam. Quis autem hic neget laudibus reginæ hunc per omnia reſpondere Codicem, cum non modò ad ejus gloriam ſcribatur, verùm etiàm ejus maximam videatur obtinere partem? Id tibi ſi probabile non videtur, evidenti alterius rei indicio approbetur. Noviſti quoniam, ubicunque giraveris circulum, primò omnium proculdubiò principium facies eſſe punctum, ſicque rotato continuatim orbe reducetur circulus: quo reducto ad ſuum principium ejus figuræ continuatur ambitus. Simili igitur continuatione laus reginæ claret in primis, in mediis viget, in ultimis invenitur, omnémque prorſùs Codicis ſummam complectitur. Quod eſſe mecum ſentiens, ſic collige.

SUEINUS rex Danorum, virtute armíſque pollens, et conſilio, Anglicum regnum vi ſuo ſubjugavit imperio, moriénſque ejuſdem regni CNUTONEM filium ſucceſſorem eſſe conſtituit. Hic poſtmodùm, eiſdem Anglis contrà ſe ſentientibus, atque acriter vim inſtruenti vi quoque repugnantibus, multa confecit bella: et fortaſſe vix aut nunquam bellandi adeſſet finis, niſi tandem hujus nobiliſſimæ reginæ jugali copulâ potiretur, favente gratiâ ſalvatoris. Vivens adhuc de hâc eâdem reginâ ſuſcepto filio, HARDECNUT ſcilicet, quidquid ſuæ parebat ditioni, tradidit. Qui, defuncto patre, Anglicis abſens erat. Regnum ſiquidem Danorum procuraturus ierat. Quæ abſentia imperii ſui fines invadendi injuſto pervaſori locum dedit. Qui, accepto regno, fratrem regis nefandiſſimâ proditione interemit. Sed divina ultio ſubſecuta, impiúmque percutiens, regnum, cui debebatur reſtituit. *Hardecnut* itaque, recepto regno, maternis per omnia parens conſiliis, divitias ampliando

pliando regnum imperialiter obtinuit. Uſus quinetiam egregiâ liberalitate, fratri, utpote decebat, ſecum regni decus atque divitias impertivit. His enim animadverſis, O lector, vigiliſque, imò etiàm perſpicaci, oculo mentis perſcrutato textu, intellige hujus libelli ſeriem per omnia reginæ Emmæ laudibus reſpondere.

LIBER PRIMUS.

Sueinus Danorum rex.

REGEM Danorum SUEINUM, inquam, veridicâ comperi relatione omnium ſui temporis regum fermè fortunatiſſimum extitiſſe; adeò ut (quod rarò contingere ſolet) principiis felicibus ſecundùm Deum et ſeculum, multò felicior reſponderet exitus. Hic denique à nobiliſſimis, quod primum eſt inter homines, duxit originem, magnúmque ſibi decus ſecundùm ſeculum peperit imperii, quod adminiſtrabat, regimen. Tantam deinde illi gratiâ divinâ conceſſit virtus, ut etiàm puerulus intimo affectu diligeretur ab omnibus: tantùm patri proprio inviſus, nullâ hoc promerente puerili culpâ, ſed ſolâ turbante invidiâ. Qui factus juvenis, in amore quotidiè creſcebat populi, unde magìs magíſque invidia augebatur patri: adeò ut eum à patriâ non jam clanculùm, ſed palàm vellet expellere, jurejurandóque aſſerens, eum poſt ſe regnaturum non eſſe. Unde dolens exercitus, relicto patre, hærebat filio, et eum defenſabat ſedulò. Hujus rei gratiâ congrediuntur in prælio, in quo vulneratus fugatúſque pater ad Sclavos fugit, et non multò poſt ibi obiit, et SUEINUS ejus ſolium quietè tenuit. Quam ſtrenuè verò prudentérque interim ſecularia diſpoſuerit negotia, paucis libet ad memoriam reducere: quatenùs his interpoſitis facilius ſit gradatìm per hæc ad ſubſequentia deſcendere. Denique cum nullo hoſtium incurſu trepidus pacem in ſecuritate ageret, periculi ſemper, ac velut inſtantis, metuens in caſtris vivebat, quod hoſtibus, ſi adeſſent, nullatenùs fortaſſe reſiſteret, nihilque ſuis, quæ bello neceſſaria forent præparando, patiebatur remitti, ſcilicet, ne per otium (ut aſſolet) viriles emollirentur animi. Nullum tamen adeò difficile invenire poterat negotium, ad quod invitos impuliſſet milites, quos multâ liberali munificentiâ ſibi fecerat obnoxios et fideles. Atque ut ſcias quantus ſuorum fuerit in præcordiis affectus, pro certo affirmare valeam, quod nullus formidine mortis periculum refugeret, ejúſque pro fidelitate hoſtibus innumeris ſolus, armatis etiàm, manibus nudis imperterritus occurreret, ſi euntibus tantùm regale præmonſtraretur ſignum. At ne me credat aliquis hæc falſa fingendo alicujus amoris gratiâ

gratiâ compilare, rectè animadvertenti in subsequentibus patebit, utrum vera dixerim, an minimè. Omnibus enim liquet proculdubiò, quoniam humanitatis ita sese habeat consuetudo, ut plerumque ex rebus prosperè redeuntibus, mentes quorundam plus æquo exagitet cogitationum æstus: atque ex nimiâ in otio licentiâ aggrediuntur aliqui, quod vix cogitare, nedum facere, audent in adversitate positi. Ita etiàm prælibati regis militibus, cum incompositæ pacis diuturnitate cuncta cessissent prospere, firmâ sui pro benefactis domini fretis stabilitate, eadem ipsi agitanti placuit suadere, terram Anglicam invadendo forte bellicâ imperii sui finibus adjicere. "Turchil, inquiunt, princeps militiæ tuæ, domine rex, "licentiâ à te acceptâ abiit, ut fratrem suum inibi interfectum ulcisceretur; et magnam partem exercitûs tui abducens, vicisse se gaudet: et "nunc meridianam partem provinciæ victor obtinet, ac mavult ibi exul "degens, amicúsque factus Anglorum, quos tuâ manu vicit, gloriari; "quam, exercitum reducens, tibi subdi, tibíque victoriam ascribi. Et "nunc fraudamur sociis, et quadragintà puppibus, quas secum duxit "onustas de Danorum bellatoribus primis. Non tam grave dominus "noster patiatur dispendium, sed abiens cupientem ducat exercitum, et "illi Turchil contumacem acquiremus cum suis satellitibus, eis quoque "fœderatos Anglos cum omnibus eorum possessionibus. Scimus enim "diù eos non posse resistere, quia nostrates viri ad nos transibunt facilè. "Quod si eos velle contigerit, rex duci suo, Danísque parcens, eos "honoribus ampliabit. Si autem noluerit, quem despexêre sentient. "Hâc illâque patriâ privati inter primos hostes regis pœnas luent."

Proceres Danorum Sueino regi suadent ut invadat Angliam.

HUJUS rei adhortationem rex ubi audiit, primùm secum mirari non mediocriter cœpit, quia quod ipsi diù dissimulanti celantíque in mentem venerat, itidem militibus, cogitationem ejus ignorantibus, animo sederat. Accersito itaque CNUTONE filio suo majore, quid sibi super hoc negotii videretur, orsus est inquirere. Inquisitus autem ille à patre, metuens ne redargueretur, si placito contra-iret, tecna socordiæ, non tantùm terram adeundam esse approbat, verùm etiàm instigat, hortatúrque, ne mora ulla incœptum detineat. Ergò rex consultu optimatum firmatus, militúmque benevolentiâ fisus, classem numerosam jussit parari, et universam militiam [a] Danorum undique moneri, ut statuto die armata

Sueinus rex Danorum magnum exercitum congregat. A. D. 1013.

[a] By this passage it is evident that there were at this time, that is, about A.D. 1013, a set of warriours who were bound to obey any summons they should receive from the king to attend him in his wars. But it does not appear that this obligation arose from the tenure of their lands. Ideò quære.

* Forte *quæcunque*.

armata adesset, et regis sententiam audiens, quæque* imperarentur devotissimè expleret. Cursores mox provinciæ ex jussu domini sui cunctam pergirant regionem, quietam quoque commonefaciunt gentem: ne quis ex tanto exercitu deesset, quin omnis bellator terræ aut iram regis incurreret, aut jussioni ejus advolaret. Quid ergo? Absque contradictione adunantur, instructíque armis bellicis gregatìm regi suo præsentantur; ostentantes se paratos ad periculum et ad mortem, si tantùm domini sui queant perficere voluntatem. Rex autem videns populum innumerabilem, voce præconariâ jussit suam patefieri voluntatem; "se velle, scilicet, classem adversùm Anglos armare, ditionísque suæ omnem hanc patriam ferro dolísve subjicere." Quod ubi omnibus visum esset laudabile, elegit primùm qui regnum suum deberent custodire; ne, dum alienum incautè appeteret, illud, quod securus tenebat, amitteret, et, intentus in utroque, neutri imperaret. Habebat enim filios duos bonæ indolis, ex quibus primogenitum suo junxit comitatui, natu verò minorem præfecit universi regni dominatui, adjunctâ ei copiâ militari, paucísque primatum qui puerulum sagaciter instituerent, et qui huic consiliis armísque pro muro essent.

Descriptio classis Danicæ.

OMNIBUS ergò rite dispositis, recensuit comites expeditionis, relictóque minore filio suo in sede, adiit navigium vallatus armato milite. Nec mora: concurritur undique ad littora, circumfertur passìm armorum seges multigena. Aggregati tandem turritas ascendunt puppes, æratis rostris duces singulos videntibus discriminantes. Hinc enim erat cernere leones auro fusiles in puppibus; hinc autem volucres [a] in summis malis, venientes austros suis signantes versibus, aut dracones varios minantes incendia de naribus: Illinc homines [b] de solido auro, argentóve rutilos, vivis quodammodò non impares; atque illinc tauros, erectis sursùm collis, protensísque cruribus, mugitus, cursúsque viventium simulantes. Videres quoque delphinos electro fusos; veterémque rememorantes fabulam de eodem metallo centauros. Ejusdem prætereà cælaturæ multa tibi dicerem insignia, si non monstrorum, quæ sculpta inerant, me

[a] This seems to mean that there were the figures of birds placed on the tops of the masts of the ships upon pivots; so as to turn round with the wind, and shew by their turnings, or motions, which way the wind blew, or, in short, to serve as weather-cocks.

[b] This account, "that many of the Danish ships were adorned with figures of men made of solid gold, and almost as big as the life," seems to be hardly credible. If it is true in any degree, it will serve to shew that there was a greater quantity of gold in that dark and barbarous age than is commonly supposed.

me laterent nomina. Sed quid nunc tibi latera carinarum memorem, non modò ornatitiis depicta coloribus, verùm etiàm aureis argenteísque aspera signis? Regia quoque puppis tanto pulchritudine sui cæteris præstabat, quanto rex suæ dignitatis honore milites antecedebat. De quâ melius est ut sileam, quàm pro magnitudine sui pauca dicam. Tali itaque freti classe, dato signo repente gaudentes abeunt, atque, ut jussi erant, pars ante, pars retrò, æquatis tamen rostris, regiæ puppi se circumferunt. Hic videres crebris tonsis verberata latè spumare cærula, metallíque repercussum fulgore solem duplices radios extendere in aëra. Quid plura? Tandem quò intendebant animi appropiabant finibus; cùm finitimos mari patrienses ejus rei sinister commovit nuncius. Nec mora, quò regia classis anchoras fixit, incolæ ejus loci concurrunt ad portum, potentiori se frustrà parati defendere intrandi aditum. Denique relictis navibus regii milites ad terram exeunt, et pedestri pugnæ intrepidi sese accingunt. Hostes primò duriter contrà resistentes dimicant; posteà verò, periculi formidine versi in fugam, sauciandi occidendíque copiam persequentibus præstant. Ita rex ex affectu primo prælio usus, adjacentem regionem invadit, fusis fugatísque hostibus. Tunc, tali successu factus audentior, ad naves redit, et reliquos portus, qui plures eam terram cingunt, eâdem ratione invadit. Postremò universam patriam tanto labore perdomuit, ut, si quis omnem historiam ejus ad plenum percurrere velit, non modicum auditores fatigabit, et sibimet injurius erit, dum, ut voluit, omnia perstringere minimè valebit. At ego hæc alteri narranda relinquens, tangendo transire percupio; et ad alia festinando, stilum applicabo ad SUEINI obitum, ut festivi regis CNUTONIS regni elucidare queam exordium. Namque ubi jam sæpedictus rex totâ Anglorum patriâ est intronizatus, et ubi jam penè illi nemo restitit, pauco supervixit tempore, sed tamen illud tantillum gloriosè. Præsciens igitur dissolutionem sui corporis imminere, filium suum CNUTONEM, quem secum habuit, advocat; sese viam universæ carnis ingrediendum indicat. Cui dum multa de regni gubernaculo, multáque hortaretur de christianitatis studio, Deo gratias, illi, virorum dignissimo, sceptrum commisit regale. Hujus rei facto maximè Dani, quibus legitimè præesse debuit, favent; eúmque patre adhuc vivente regem super se constitui [a] gaudent. Hoc ita facto, pater

Dani vela faciunt versùs Angliam.

Et ibidem perveniunt.

Et Anglos pluribus præliis vincunt.

Sueinus, toto regno Angliæ potitus, brevi moritur: A. D. 1014.

Et Cnutoni filio regnum illud relinquit.

[a] By this passage it appears, that king Swein was thought by the Danes to have the right of appointing his successor to the crown of England, which he had lately acquired by conquest. The notions of a right to the crown by hereditary succession were not at this time, nor indeed for two or three centuries after it, fully established.

pater orat filium, ut, ſi quando nativitatis ſuæ rediret àd terram, corpus paternum reportaret ſecum; néve pateretur ſe alienigenam in externis tumulari terris. Noverat enim, quia [b] pro invaſione regni illis exoſus erat populis. Nec multo poſt poſtrema naturæ perſoluit debita, animam remittendo cœleſtibus, terræ autem reddendo membra.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

Cnuto Angliæ rex. Angli parant reſiſtere Cnutoni.

MORTUO patre, Cnuto regni parat retinere ſceptrum. Sed ad hoc minimè ſufficere potuit, deficiente copiâ fidelium. Angli ſiquidem, memores, quod pater ejus injuſtè ſuos invaſiſſet fines, ad expellendum eum, utpote qui juvenis erat, omnis regni pariter collegerunt vires. Quo comperto, rex clàm per fideles amicos reperto honoris ſui conſilio, claſſim ſibi præparari jubet; non quòd aſperos eventus belli metuendo fugeret, ſed ut fratrem ſuum HAROLDUM, regem ſcilicet Danorum, ſuper tali negotio conſuleret. Paternâ itàque claſſe repetitâ, inſtauratóque remige, ventis maríque regalia commiſit carbaſa: ſed tamen non omnem militiam ſecùm reduxit, quæ cum patre ſuo ſecúmque patriam introivit. Nam THURKIL, quem principem militiæ prædiximus, terrâ, quod eſſet optima, inſpectâ, maluit converſari vitam fertili patriâ, cum patrienſibus pace confectâ, quàm, velut expulſus, demùm redire ad propria. Et, ut quidam aiunt, hoc non fecit deſpiciendo dominum; ſed uti, cum, reſumptis viribus fratríſque auxilio, repedaret [c] ad debellandum regnum, aut optimates regni conſilio ſuo ad deditionem flecteret, aut, ſi id parùm proceſſiſſet, dimicantes contrà dominum ſuum hoſtes incautos à tergo cæderet. Cujus rei patet veritas ex eo, quòd ſecum maximam partem militum retinuit, quódque rex non ampliùs quàm ſexaginta naves ſecum abire permiſit.

Cnuto redit in Daniam ad majores copias comparandas.

Sed relinquit Thurkil in Angliâ cum maximâ parte militum Danorum.

PROSPERO itaque curſu rex natales ad fines,[d] cùm mirarentur omnes ſolitarium [e] reditum ejus, quantum ad regem, patri anteà fideles. HARALDI regis ſubitò complevit volitans fama palatia, fratrem ejus majorem, CNU-

[b] The word *quia* is here uſed in the ſenſe of *quod*.

[c] Rex Cnuto.

[d] Pervenit.

[e] The meaning is, that the Danes, who had been ſubjects of king Swein, the father of Cnut, wondered to ſee Cnut return to Denmark ſo ſolitary, or with ſo ſmall a number of ſhips, conſidering that he was a great king, and might naturally be expected to have been attended by a very numerous fleet.

CNUTONEM scilicet, sua advenisse littora. Miratur rex, omnísque pariter exercitus; atque adhuc nescii duros ipsius præsagibant casus. Igitur à latere regis milites diriguntur delecti, paratíque in occursum transmittuntur equi. Fraternus siquidem amor fratris eum movebat inservire decori. Cúmque tandem honorificè, utpote regem decet, fraterna subintraret limina; frater ipse in primo aditu occurrit, mutuóque brachiorum connexione pressis corporibus sibi invicem pia quàm sæpè defigunt oscula. Collum utriúsque partìm pro amore, partímque pro patris morte fusæ madefecêre lachrymæ; quibus vix extinctis, multo refocillantur affamine. Ubi dum quísque fortunam fratris inquireret, propriam quoque patefaceret; CNUTO, qui natu major fuerat, sic HARALDUM fratrem alloquitur: "Adveni, frater, partìm causâ tui "amoris, partìm verò ut declinarem improvisam temeritatem bar"barici furoris: non tamen metuens bellorum, quæ meæ repetam "gloriæ, sed ut tuo consultu edoctus, præsidióque suffultus, redeam "certus victoriæ. Est autem primum, quod mihi facies, si non gloriæ "meæ invides, ut dividas mecum regnum Danorum, meam scilicet "hereditatem, quam solus tenes: deinde regnum Anglorum, si com"muni operâ poterimus nostræ hereditati adjicere. Unum horum, "quodcúmque elegeris, feliciter teneto, et ego aliud similiter tenebo. "Hujus rei gratiâ tecum hiemabo, ut tempus tuo sufficiat consilio, "et, ut expedit, reparentur naves et exercitus, ne deficiant necessaria, "dum pugnæ ingruerit tempus. THURKIL noster, nos relinquendo, "ut patrem, in terrâ resedit, et magnam partem navium nostrarum "retinuit; et, ut reor, nobis adversarius erit: sed tamen non pre"valebit."

Occursus Cnutonis cum fratre suo Haraldo rege Danorum.

HARALDUS rex, audito quod noluit, his fratrem verbis excepit: "Gaudeo, frater, de tuo adventu, habeóque gratias tibi, quòd me "visitâsti: sed est grave auditu quod loqueris de divisione regni. He"reditatem, quam mihi pater, te laudante, tradidit, guberno: tu verò "hâc majorem si amisisti, doleo, téque juvare paratus règnum meum "partiri non sustinebo." Hoc CNUTO audiens, fratrémque [f] rectè locutum

[f] Here we see that when Cnut, upon the death of his father Swein, returned to Denmark to recruit his army, he required his younger brother Harold, who was then in possession of the kingdom of Denmark, to divide that kingdom with him. This Harold refused to do in the following terms, *Hæreditatem, quam mihi pater, te laudante, tradidit,*

tum tacitè perpendens: "Hoc tempore de hoc sileamus, inquit. Deus "enim rectiùs fortasse hoc solus ordinabit." Talibus, aliísque diversis sermonibus colloquentes, conviviísque regalibus convivantes, aliquanto rempore simul manserunt; et naves meliorantes exercitum restauravetunt. Pariter verò Sclavoniam adierunt, et matrem suam, quæ illic morabatur, reduxerunt.

Corpus Sueini regis à matronâ Anglicâ Daniam deportatur.

INTEREA quædam matronarum Anglicarum navim sibi fecit parari, et assumpto corpore SUEINI regis suâ in patriâ sepulti, illóque aromatibus condito, palliísque velato, mare adiit, et prospero cursu appulsa ad portus Danorum pervenit. Mittens ergò utrísque fratribus nuncium, mandat corpus adesse paternum, ut hoc maturent suscipere, tumulóque, quod sibi præparaverat, locare. Illi hilares adeunt, honorificè corpus suscipiunt, honorificentiúsque illud in monasterio in honore Sanctæ Trinitatis ab eodem rege constructo, in sepulcro, quod sibi paraverat, recondunt. Quo perfecto, jámque appropiante sole æstivo, accelerat CNUTO, redintegrato exercitu, redire, suásque injurias vindicare. At illi circà littora deambulanti subitò apparescunt carbasa non multa in medio mari. Nam THURKIL, memor quod SUEINO fecerat, et quòd tunc in terrâ Anglicâ absque licentiâ domini sui CNUTONIS inconsultè remanserat; cum novem navibus earúmque exercitu dominum suum requisivit, ut ei patefaceret, quia[g] non contrà ejus salutem, se recedente, remanserit. Qui veniens, non præsumpsit littora injussus subire, sed, ejectis anchoris, præmissísque nunciis, poscit se portus subintrare licere. Quod ubi concessum est, ascendit, misericordiámque domini sui quæsivit: et illi multo labore conciliatus, dat fidei sacramentum se illi deinceps fideliter servitutum. Cum quo mense plus integro moratur, et, ut ad Anglos redeat, hortatur; dicens eum leviter illos posse superare, quorum fines longè latéque notificarentur utrísque. Præsertìm

Thurkil, fortis Danorum dux, redit in Daniam.

Et fidelitatem Cnutoni jurat.

tradidit, guberno. Tu verò si hâc majorem amisisti, doleo; téque juvare paratus, regnum meum partiri non sustinebo. The historian adds these words, which contain an approbation of Harald's answer. *Hac Cnuto audiens, fratrémque rectè locutum tacitè perpendens*, &c.

By all this it appears, that king Swein was thought by the Danes of this age to have had a right to appoint his successor to the crown of Denmark, (which he had obtained by succession to his father) as well as to the crown of England, which he had acquired by conquest.

[g] Here again *quia* is used in the sense of *quod*.

ſertim aiebat, ſe triginta naves in Anglorum patriâ cum exercitu fidiſſimo reliquiſſe, qui venientes ſuſciperent honorificè, ducerentque per fines totius patriæ. Tunc rex valedicens matri et fratri, curvi littoris repetiit confinia, quâ jam adunaverat ducentarum navium ſpecioſa ſpectacula. Nam hîc erat tanta armorum copia, ut una earum navium, ſi omnibus reliquis defeciſſent, ſufficeret abundantiſſimè tela. Erant autem ibi ſcutorum tanta genera; ut crederes adeſſe omnium populorum agmina. Tantus quoque decor inerat puppibus, ut intuentium hebetatis luminibus, flammeæ magìs quàm [h] igneæ viderentur à longè aſpicientibus. Si quando enim ſol illis jubar immiſcuit radiorum, hinc reſplenduit fulgor armorum, illinc verò flamma dependentium clypeorum. Ardebat aurum in roſtris, fulgebat quoque argentum in variis navium figuris. Tantus ſiquidem claſſis erat apparatus, ut, ſi quam gentem ejus vellet expugnare Dominus, naves tantùm adverſarios terrerent, priuſquàm earum bellatores pugnam ullam capeſcerent. Nam quis contrariorum [i] leones auri fulgore terribiles, quis metallinos homines aureo fronte minaces, quis dracones obrizo ardentes, quis tauros radiantibus auro cornibus necem intentantes, in puppibus aſpiceret; et nullo metu regem tantæ copiæ formidaret? Prætereà, in tantâ expeditione nullus inveniebatur ſervus, nullus ex ſervo libertus, nullus ignobilis, nullus ſenili ætate debilis. Omnes enim erant nobiles, omnes plenæ ætatis robore valentes, omnes cuivis pugnæ ſatìs habiles, omnes tantæ velocitatis ut deſpectui eis eſſent equitantium pernicitates.[k]

Cnuto Angliam cum novo exercitu repetit.

Talis itaque milities faſtuoſis ſcanſis ratibus intrat pelagus, ſolutis à littore anchoris et funibus, talíque verrit impetu fluctus, ut alatis puppibus hanc ſupervolare undas putares, vix tanto mari rudentibus. Regalis autem navis reliquis erat honor et intentio, quia nulla aliis inerat optio, niſi tantùm ut regis ſui faſces ampliarent toto ſtudio. Expectabili itaque ordine, flatu ſecundo, Sandwich, (qui eſt omnium Anglorum portuum [l] famoſiſſimus) ſunt appulſi; ejectíſque anchoris, baculis exploratores

Et eam apud portum Sandwich ingreditur.

[h] Potiùs *ligneæ.*

[i] *Id eſt,* inimicorum, *ſive* hoſtium.

[k] From this account of the Daniſh army it appears, that there were at this time amongſt the Danes theſe four different claſſes of men; namely, 1ſt, *nobiles*, or gentlemen, who ſeem to have been the military part of the nation; 2ndly, *ignobiles*, or freemen, that were not *nobiles*, and who probably were the huſbandmen of the country; 3dly, *ſervi*, or ſlaves; and 4thly, *liberti ex ſervis*, or freedmen that had been ſlaves and had afterwards been made free.

[l] Hence it appears that Sandwich was at this time a very famous harbour.

ploratores se dedunt littori, et, citissimè finitimâ tellure exploratâ, ad nota recurrunt navigia, regíque edicunt adesse resistentium parata millia. Patrienses enim regi Daníque ferventissimè rebellare ardentes, quas sibi ad luctam sufficere credebant, adunaverant phalanges, conglobatíque in unum conspirati advolitabant, dextris nobilium morituri. Tunc THURKIL tempus intuens instare, quo fidelitatem suam domino suo valebat patefacere: "Ego, inquit, hoc certamen domino meo accu-
"rabo cum meis evincere, nec regem meum ad bellandum, utpote
"juvenem ferventissimum, huic misceri patiar pugnæ. Nam si victor
"fuero, regi ipsi triumphabo: si autem cecidero, sive tergum dedero,
"non Anglis gloriæ erit adeò; quia rex superer it, qui et prælium re-
"staurabit, et fortasse victor meas injurias vindicabit." Hoc dictum cùm sanæ mentis esse videretur omnibus, annuente rege ascendit cum suis è navibus, dirigens aciem contrà Anglorum impetum, qui tunc in loco SCORASTAN dicto fuerat congregatus. Quadraginta denique navium, et eò ampliùs, Danorum exercitus ascenderat: sed adhuc hic numerus medietati hostium minimè par fuerat. At dux, eorum magìs fisus virtute quàm multitudine, omnes rumpens morulas classica insonuit, gradiens in primâ fronte, et mente semper Dei auxilium exorans, quæque obvia metebat mucronis acie. Angli verò imprimis fortiores dirâ cæde Danos obtruncârunt, intantum ut, penè victoriam adepti, adversarios fugere cogerent; si non ducis alloquio retenti, memoresque virtutis, fugam erubescerent. Namque memorabat ille abesse diffugium, in terrâ scilicet hostes, et à littore longè remotas puppes: ideóque, si non vincerent, quòd pariter occumbere deberent. Unde illi animosiores effecti, in prælio illicò manifestant, quàm periculosa sit desperatio. Enimverò de refugio fugæ desperati, tantâ in hostes debacchati sunt insaniâ, ut non tantùm mortuorum aspiceres corpora cadentia, verumetiàm vivorum ictus declinantia. Tandem ergò potiti optatâ victoriâ, suorum, quæ reperire poterant, tumulabant membra. Ab adversariis quoque diripientes spolia, revertuntur; et ad jacentem regionem invadendam accinguntur. Hoc primum decus Turkil armis CNUTONIS auxit,[m] et magnam partem patriæ pro hoc postmodùm promeruit.

Thurkil cum parte exercitûs Danorum contrà Anglos pugnat;

Et, post diù anceps prælium, victoriam obtinet.

At

[m] The word *auxit* seems here to be used in the sense of *addidit*; and perhaps the whole expression of the author is in allusion to the following lines of Lucan's Pharsalia, Lib. III. lines 761, 762. *At Brutus, in æquore victor, Primus Cæsareis pelagi decus addidit armis.*

At tunc ad dominum regreſſus, ei et ſociis ſuos indicat eventus, fácitque eos ſpoliis, quæ attulit, ardentiores ad pugnam, manubiis lætus, et palmæ ſucceſſibus. Quo exemplo ERIC quidam dux, et princeps provinciæ, quæ Nordwega dicitur, incitatus (nam et is CNUTONIS regis intererat officialibus, jamdiù illi ſubditus, vir armis ſtrenuus, omni honorificentiâ dignus) acceptâ licentiâ cum ſuis eſt egreſſus; et partem terræ aggreſſus ſpolia diripuit, vicos invadendo deſtruxit, occurrentes ſibi hoſtes domuit, et multos ex eis captivavit, tandémque victorioſus ad ſocios cum ſpoliis redit. Quo reverſo, rex parcens patriæ, prohibuit ultrà eam prædari: ſed juſſit civitatem Londoniam, [n] metropolim terræ, obſidione teneri, quia in eâ confugerant optimates, et pars exercitûs, et maximum (ut eſt populoſiſſima) vulgus. Et, quia hoc pedites equitéſque nequibant explere (undique enim mari quodammodo non pari [o] vallantur flumine) turritis puppibus eam coanguſtare fecit, et firmiſſimâ vallatione tenuit. Deus itaque, qui omnes homines vult magìs ſalvare quàm perdere, intuens has gentes tanto periculo laborare; eum principem, [p] qui interiùs civitati præſidebat, educens è corpore, junxit quieti ſempiternæ: ut eo defuncto, liber CNUTONI ingreſſus pateret, et utríque populo, confectâ pace, pauliſper reſpirare copia eſſet. Quod et factum eſt. Nam cives, ſuo honorificè ſepulto principe, initóque ſalubri conſilio, elegerunt internuncios mittere, et regi placita mandare: videlicet, ut dexteram illis daret, et civitatem pacificè ſuſciperet. Hoc ubi CNUTONI ſatìs videretur probabile facto, fœdus firmatum eſt, ingreſſui ejus die conſtituto. At pars interioris exercitûs ſprevêre ſtatutum civium: latentérque nocte illâ, cujus ſequenti die ingreſſus eſt rex, cum filio defuncti principis egreſſi ſunt civitatem: ut experirentur rurſùs, collectâ innumerabili manu, ſi fortè à finibus ſuis valerent arcere ingreſſum regem. Nec quieverunt, quoúſque omnes penè Anglos (ſibi magìs adhuc acclives quam CNUTONI) conglobarent. CNUTO autem civitatem intravit, et in ſolio regni reſedit: ſed tamen Londonienſes non ſibi adhuc eſſe fideles credidit.

Eric, alius ex Cnutonis ducibus, Angliam vaſtat.

Cnuto obſidet Londoniam.

Et eandem in deditionem accipit.

[n] Here we ſee that London was, even at this time, that is, in the year 1014, conſidered as the capital city of all England. But about 150 years before this time it ſeems to have been inferiour to Wincheſter.

[o] Quære, whether inſtead of *non pari* we ſhould not read *non impari*; and then the ſenſe will be, "that the people of London were ſurrounded by a large river that might almoſt be conſidered as a ſea.

[p] Scilicet, regem Ethelredum.

didit. Unde et navium ſtipendia illâ æſtate reſtaurare fecit: ne, ſi fortè exercitus adverſariorum civitatem oppugnaret, ipſe ab interioribus hoſtibus exterioribus traditus interiret. Quod cavens rurſùs ad tempus, ut prudens, ceſſit; et, aſcenſis ratibus, ac civitate relictâ, inſulam SCEPEI dictam cum ſuis petiit, ibíque hiemans pacificè eventum rei expectavit.

Sed mox eam relinquit et in inſulâ Scepei hyemat.

ÆDMUND itáque (ſic enim juvenis, qui exercitum collegerat, dictus eſt) recedente CNUTONE, cum populo non mediocri, ſed innumerabili, veniens, civitatem pompaticè ingreditur, et mox eum univerſi ſequuntur, obtemperant et favent, et virum fortem fieri ſuadent, dicentes quòd eum magis quam Danorum principem eligerent. Erat quóque ejus partis comes primus EDRICUS, conſiliis pollens, ſed tamen doloſitate verſipellis, quem ſibi ad aurem poſuerat ÆDMUND in omnibus negotiis. Fertur autem ipſe juvenis illo tempore domino CNUTONI recedenti ſingularem pugnam obtuliſſe; ſed rex ſapiens dicitur ſic reſpondiſſe: "Ego tempus luctæ præſtolabor congruè, dum non caſum ſuſpectus,[1] certus fuero victoriæ. Tu verò, qui aves duellum in hieme, cave ne deficias etiàm aptiori tempore." Sic rex, ut dictum eſt, in Scepei, quod eſt dictum Latinè *inſula ovium*, ut poterat, hiemavit. ÆDMUNDUS autem in Londoniâ, dimiſſo exercitu, ultimam hiemem duxit.

Ædmund, defuncti regis filius, intrat Londoniam.

Et ibi hyemat.

Recedenti verò brumali tempore, totâ quadrageſimâ rurſùs militiam adunavit, et mox poſt paſchales dies regem et Danos à finibus Anglorum deturbare paravit: et veniens cum innumerabili multitudine, eos ſubitò cogitavit invadere. At ſermo non latuit Danos, qui, puppibus poſthabitis, petunt arida, aptantes ſe excipere quæque obvia. Erat námque eis vexillum miri portenti, quod licet credam poſſe eſſe incredibile; lectori tamen, quia verum eſt, veræ inſeram lectioni. Enimverò, dum eſſet ſimpliciſſimo candidiſſimóque intextum ſerico, nullius figuræ in eo inſerta eſſet imago; tempore belli ſemper in eo videbatur corvus, ac ſi intextus, in victoriâ ſuorum quaſi hians ore, excutiénſque alas, inſtabilíſque pedibus, et ſuis devictis quietiſſimus, totóque corpore demiſſus. Quod requirens THURKIL auctor primi prælii; "Pugnemus, inquit, " viriliter, ſocii: nihil enim nobis erit periculi. Hoc denique teſtatur " in-

Mox, ineunte vere, parat Danos invadere.

Vexillum Danorum mirabile.

[1] *Suſpectus* is here uſed in the ſenſe of *ſuſpicatus*.

"instabilis corvus præsagientis vexilli." Quo audito, equi [r] audentiores effecti, ferratisque induviis indurati, occurrunt Anglis in ÆSCENEDUNO loco, quod nos Latini [s] *montem fraxinorum* possimus interpretari. Ibique nondum congressione factâ, EDRIC, quem primum comitum [t] EDMUNDI diximus, hæc suis intulit affamina: "Fugiamus, ô socii, vitámque subtrahamus morti imminenti: alioquin occumbemus ilicò. Danorum enim duritiam nosco." Et velato vexillo, quod dextrâ gestabat, dans tergum hostibus, magnam partem militum bello fraudabat. Et, ut quidam aiunt, hoc non causâ egit timoris, sed dolositatis, ut posteà claruit: quia hoc eum clàm Danis promisisse, nescio quo pro beneficio, assertio multorum dicit. Tunc EDMUNDUS hoc intuitus, et undique angustiatus; "O Angli, inquit, aut hodiè bellabitis, aut ómnes unà in deditionem ibitis. Pugnate igitur pro libertate et patriâ, viri cordati. Hi quippe, qui fugiunt, utpote formidolosi, si non abirent, essent impedimento exercitui." Et hæc dicens, in medios ingreditur hostes, circumquáque cædens Danos; nobiles hoc exemplo suos reddens ad bellandum proniores. Commissum est ergò prælium pedestre gravissimum, dum Dani, licèt pauciores, nescii cedere, magis eligerent internecionem quàm fugæ periculum. Resistunt itaque viriliter, et prælium horâ diei nonâ cœptum ducunt in vesperam, se gladiis haud sponte opponentes: sed gladiorum aculeis valuntarius [u] alios urgentes. Cadunt utriusque partis armati, plus tamen ejus quæ erat numero eminentiori. At ubi jam advesperante noctis adessent tempora, vincit amor victoriæ tenebrarum

Magnum prælium apud Æscenedunum. A.D. 1016.

Perfidia Edrici, comitis Anglorum.

Fortitudo Edmundi.

D

[r] Quære, whether instead of *equi* we should not read *Dani*. I can make no sense of the passage with the word *equi*.

[s] Forsan legendum est *Latinè*. This place is in Essex, and is now called *Ashdown*.

[t] The expression *primum comitum Edmundi* means "the first or highest of king Edmund's generals, or commanders of his forces." The Danes of this age called their generals *Eorls*, from which comes our English title of an *Earl*. In the chronicle of Ethelwerdus, (a noble Anglo-Saxon historian, who lived about the time of king Edgar, or about the year of Christ 970,) Lib. IV. Cap. 3, intitled *De principatu Ælfredi regis*, after mentioning the Danes, who in those days had made many incursions into England, there are these words, *Suprà memoratis bellis, quorum undecim consules ruunt, quos illi EORLAS solent nominare; et rex eorum unus*; the meaning of which is, "that in the battels before-mentioned the Danes had had eleven of their consuls, or commanders of their armies, whom they call EORLS, killed; and amongst them their king." See the *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 844, lines 22 and 23. The Latin words *Consules* and *Comites* are often used by the writers of this age to denote the same office. See Spelman's Glossary, *voce* "*Eorla*."

[u] Forte *valentiùs*.

tenebrarum incommoda, quia neque horrebant tenebras, instante curâ majore, neque etiàm nocti dignabantur cedere, in hostem tantum dum ardebant prævalere. Et nisi luna clarescens ipsum monstraret hostem, cæderet quisque suum commilitonem, ut inimicum resistentem; nullúsque utriusque partis superviveret, nisi quem fuga salvâsset. Intereà, cœperunt Angli fatigari, paulatímque fugam meditari, dum intuentur Danos in hoc conspiratos, quatinùs aut vincerent aut usque ad unum omnes unà perirent. Videbantur enim iis tunc numerosiores, et in tam diutinâ conflictatione fortiores. Fortiores namque eos æstimabant verâ suspicione, quia jam stimulis ferri commoniti, casúque suorum turbati, magis videbantur sævire quàm bellare. Unde Angli terga vertentes, hac et illac fugitant absque morâ, semper ante adversarium cadentes: addúntque decus CNUTONIS et victoriæ, decorato ÆDMUNDO fugiente principe. Qui licèt devictus, valentioribus cedens, recederet; tamen adhuc non penitùs desperans, tutis se commisit locis; ut demùm fortiori multitudine collectâ, iterùm experiretur, si quid fortè sibi boni succedere posset. At Dani fugientes non longè sunt persecuti, quia incogniti [x] locorum noctis obscuritate sunt retenti. Angli verò loci non inscii, citò à manibus hostium sunt elapsi: eos relinquentes ad spolia, seséque dantes ad inhonesta refugia.

Dani victoriâ potiuntur.

Tunc victores suâ læti victoriâ, transactâ jam nocte plus mediâ, pernoctant quod supererat inter mortuorum cadavera. Non autem in nocte spolia dirimunt, sed interim suos requirunt, seséque adunantes ut securiores esse possent, simul omnes uno in loco perstiterunt. Illucescente verò jam mane, suorum agnoscunt multos in prælio cecidisse, quorum cadavera, ut poterant, tumulavêre. Ab adversariorum quoque membris abradunt spolia, bestiis et avibus eorum relinquentes morticina: et ad naves redeuntes, Londoniámque repetentes, saniora sibi quærunt consilia. Similiter et Angli suo cum principe sibi consulunt, et super hoc negotii Dei auxilium quærunt: ut qui totiens armis sunt devicti, saltèm aliquo consilio valerent remanere suffulti. Jam etiàm EDRIC, qui anteà à bello recessit profugus, ad dominum suum, et ad socios rediit; et susceptus est, quia vir boni consilii fuit. Is surgens in medio agmine, omnes tali allocutus est sermone. "Licèt omnibus penè vobis sim invisus, quia bello cessi: tamen si vestris sederet animis "dictis

Edric post prælium redit ad Edmundum, et ei suadet ut cum Cnutone regnum dividat.

[x] The expression *incogniti locorum* is here used in the sense of *ignari locorum*.

" dictis parere mei consilii, victoriosiores effici meo consultu possetis, " quàm si totius terræ his viris resisteretis armis. Satìs enim Danorum " victorias expertus, frustrà nos reniti omninò scio; et ob hoc me sub- " traxi à prælio, ut vobis postmodùm prodessem consilio, non, ut vos " æstimatis, perculsus timore aliquo. Dum enim scirem necesse esse " me fugere, quid satius fuit, aut vulneratum, aut sanum recedere? Est " proculdubiò certa victoria interdum ab fortiori hoste elabi fugâ, cui " nequit resisti per arma. Omnes enim, qui adsumus, proh dolor! fugi- " mus. Sed ne hic casus vobis eveniat ulteriùs, dextras Danis demus; " ut, ipsos fœderatos habentes, fugam periculúmque bellorum sic sal- " tèm declinemus. Attamen hoc aliter nequit fieri, nisi divisione reg- " ni nostri. Et melius esse judico, ut medietatem regni rex noster cum " pace habeat, quam totum pariter invitus amittat." Placuit sermo optimatibus; et, licet invitus, hoc tamen annuit ÆDMUNDUS: electísque internunciis, præmittit ad naves CNUTONIS, qui dextras Danis dent et accipiant ab eis. Quos ubi primùm Dani venientes intuentur, exploratores eos esse suspicantur: sed postquàm propiùs eos vident accedere, accersitis eis quidnam quæsierunt orsi sunt rogitare. Discentes verò ab eis pro conficiendâ pace eos venire, lætantes eos sistunt conspectibus regis. Erant enim obnixé optantes prospera pacis, jam lassi bellorum, et continuatione navigationis. Tunc missi, rege pacificè salutato: " Miserunt nos, inquiunt, ad te, ô rex, princeps noster, et procerum " nostrorum multitudo, ut consentias eis de pace; et datis nobis dex- " tris et obsidibus, à nobis itidem recipias cum regni medietate. Do- " minare in Boreali parte cum quiete: è regione autem sit noster ÆD- " MUNDUS in finibus Meridianæ plagæ. Hujus rei gratiâ ad te sumus " legati: tu verò benè faciens, placito consenti. Alioquin, licèt simus " semel et iterùm à vobis bello deturbati, adhuc tamen majori violentiâ " roborabimur vobiscum bellaturi." Quibus rex non temerè respondit, sed, ipsis amotis, consilium à suis quæsivit, et sic eis postmodùm pacificè consensit. Audierat enim à suis, quòd multi suorum defecissent: nec erat qui locum morientium suppleret, cùm longè remoti à propriâ patriâ essent: Anglorum quoque quanquàm perplurimi interficerentur, numerus eorum non adeò minuebatur, quia in propriis positis semper, qui morientis locum restauraret, inveniebatur. Revocatis itaque internunciis; "Vestris, inquit rex, ô juvenes, legationibus consentio, et, " uti dixistis, media mihi liberè erit regio. Sed tamen vectigal etiàm

Legati mittuntur ad Cnutonem qui hoc ei proponunt.

Cnuto accipit hoc propositum.

" suæ partis vester rex, quicúnque ille fuerit, exercitui dabit meo.
" Hoc enim illi debeo, ideóque aliter pactum non laudo."

Pax inter reges et divisio regni.

Fœdere itaque firmato, obsides dantur ab utrâque parte; et sic exercitus solutus bellorum importunitate, optatâ lætus potitur pace. Verumtamen Deus, memor suæ antiquæ doctrinæ, scilicet, omne regnum in seipsum divisum diù permanere non posse, non longo post tempore ÆDMUNDUM eduxit è corpore, Anglorum misertus imperii; ne fortè, si uterque superviveret, neuter regnaret securè, et regnum diatim adnihilaretur renovatâ contentione. Defunctus autem regius juvenis regio tumulatur sepulcro, defletus diù multúmque à patriensi populo, cui Deus omne gaudium tribuat in cælesti solio. Cujus rei gratiâ cum Deus jusserit obire, mox deinde patuit, quia universa regio illicò CNUTONEM sibi regem elegit: et cui ante omni conamine restitit, tunc sponte suâ se illi et omnia sua subdidit.

Mors Edmundi.

Cnuto fit rex totius Angliæ. A.D. 1017.

Ergò miseratione divinâ monarchiam regni CNUTO, vir strenuus, suscepit, et nobiliter duces et comites suos disposuit, et fine tenùs deinceps regnum Anglorum pacificè tenuit. Erat autem adhuc primævâ ætate florens, sed tamen indicibili prudentiâ pollens. Unde contigit ut eos, quos anteà ÆDMUNDO sine dolo fideliter militare audierat, diligeret; et eos, quos subdolos scierat, atque tempore belli in utrâque parte fraudulentâ tergiversatione pendentes, odio haberet: adeò ut multos principum quâdam die occidere pro hujusmodi dolo juberet. Inter quos EDRICUS qui à bello fugerat, cùm præmia pro hoc ipso à rege postularet, ac si hoc pro ejus victoriâ fecisset, rex subtristris, " Qui " dominum, inquit, tuum decepisti fraude, mihíne poteris fidelis esse? " Rependam tibi condigna præmia, sed ea ne deinceps tibi placeat " fallacia." Et ERICO duce suo vocato, " Huic, ait, quod debemus " persolvito; videlicet, ne nos decipiat, occidito." Ille verò nil moratus, bipennem extulit, eíque ictu valido caput amputavit; ut hoc exemplo discant milites regibus suis esse fideles, non infideles.

Multos Anglorum principes, et, inter eos, Edricum, perfidum Edmundi comitem, occidi jubet.

Conjugium Cnutonis cum Emmâ Anglorum reginâ.

Omnibus itaque ritè dispositis, nil regi defuit absque nobilissimâ conjuge, quam ubíque sibi jussit inquirere: ut juventam hanc legaliter adquireret, et adeptam imperii sui consortem faceret. Igitur per regna et per urbes discurritur, et regalis sponsa perquiritur: sed longè latéque

quæsita,

quæsita, vix tandem digna reperitur. Inventa est verò hæc imperialis sponsa in confinitate Galliæ, et præcipuè in Normandensi regione, stirpe et opibus ditissima: sed tamen pulcritudinis et prudentiæ delectamine omnium ejus temporum mulierum præstantissima, utpote regina famosa. Propter hujuscemodi insignia multùm appetebatur à rege, et pro hoc præcipuè quòd erat oriunda ex victrici gente, quæ sibi partem Galliæ vendicaverat, invitis Francigenis, et eorum principe. Quid multis immoror? mittuntur proci ad dominam, mittuntur dona regalia, mittuntur etiam verba precatoria. Sed abnegat illa se unquam CNUTONIS sponsam fieri, nisi illi jusiurando affirmaret, quòd nunquam alterius conjugis filium post se regnare faceret, nisi ejus: [y] si fortè illi Deus ex eo filium dedisset. Dicebatur enim ab aliâ quâdam rex filios habuisse. Undè illa suis prudenter providens, scivit ipsis sagaci animo profutura præordinare. Placuit ergo regi verbum virginis, et jusiurando facto virgini placuit voluntas regis. Et sic, (Deo gratias) domina EMMA, mulierum nobilissima, fit conjux regis fortissimi CNUTONIS. Lætatur Gallia, lætatur etiam Anglorum patria, dum tantam decus transuehitur per æquora. Lætatur, inquam, Gallia, tantam tanto regi dignam se enixam. Anglorum verò lætatur patria, talem se recepisse in oppida. O res millenis millies parata votis, vixque tandem effecta auspicante gratiâ salvatoris! Hoc erat, quod utrobique vehementer jamdudum desideraverat exercitus, scilicet, ut tanta tanto digna etiàm digno maritali convinculata jugo, bellicos sedaret motus. Quid enim majus ac desiderabilius esse posset in votis, quàm damnosos ingratósque labores belli placidâ finiri tranquillitate pacis, cùm pares paribus vi corporis, virtutéque animi concurrerent? cúmque nunc hi, nunc verò illi, alternante casu belli, non sine magno detrimento sui, vincerent?

Laudes Emmæ.

Verùm, ubi divinâ dispensatione, multísque alterutrum diù habitis internunciis, maritali se tandem copulâ placuit confœderari: difficile creditu est quanta repentè in utrísque alteri de altero exorta sit magnitudo gaudii. Gaudebat enim rex nobilissimis insperatò se usum thalamis: hæc autem hinc præstantissimâ virtute conjugis, hinc etiàm spe gratu-

[y] It appears by these words "*quod nunquam alterius conjugis filium post se regnare faceret, nisi ejus*" that king Cnute was thought to have a right to appoint which of his sons he should think fit, to be his successor to the crown of England; agreeably to what has been before observed in notes *a* and *f* in pages 9, 11, and 12.

gratulabundâ accendebatur futuræ prolis. Inæstimabiliter quoque utérque gaudebat exercitus, opes suas communibus sperans augendas viribus, ut rei postmodùm probavit exitus. Quamplures enim populi domiti bello, gentésque complures longè distantes vitâ, moribus, etiàm et linguâ, æternaliter regi regiæque posteritati annua compulsi sunt solvere vectigalia. Sed quid mirum, si tantus talísque rex repugnantes sibi dimicando devinceret? cùm quamplurimos partìm liberali largitione, partìm patrocinandi gratiâ imperio suo ultraneos submitteret? Profectò non mirum. Quoniam illic divina aspirat gratia, ubi justitiæ, probitatísque æqua libratur trutina.

Filius inde nascitur, Hardecnuto nomine.

Sed quid multis immoror? Gaudium magnum in conjugatione tantorum dixi fuisse: multò autem ampliùs dico, susceptâ masculæ prolis opportunitate. Non multò post siquidem, salvatoris annuente gratiâ, filium peperit nobilissima regina. Cujus cùm utérque parens intimâ, atque, ut ita dicam, singulari gauderet dilectione: alios verò liberales filios educandos direxerunt Normanniæ, istum hîc retinentes, sibi utpote futurum heredem regni. Itaque dilectissimum pignus, uti mos est catholicis, sacro abluunt fonte baptismatis, imponúntque ei vocabulum quodammodo obtinens indicium futuræ virtutis. Vocatur siquidem HARDECNUTO, nomen patris referens cum additamento. Cujus si etymologia Teutonicè perquiratur, profectò quis quantúsve fuerit dinoscitur. HARDE quidem, velox vel fortis, quod utrúmque, multóque majus his in eo uno cognosci potuit, quippe qui omnes sui temporis viros omnium virtutum præstantiâ anteivit. Omnes igitur ejus virtutes enumerare nequeo. Quapropter, ne longiùs à proposito exorbitem, suprà repetam, historiæque sequar ordinem.

Cnuto filium suum Hardecnutonem regni hæredem constituit.

Adulto denique puero, de quo sermo agitur, pater adhuc in omni felicitate degens, omne regnum suæ ditioni subjectum sacramento devinxit:[a] cúmque postmodùm ad obtinendam monarchiam regni Danorum

[a] The meaning of this expression, "*Adulto puero omne regnum sacramento devinxit,*" seems to be, "that king Cnute, intending that his son Harde Cnute should succeed him in all his dominions, caused all his great men both of Denmark and England, and of his other kingdoms, to take an oath of allegiance to Harde Cnute, or an oath by which they bound themselves to obey Harde Cnute, as their lawful king and lord, after the death of Cnute." This was a precaution often taken in those early times by

rum cum delectis militibus misit. Cùm autem rex CNUTO solum imprimis Danorum [a] obtineret regimen, quinque regnorum, scilicet, Danomarchiæ, Angliæ, Britanniæ, [b] Scotiæ, Nordwegæ, vendicato dominio, imperator extitit. [c] Amicus verò et familiaris factus est viris ecclesiasticis, adeò ut episcopis videretur coëpiscopus pro exhibitione totius religionis, monachis quoque non secularis, sed cœnobialis pro continentiâ humillimæ devotionis. Defensabat sedulò pupillos et viduas, sustentabat orphanos et advenas: leges oppressit iniquas, earúmque sequaces: justitiam et æquitatem extulit, et coluit: ecclesias extruxit et honoravit: sacerdotes et clerum dignitatibus ampliavit: pacem et unanimitatem omnibus suis indixit: ut de eo illud Maronicum dici posset, nisi extrà catholicam fidem hoc fuisset.

Potentia Cnutonis.

Pietas ejus.

Nocte pluit totâ, redeunt spectacula mane.
Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet. [d]

Deo omnibus modis placita studuit, ideóque quicquid boni agendum esse didicerat, non negligentiæ, sed operationi committebat. Quæ enim

Et liberalitas.

by the kings of several kingdoms in Europe, to secure the succession of the crown to their children. It was taken by king Henry I. of England, to secure the succession to his daughter Matilda, and by king Henry II. of England, to secure the succession to his eldest son Henry, who was even crowned king of England in his father's lifetime, and thenceforwards called *King Henry the Younger*; and it was taken by almost every king of France of the third race from Hugh Capet (the first of that race) to Lewis the 9th, commonly called *Saint Lewis*, who was contemporary with our king Henry III.

[a] It seems by this passage, that Harold, king of Denmark, the brother of Cnute, must have died without children in the course of Cnute's reign, and that then Cnute became sole monarch of Denmark as well as of England.

[b] By the word *Britanniæ* the author probably meant *Wales*.

[c] By this passage it appears, that Cnute was at this time king, not only of Denmark, Norway, and England (as he is generally allowed to have been,) but likewise of *Britannia*, or Wales, and Scotland. It is probable that he was not the immediate sovereign of these two last countries, but that he had obliged the princes of Wales and the king of Scotland to become his feudal dependants, and to do him homage for those countries, as their successors did to William the Conquerour, and to several of the following kings of England.

[d] We may perceive by this quotation, that our author had read Virgil, notwithstanding the age in which he lived is justly considered as one of the darkest and most ignorant ages since the destruction of the Roman empire.

enim ecclesia adhuc ejus non lætatur bonis? Sed, ut sileam, quæ in suo regno positis egerit, hujus animam quotidiè benedicit Italia, bonis perfrui deposcit Gallia, et magìs omnibus hanc in cœlo cum Christo gaudere orat Flandria. Has enim provincias transiens Romam petiit, et, ut multis liquet, tanta hoc in itinere misericordiarum opera exhibuit; ut, si quis hæc describere omnia voluerit, licet innumerabilia exhis fecerit volumina, tandem deficiens fatebitur se vix etiàm cucurrisse per minima. Nam quid singulis in locis fecerit, sileo. Verumtamen, ut credibiliora fiant quæ assero, quid in unâ urbe S. Audomari fecerit dicam pro exemplo, quod etiàm oculis meis me vidisse recordor.

Iter facit ad Romam. A.D. 1031.

Pietas ejus eximia, et liberalitas, in urbe Sancti Audomari in Flandriâ.

Ingressus monasteria et susceptus cum magnâ honorificentiâ, humiliter incedebat, et mirâ cum reverentiâ in terram defixus lumina, et ubertim fundens lacrymarum, ut ita dicam, flumina, totâ intentione sanctorum expetiit suffragia. At ubi ad hoc perventum est, ut oblationibus regiis sacra vellet cumulare altaria: ohe! quotiens primùm pavimento lacrymosa infixit oscula! quotiens illud pectus venerabile propria puniebant verbera! qualia dabat suspiria! quotiens precabatur, ut sibi non indignaretur superna clementia! Tandem à suis ei imminenti[e] sua porrigebatur oblatio non mediocris, nec quæ aliquo clauderetur in marsupio, sed ingens allata est palleali extento in gremio, quam ipse rex suis manibus altari imposuit, largitor hilaris monitu apostolico. Altari autem cur dico? cùm vidisse me meminerim eum omnes angulos monasteriorum circuisse, nullúmque altare, licèt exiguum, præteriisse, cui non munera daret, et dulcia oscula infigeret? Deinde adsunt pauperes; munerantur etiàm ipsi protinùs singulatìm omnes. Hæc et alia his mirificentiora à domino CNUTONE gesta vidi ego, vester vernula, sancte Audomare, sancte Bertine, cùm fierent vestris in cænobiis. Pro quibus bonis tantum regem impetrate vivere in cælestibus habitaculis; ut vestri famuli, canonici et monachi, sint orantes orationibus cotidianis.

Discant igitur reges et principes hujus domini imitari actiones, qui, ut valeret scandere sublimia, sese humiliavit in infima; et, ut posset adipisci cælestia, hilariter largitus est terrestria. Non enim fuerat oblitus

[e] Immerenti.

ditus propriæ conditionis, quòd moriturus erat in mundo, et relicturus quæque possunt concupisci in seculo. Et ob has [c] divitias, quas secum nequivit moriens auferre, vivens Deo et sanctis ejus locis partitus est honorificè : ne fortè, si avaritiæ studeret, omnibus invisus viveret, nullúsque esset qui ejus animæ aliquid boni oraret, et alius ei succederet, qui in ejus regno largiùs viveret, et de ejus parcitate indignaretur. Verùm hoc ne fieret satìs cavit, et suis posteris bonum exemplum largitatis, totiúsque bonitatis, reliquit: quod et ipsi adhuc, (Deo gratias,) servant, optimè pollentes in regni moderamine, et in virtutum decore.

Tantus itáque rex postquam Româ est reversus, et in propria aliquantisper demoratus, omnibus benè dispositis transiit ad dominum, coronandus in parte dexterâ ab ipso domino auctore omnium. Turbabantur itáque ejus obitu omnes qui audierant, maximéque ejus solio deservierant: quorum maxima pars cuperet ei commori, si hoc [d] displiceret divinæ dispositioni. Lugebat domina EMMA, ejus regina, cum parentibus; ululabant pauperes cum potentibus: flebant episcopi et clerici cum monachis et sanctimonialibus. Sed quantum lugebatur in mundo, tantum lætetur in cœli palatio! Isti flebant hoc quod perdiderant: illi gratulentur de ejus animâ, quam suscipiant! Isti sepelierunt corpus exanime; illi spiritum deducant in sublime, lætandum in æternâ requie! Pro ejus transitu soli flebant terreni; sed pro ejus spiritu interveniant cum terrenis etiam cives cælici! Ut ejus gloria crescat cotidiè, oremus Deum intentè! Et, quia hoc promeruit suâ bonitate, cotidiè clamemus, ANIMA CNUTONIS REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN!

Mors Cnutonis brevi post reditum à Româ. A.D. 1035.

Mortuo CNUTONE rege, honorificéque sepulto in monasterio in honore sancti Petri constructo, domina regina EMMA sola remansit in regno, dolens de domini sui morte amarâ, et sollicita pro filiorum absentiâ. Namque unus eorum, HARDECNUTO scilicet, quem pater regem Danorum constituit, suo morabatur in regno: duo verò alii in Normanniæ finibus ad nutriendum traditi, cum propinquo suo degebant

Hardecnutone extràAngliam absente, Haraldus ab optimatibus Angliæ in regem eligitur.

[c] Forte legendum foret, *ob hoc.*

[d] Forte legendum esset, *non displiceret.*

bant ROBERTO. Unde factum est, ut quidam Anglorum, pietatem[e] regis sui, jam defuncti, obliti, mallent regnum suum dedecorare, quàm ornare; relinquentes nobiles filios insignis reginæ EMMÆ, et eligentes sibi in regem quendam HARALDUM, qui esse filium falsâ æstimatione asseritur cujusdam ejusdem regis CNUTONIS concubinæ[f]. Plurimorum verò

[e] *Pietatem* is here used instead of *pietatis*.

[f] Here we see, that upon the death of king Cnute, his son Harald, by either a wife, or a concubine, that he had lived with before he married queen Emma, succeeded to the crown of England. His other son, Harde Cnute, whom he had afterwards by queen Emma, was at that time out of England, having been sent some time before, (as we have seen in page 24) into Denmark, to take possession of that kingdom, and govern it for his father Cnute. His father Cnute, says this encomiast, had, as soon as Harde Cnute was grown to man's estate, declared him the heir and successor of all his dominions: yet, on the death of Cnute, the English passed him by, and chose his elder brother king, in preference to him. But Ælnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to crown Harald, because Cnute had declared that the crown of England should descend to one of the sons of Emma: which declaration, the archbishop thought, conveyed the right to them. The passage is as follows: *Unde [scilicet, per absentiam filiorum Emmæ,] factum est ut quidam Anglorum, pietatem, [id est, pietatis,] regis sui, jam defuncti, obliti, mallent regnum suum dedecorare quàm ornare, relinquentes nobiles filios insignis reginæ Emmæ, et eligentes sibi in regem quendam Haraldum, qui esse filium falsâ æstimatione asseritur cujusdam ejusdem regis Cnutonis concubinæ. —— Qui, electus metuénsque futuri, advocat mox Archiepiscopum Ælnotum, virum omni virtute et sapientiâ præditum, imperátque et orat se benedici in regem, sibique tradi, cum coronâ, regale, suæ custodiæ commissum, sceptrum, et se duci ab eodem, (quia ab alio non fas fuerat,) in sublime regni solium. Abnegat Archiepiscopus, sub jurejurando asserens se neminem alium in regem, filiis Emmæ viventibus, laudare vel benedicere. "Hos meæ fidei Cnuto commisit: His fidem debeo; et His fidelitatem servabo. Sceptrum et coronam sacro altari impono, et hoc tibi nec denego, nec trado; sed Episcopis omnibus, ne quis eorum ea tollat, tibive tradat, téque benedicat, Apostolicâ auctoritate interdico. Tu verò, si præsumis, quod Deo mensáeque ejus commisi, invadito."* From this passage the following inferences may be drawn; to wit,

1st, That the Archbishop of Canterbury was thought at this time to have the sole right of crowning the king. This is plain from the words, *Quia ab alio non fas fuerat*, and from the Archbishop's prohibition to any other bishop to do it.

2dly, That the Archbishop of Canterbury considered himself as the natural, or ordinary, deputy, or legate, of the Pope in England, and as being invested, under the Pope, and in the capacity of his representative, with the authority of the see of Rome, which was usually stiled, *Apostolical authority*. This claim of the Archbishop appears from these words, *Apostolicâ auctoritate interdico*.

3dly, That, upon the death of a king of England, the crown did not in this age immediately devolve upon his successor without any publick act to make or declare him king, as it does at this day, when the law is, "that the breath is no "sooner

verò assertio eundem HARALDUM perhibet furtìm fuisse subreptum parturienti ancillæ, impositum autem cameræ languentis concubinæ. Quod veraciùs credi potest. Qui electus, metuénsque futuri, advocat mox Archiepiscopum ÆLNOTUM, virum omni virtute et sapientiâ præditum: imperátque et orat se benedici in regem, sibíque tradi, cum coronâ, regale, suæ custodiæ commissum, sceptrum, et se duci ab eodem, (quia ab alio non fas fuerat,) in sublime regni solium. Abnegat archiepiscopus, sub jurejurando asserens, se neminem alium in regem (filiis EMMÆ reginæ viventibus) laudare vel benedicere. "Hos meæ "fidei CNUTO commisit, his fidem debeo, et his fidelitatem servabo.

HARALDUS.

Ælnotus archiepiscopus recusat eum coronare.

E 2 "Sceptrum

"sooner out of the body of the reigning king, but his successor becomes *ipso facto* "king in his stead, and is invested with all the regal prerogatives, as much as after "his coronation." But two publick acts seem to have been necessary to make a new king, to wit, the election, or acknowledgement, of him for king, made by the great men *(optimates,)* of the kingdom, and the coronation of him by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

4thly, It appears that the ceremony of the coronation, (which it was the right and the duty of the Archbishop to perform,) consisted of three things, namely, 1st, of blessing the king, or performing a religious office over him; 2dly, of delivering to him the crown and the scepter, (the ensigns of royalty,) or of placing the crown on his head, and delivering the scepter into his hand; and, 3dly, of leading him by the hand into the throne, or royal seat.

5thly, That the custody of the crown and scepter, and the ensigns of royalty in general, belonged in this age to the Archbishop of Canterbury, just as the custody of them does now in Poland belong to the primate of that state. The custody of them in England belongs at this day to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

6thly, It appears, That the appointment of a successor to the crown of England by the reigning king gave the person so appointed a legal right to the crown, or laid the great men of the kingdom under an obligation to acknowledge, or chuse, him king upon the next vacancy. This, however, was, probably, liable to some limitations; such as "that the person so nominated to the crown should be one of "the royal family, though not always the eldest." And it is also probable, that these nominations of successors were made in full council, or (as we now should call it,) full parliament, with the consent of the great men that composed those councils, and that the said great men, immediately after such nominations, took an oath of future allegiance to the successor so appointed. At least this appears to have been often the case, and was so in the instance of the appointment of *Harde Cnute* by his father *Cnute*, as appears by Prince Edward's answer to his mother, queen Emma, (in the following part of this *Encomium*, page 33, line 5th) "that he had no "power to assist her by making a claim to the crown of England, because the grandees "of England *(Anglici optimates)* had taken no oath to him," alluding to his half-brother *Harde Cnute*, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance. *Sed nullo modo posse auxiliari, cum Anglici optimates nullum ei fecerint jusjurandum.*

" Sceptrum et coronam sacro altari impono, et hoc tibi nec denego,
" nec trado: sed episcopis omnibus, ne quis eorum ea tollat, tibive
" tradat, téve benedicat, apostolicâ auctoritate interdico. Tu verò si
" præsumis, quod Deo mensæque ejus commisi, invadito." Quid miser ageret, quo se verteret, ignorabat. Intentabat minas, et nihil profecit. Expendebat munera, et nil lucratus; doluit, quoniam vir apostolicus nec valebat minis dejici, nec muneribus flecti. Tandem desperatus abscessit, et episcopalem benedictionem adeò sprevit, ut non solùm ipsam odiret benedictionem, verumetiàm universam fugeret christianitatis religionem. Namque, dum alii ecclesiam christiano more missam audire subintrarent; ipse aut saltus canibus ad venandum cinxit, aut quibuslibet aliis vilissimis rebus sese occupavit, ut tantùm declinare posset quod odivit. Quod Angli videntes dolebant, sed; quia hunc sibi regem elegerant, hunc erubuerunt dejicere, ideóque disposuerunt hunc sibi regem sine tenùs esse. Domina autem regina EMMA tacitè exitum rei expectabat, et aliquantisper sollicita auxilium Dei cotidiè exorabat. At ille clàm, quia nondum palàm audebat; reginæ insidias moliebatur; sed ut illi noceret à nemine permittebatur. Unde ille cum suis iniquo excogitato consilio, natos dominæ suæ volebat interficere; ut sic securus deinceps in peccatis vivens posset regnare. Verumtamen nullum in hoc omnimodis effectum acciperet, nisi fraudulentorum dolo adjutus, hoc quod narrabimus adinveniret. Namque dolo reperto, fecit epistolam in personâ reginæ ad filios ejusdem, qui in Normanniâ morabantur, componere; cujus etiam exemplar non piget nobis subnectere.

Haraldus insidias molitur contrà Edwardum et Alfridum filios Emmæ.

Ficta epistola missa ad eos in Emmæ nomine.

EMMA, *tantùm nomine regina, filiis* ÆDWARDO *et* ALFRIDO *materna impertit salutamina. Dum domini nostri regis obitum separatìm plangimus, filii carissimi, dúmque diatìm magìs magisque regno hæreditatis vestræ privamini; miror quid captetis consilii, dum sciatis intermissionis vestræ dilatione, invasoris vestri imperii fieri cotidiè soliditatem. Is enim incessanter vicos et urbes circuit, et sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, et precibus facit. Sed unum è vobis super se mallent regnare, quàm istius, qui non*[a] *eis imperat, teneri ditione. Unde rogo, unus vestrûm*

[a] Forte legendum esset, *nunc*.

trûm ad me velociter et privatè veniat; ut salubre à me consilium accipiat, et sciat quo pacto hoc negotium, quod volo, fieri debeat. Per præsentem quoque internuncium quid super his facturi estis, remandate. Valete, cordis mei viscera.

Hâc fraude jussu HARALDI tyranni compositâ, regiis adolescentulis est directa per pellaces cursores, eísque ex parte matris ignaræ oblata, et honorificè ab eis, ut munus genitricis, suscepta. Legunt dolos ejunescii,[h] et, proh dolor! nimis falsitati creduli, inconsultè remandant genitrici, unum eorum ad eam esse venturum, constituúntque ei diem, et tempus, et locum. Regressi itaque legatarii intimant Dei inimicis, quæ sibi responsa reddita sint à juvenibus nobilissimis. Hinc illi præstolabantur ejus adventum, et quid de eo facerent ad suum invenerunt detrimentum. Statuto igitur die, ALFRIDUS, minor natu, laudante fratre elegit sibi commilitones; et arripiens iter, Flandriæ venit in fines. Quò paululùm cum marchione BALDVINO moratus, et ab eo rogatus ut aliquam partem suæ militiæ secum duceret propter insidias hostium. Sed tantùm Bononiensium[i] paucos assumpsit, et ascensis puppibus mare transfretavit. At, ubi littori venit contiguus, mox ab adversariis est agnitus; qui occurrentes volebant eum aggredi: sed statim ille agnoscens jussit naves à littore illo repelli. Aliâ autem ascendens in statione, matrem parabat adire; æstimans se omnem insidiarum pestem evasisse. Verùm ubi jam erat proximus, illi comes GODVINUS est obvius factus, et eum in suâ suscepit fide, ejúsque fit mox miles cum sacramenti affirmatione. Et devians eum à Londoniâ, induxit eum in villâ GILDEFORDIA nuncupatâ; inibíque milites ejus vicenos et duodenos, decenósque[k] singula duxit per hospitia, paucis relictis cum juvene, qui ejus servitio deberent insistere. Et largitus est eis

Alfridus in Angliam venit.

Et Godwini, comitis Cantii, perfidiâ capitur:

[h] Forte legendum esset, *eheu! nescii.*

[i] It should seem from this passage, that the town of Boulogne (which is now a part of France,) was at this time subject to the Earl of Flanders.

[k] The meaning of these words, *inibique milites ejus vicenos et duodenos decenósque singula duxit per hospitia*, seems to be, that Earl Godwin quartered Prince Alfred's guards, or attendants, at several inns, or houses of entertainment, at Guildford, in small bodies of twenty men, twelve men, and ten men, in one house. *Tamen quære.*

eis abundanter cibaria et pocula: et ipſe ad ſua receſſit hoſpitia, mane rediturus, ut domino ſuo ſerviret cum debitâ honorificentiâ. Sed poſtquàm manducaverant et biberant, et lectos, utpote feſſi, libenter aſcenderant; ecce complices HARALDI infandiſſimi tyranni adſunt, et ſingula hoſpitia invadunt, armà innocentum virorum furtivi tollunt, et eos manicis ferreis et compedibus arctant, et, ut crucientur, in craſtinum ſervant. Mane autem facto adducuntur inſontes in medio, et non auditi damnantur ſceleroſè. Nam, omnium exarmatis vinctíſque poſt tergum manibus, atrociſſimis traditi ſunt carnificibus: quibus etiàm juſſum eſt, ut nemini parcerent, niſi quem ſors decima offerret. Tunc tortores vinctos ordinatìm ſedere fecerunt, et ſatìs ſupráque eis inſultantes, illius interfectoris Thebeæ legionis exemplo uſi ſunt, qui decimavit primùm innocentes multò his mitiùs. Ille enim rex paganiſſimus, chriſtianorum novem pepercit, occiſo decimo. At hi profaniſſimi, falſiſſimíque chriſtiani bonorum chriſtianorum novem peremerunt, decimo dimiſſo. Ille licèt paganus chriſtianos trucidaret, patulo tamen in campo eos, nexibus non inretitos, decollari juſſit, ut glorioſos milites. At iſti, licèt nomine chriſtiani, actu tamen paganiſſini, lanceolarum ſuarum ictibus non merentes Heroas catenatos mactabant, ut ſues. Unde hujuſcemodi tortores canibus deteriores dignè omnia dicunt ſecula, qui non militiæ violentiâ, ſed fraudium ſuarum inſidiis tot militum honeſta damnaverunt corpora. Quoſdam, ut dictum eſt, perimebant, quoſdam verò ſuæ ſervituti mancipabant. Alios cæcâ cupidine capti vendebant, nonnullos autem arctatos vinculis majori irriſioni reſervabant. Sed divina miſeratio non defuit innocentibus in tanto diſcrimine conſiſtentibus: quia multos ipſi vidimus, quos ex illâ deriſione eripuit cælitùs, ſine adminiculo hominis, ruptis manicarum compedúmque obicibus.

Et cum plurimis militibus ſuis crudeliter interficitur.

Ergò, quia militum agones ſuccinctìm tranſcurrimus, ſupereſt ut et eorum principis, glorioſi, ſcilicet, ALFRIDI, martyrium narrando ſeriem locutionis adbreviemus: ne fortè, ſi ſingulatim omnia, quæ ei acta ſunt, perſtringere voluerimus, multis ubíque, præcipuè dominæ reginæ, dolorem multiplicemus. Quâ in re, rogo te, domina, ne requiras ampliùs quàm hoc, quod, tibi parcendo, breviter dicturi ſumus. Poſſent enim multa dici, ſi non tuo parceremus dolori. Eſt quippe nullus dolor major matri, quàm videre vel audire mortem dilectiſſimi filii.

filii. Captus est igitur regius juvenis clàm suo in hospitio, eductúsque in insulâ HELI dictâ, à milite primùm irrisus est iniquissimo: deinde contemptibiliores eliguntur, ut horum ab insaniâ flendus juvenis dijudicetur [l]. Qui, judices constituti, decreverunt illi debere oculi [m] utrique ad contemptum primùm erui. Quod postquam parant perficere, duo illi super brachia ponuntur, qui interìm tenerent illa, et unus super pectus, unúsque super crura, ut sic faciliùs illi inferretur pæna. Quid hoc in dolore detineor? Mihi ipsi scribenti tremit calamus, dum horreo quæ juvenis passus est beatissimus. Evadam ergò breviùs tantæ calamitatis miseriam, finémque hujus martyrii fine tenùs perstringam. Namque est ab impiis tentus, effossis etiàm luminibus impiissimè est occisus. Quâ nece perfectâ, relinquunt corpus exanime, quod fideles Christi, monachi, scilicet, ejusdem insulæ Heli, rapientes, sepelierunt honorificè. In loco autem sepulcri ejus multa fiunt miracula, ut quidam aiunt, qui etiàm se hæc vidisse sæpissimè dicunt. Et meritò. Innocenter enim fuit martyrizatus, ideóque dignum est ut per eum innocentium exerceatur virtus. Gaudeat igitur EMMA regina de tanto intercessore, quia quem quondam in terris habuit filium, nunc habet in cælis patronum.

At regina tanti sceleris novitate perculsa, quid facto opus sit mente considerat tacitâ. Animus igitur ejus diversus huc illúcque rapitur, et se ampliùs tantæ perfidiæ credere cunctatur: quippe quæ peremti filii inconsolabiliter confundebatur mœrore, verùm multò ampliùs ex ejusdem consolabatur certâ requie. Hinc duplici, ut diximus, angebatur causâ, necis, videlicet, filii miserabili mœstitiâ, tum verò reliquæ suæ vitæ dignitatísque diffidentiâ. Sed fortassis hîc mihi quilibet clamabit, quem livor hujúsce dominæ lividum onerosúmque reddit. "Cur eâdem "nece mori refutabat, quæ sub hac proditione necatum filium æternâ "requie

[l] By this passage it appears, that Prince Alfred was made prisoner by the treachery of Eari Godwin, and then tried by order of king Harald, and condemned to the following punishment, namely, "first, to lose his eyes, and afterwards to be "put to death." It is probable he was tried for high-treason; so that the punishment for that crime may possibly at that time have been, first, to have the eyes put out, and afterwards to be put to death, as the punishment for it at this day consists of mutilations of the body, as well as loss of life.

[m] L. *oculos utrosque.*

" requie frui nullatenùs dubitabat?" Ad quod destruendum, tali responsione censeo utendum: "quoniam [n], si persecutor christianæ religionis " fideíque adesset, non vitæ discrimen subire fugeret. Ceterùm, nefarium " et execrabile cunctis orthodoxis videretur, si ambitione terreni imperii " talis famæ matrona vitâ privaretur: neque profectò emori, fortunis " tantæ dominæ honestus exitus haberetur." Hæc et his similia ante oculos ponens, et illud autenticum dominicæ exhortationis præceptum suis fortunis conducibile censens, quo, videlicet, electis insinuat, *Quoniam* [o] *si persecuti vos fuerint in unâ civitate, fugite in alia*; pro suo casu spes satìs honestas reliquæ dignitatis couservandæ exequitur, et tandem gratiâ superni respectûs consilio solerti utitur. Exteras nationes petere sibi utile credit, quod sagaci ratione fine tenùs perducit. Tamen quas petit non externas sibi experta est fore, quîs [p] immorans haud secùs ac suis colitur decentissimè. Igitur pro re atque tempore, quamplurimos potest sibi fidos optimates congregat; his præsentibus secreta cordis sui enucleat. A quibus etiàm inito dominæ probato consilio, commeatus classium eorum apparatur exilio. Itaque prosperis usi flatibus transfretant, et cuidam stationi [q] haud longè à castello Bruggensi distanti sese applicant. Hoc castellum Flandrensibus colonis incolitur, quod tum frequentiâ negociatorum, tum affluentiâ omnium, quæ prima mortales ducunt, [r] famosissimum habetur. Hâc equidem à marchione ejusdem provinciæ BALDVINO, magni et invictissimi principis filio, ejúsque conjuge ATHALA, quæ interpretatur *nobilissima*, (Francorum regis RODBERTI et reginæ CONSTANTIÆ filiâ) honorificè, uti se dignum erat, recipitur. A quibus etiàm in prædicto oppido domus regali sumptui apta eidem reginæ tribuitur: ceterùm obsonium benignè offertur. Quæ partìm illa cum gratiarum actione suscipit, partímque sese non indigere quodammodo ostendit.

Emma regina in Flandriam fugit.

In

[n] *Quoniam* is here used in the sense of *Quod*.

[o] Here again *Quoniam* is used in the sense of *Quod*.

[p] Quibus.

[q] This station was probably the port of *Ostend*.

[r] It appears by this passage, that Bruges was at this time the richest and most famous town in Flanders, and the residence of the earl, or, *Marquis*, of the country.

In tantâ igitur posita securitate, legatos suo filio mittit EDVARDO postulatum, ne versùs se pigritaretur venire. Quibus ille obaudiens equum conscendit, et ad matrem usque pervenit. Sed ubi eis copia data est mutuò loquendi, filius se matris fortunas edocet miserari; sed nullo modo posse auxiliari, cùm Anglici optimates nullum ei fecerint jusjurandum: quæ res indicabat à fratre [s] auxilium expetendum. His ita gestis, EDVARDUS Normanniam revehitur, et mens reginæ quid sibi foret agendum, etiàm nunc cunctatur. Post cujus reditum, nuncios HARDECNUTONI, filio suo, legat, qui tunc temporis regimen Danorum obtinebat, per quos sui doloris novitatem aperit, et, ut ad se venire quantociùs maturet, petit. Cujus aures ut tanti sceleris horror incussit, primò omnium mens ejus intolerabili obtusa dolore in consulendo fatiscit. Ardebat enim animo, fratris injurias ultum ire, imò etiàm matris legationi parere. Hinc utrique rei prævidens, quam maximas potest navium militúmque [t] parat, quorum ampliorem numerum quodam maris in anfractu collocat: qui, si inter eundum sibi copia pugnandi, seu etiam necessitas repugnandi accideret, præsidio adventaret. Ceterùm, non ampliùs decem navibus se comitantibus ad matrem proficiscitur, quæ non minimâ doloris anxietate fatigabatur. Dum igitur prospero cursui intenti non modò certatim spumas salis ære ruebant [u], verumetiàm suppara velorum secundis flatibus attollebant, ut maris facies non unquam certa, sed semper mobilitate flatuum dubitanda habetur, et infida; repentè fœda tempestas ventorum nubiúmque à tergo glomeratur, et ponti superficies jam supervenientibus austris turbatur. Itáque quod in tam atroci negocio solet fieri, anchoræ de proris jactæ arenis affiguntur fundi. Quæ res tametsi tum illis fuerit importuna, tamen non absque Dei nutu cuncta disponentis esse creditur acta, ut postmodùm rei probavit eventus, membris omnium placidæ quieti somni cedentibus. Nam posterâ nocte, eodem HARDECNUTONE in strato quiescente, divinitùs quædam ostenditur visio, quæ eum confortans et consolans, forti jubet esse animo. Hortatur præthereà, ne ab incœpto desisteret, quia paucarum dierum intervallo injustus regni invasor, HARALDUS scilicet, occideret; et regnum patriis viribus domitum

Ibi accersit Edwardum filium, et cum eo de injuriis suis colloquitur.

Deinde ad Hardecnutonem, regem Danorum, nuntios mittit.

Qui, re auditâ, classem magnam et exercitum parat ad Angliam invadendam.

Sed tempestate ortâ impeditur.

Visionem habet in somno.

[s] Id est, Harde Cnutone, rege Danorum.

[t] Vox *copias* videtur hic de-esse.

[u] These words, *spumas salis ære ruebant*, are part of a line in Virgil's Æneid. Lib. i. line 39.

mitum sibi, justo heredi, justissimâ successione incolume rediret. Evigilans igitur somniator talibus indiciis certior fit, et Deo omnipotenti tantæ consolationis causâ gratias reddidit: simúlque futura nullatenùs dubitat, quæ sibi memorata visio prædixerat. Denique maris irâ pacatâ, omníque tempestate sedatâ, prosperis flatibus sinus pandit velorum: sícque secundo usus cursu, ad Brugensem sese applicuit portum. Hîc anchoris rudibúsque navibus affixis, et nautis, qui eas servarent, expeditis, rectâ se viâ cum delectis ad hospitium dirigit matris. Qualis ergo mœror, qualísque lætitia in ejus adventu fuerit exorta, nulla tibi unquam explicabit pagina. Dolor haud modicus habebatur, dum in vultu ejus faciem perempti fratris mater quâdam imaginatione contemplaretur. Item gaudio magno gaudebat, dum superstitem salvum adesse sibi videbat. Unde viscera divinæ misericordiæ se sciebat respicere, cùm nondum tali frustraretur solamine. Nec longo post, filio cum matre morante, et memoratæ visionis promissa expectante, nuncii, læta ferentes nuncia, adventant, qui, videlicet, HARALDUM mortuum nunciant: qui etiam referunt Anglicos ei principes nolle adversari, sed multimodis jubilationibus sibi conlætari. Unde regnum hereditario jure sibi debitum non dedignetur repetere, et suæ dignitati, eorúmque saluti juxtà in medium consulere.

In Flandriam navigat, et ibi videt matrem Emmam.

Paulò post Haraldus moritur, et Hardecnuto invitatur à principibus Angliæ ut eorum rex fiat.

A.D. 1040.

His HARDECNUTO materque animati repetere statuunt oras aviti regni. Cujus rei fama ut populares impulit aures, mox cuncta dolore et luctu compleri cerneres. Dolebant enim divites ejus recessione, cujus semper amabili fruebantur collocutione. Dolebant pauperes ejus recessione, cujus diutinis largitionibus ab egestatis defensabantur onere. Dolebant viduæ cum orphanis, quos illa extractos sacro fonte baptismatis non modicis ditaverat. Quibus igitur hanc laudibus efferam nescio, quæ ibidem numquam abfuit renascentibus in Christo. Hic ejus fides patet laudanda, hîc bonitas omnimodis celebranda. Quòd si pro singulis ejus benefactis parem differere, priùs me tempus quàm rem credo deserere. Unde ad seriem nostræ locutionis propero redire.

Dum

Dum reginæ filiique ejus reditus apparatur, omne litus planctu gemituque confunditur*, omnes dextræ cælo attollebantur infensæ. Flebant igitur à se discedere illam, quam toto exilii tempore ut civem vidêre suam. Nulli divitum gravis hospita, nulli pauperum in quolibet onerosa. Omnes igitur natale solum mutare putares, cunctas secum exteras petere velle diceres regiones. Sic toto plangebatur litore, sic ob omni plorabatur populo astante. Licèt ei quodammodo congauderent pristinum gradum repetere dignitatis, non tamen eam matronæ siccis dimittere poterant oculis. Tandem vincit amor patriæ, et omnibus viritìm osculatis, et flebili eis dicto vale, cum filio suísque altum petit mare, non absque magnâ lacrymarum utrímque fusâ ubertate. Igitur principes Anglici parùm prævenisse fidentes legatione, antequam ab illis transfretaretur obvii sunt facti, optimum factu rati, ut et regi regináeque satisfacerent, et se devotos eorum dominationi subderent. His HARDECNUTO cum matre certus factus, et transmarini littoris tandem portum nactus, à cunctis incolis ejusdem terræ gloriosissimè recipitur; sícque divini muneris gratiâ regnum sibi debitum redditur. His

Hardecnuto cum matre Emma [illegible] fratre Edward[illegible] Angliam [illegible] unt.

* This whole account of queen Emma's departure from Bruges in Flanders seems to be an imitation of Lucan's beautiful description of the departure of Cornelia, the wife of Pompey the great, from Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, after the loss of the battle of Pharsalia. The passage is as follows.

" Dixit, mœstamque carinæ
" Imposuit comitem. Cunctos mutare putares
" Tellurem, patriúmque solum: sic littore toto
" Plangitur: infestæ tenduntur in æthera dextræ,
" Pompeiumque minùs, cujus fortuna dolorem
" Moverat; ast illam, quam toto tempore belli
" Ut civem vidêre suam, discedere cernens
" Ingemuit populus: quam vix, si castra mariti
" Victoris peteret, siccis dimittere matres
" Jam poterant oculis: tanto devinxit amore
" Hos pudor, hos probitas, castíque modestia vultûs;
" Quòd, submissa nimìs, nulli gravis hospita turbæ,
" Stantis adhuc fati vixit qu[illegible] conjuge victo.

Lib. viii. *Line* 158.

His ita peractis, et omnibus suis in pacis tranquillitate compositis, fraterno correptus amore nuncios mittit ad EDVARDUM, rogans, ut veniens secum obtineret regnum. Qui fratris jussioni obediens, Anglicas partes advehitur, et mater ambóque filii regni paratis commodis nullâ lite intercedente utuntur. Hîs fides habetur regni sociis, hîs inviolabile viget fœdus materni fraternique amoris. Hæc illis omnia præstitit, qui unanimes in domo habitare facit JESUS CHRISTUS, Dominus omnium : cui in Trinitate manenti immarcessibile floret imperium. Amen.

Ex Chronicis T. Rudburni, de EMMA Reginâ.

Duxit ETHELREDUS [a] *hanc, et postea* KNUTUS.
EDWARDUM *sanctum parit hæc et* HARDICANUTUM.
Quatuor hos Reges hæc vidit sceptra gerentes.
Anglorum Regum fuit hæc sic mater et uxor.

GESTA

[a] Forte inserendum est *priùs*.

GESTA
GUILLELMI
DUCIS NORMANNORUM,
ET
REGIS ANGLORUM.

A Guillelmo, Pictavensi, Lexoviorum Archidiacono, contemporaneo, scripta.

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* * * * cum vitâ regnum Anglicum amisit, quod paternæ ac suæ violentiæ, non aliis debuit. Coronam eandem cum throno HERALDUS obtinuit filius ejus, partìm ab eo tyrannidis in amore degener. Exules adhuc manebant in curiâ propinqui sui, GUILIEMI principis, EDWARDUS ac ALVERADUS, qui olim, pueri, ne jugularentur, ad avunculos in Normanniam effugerant. Genitrix eorum fuit EMMA filia RICARDI primi, genitor ÆDELREDUS rex Anglorum. Verùm de genealogiâ horum germanorum, et quòd hæreditatem eorum Dani invasione occupaverint, satìs alii scripsêre. Ut ergò decessum CHUNUTI audierant, primò EDWARDUS mari decurso naves quadragintà milite instructissimas Hantonæ appulit,[a] ubi multitudinem Anglorum offendit maximam se ad internecionem sui operientem. Nam HERALDUM

Initium desideratur.
Mors Chunuti regis Angliæ.
A.D. 1035.

Edwardus cum exercitu invadit Angliam;

[a] This invasion of England by prince Edward (who was afterwards king Edward the Confessor) is not mentioned by the author of the *Encomium Emmæ*, who was living at the time; and therefore it, probably, is not true.

Angli deserere nolebant, vel (quod est credibilius) non audebant, metuentes affore Danos ad protectionem sive citatam ultionem ejus, extinctos fuisse truculentiâ Danicâ suæ gentis nobilissimos minimè obliti sunt. Congressus illicò magnâ cæde superavit. Considerans autem adversantis terræ vires ingentes, quas traduxit modicas esse, regiratis proris cum opimâ prædâ Normanniam repetit. Hunc sibi larem tutum sciebat, largum, et benevolum. Non multò post deinde intersticio temporis Doroberniam venit Alueradus transvectus ex portu Icio, accuratiùs quàm frater anteà adversùs vim præparatus. Sceptrum et ipse paternum requirebat. Quem adeuntem interiora GODWINUS Comes nefario dolo suscipiens factione iniquissimâ tradidit. Etenim ultrò occurrit ei veluti ad honorem, officium suum benignè promisit, oscula dans, ad fidem, ac dextram. Mensam prætereà cum eo familiariter communicavit atque consilia. Noctis autem insecutæ medio manus inermis ex somno languidi post tergum restrinxit. Tali expugnatum suavitate Londoniam regi transmisit Heraldo, et de comitatu aliquot similiter vinctos: reliquos partìm in ergastula deputavit seperatos ab invicem distractione miserandâ, partìm diro fine necavit horribiliter evisceratos [b]. Gavisus Heraldus in vinculis conspecto Aluerado, satellites ejus quàm optimos coràm eo jussit decapitari, ipsum orbari luminibus, dein equestrem nuditate turpatum ad mare deduci sub equo pedibus colligatis, ut in Elgâ [c] insulâ exilio cruciaretur et egestate. Delectabat ipsum vita inimici gravior morte. Simul Edwardum omninò absterrere intendebat germani calamitatibus. Ita deperiit formosissimus invenis, laudatissimus bonitate, Regis proles et Regum nepos, nec supervivere potuit diu: cui dum oculi effoderentur, cultro cerebrum violavit mucro. Ideò brevi exclamatione hâc te nos alloquemur, Godwine, cujus mortui nomen infame superest atque odiosum. Nam à flagitio, quod malitiosissimè patravisti, deterrere te, si fieri possit, vellemus. Quàm execrandâ furiâ agitaris? quo corde contrà jus atque fas abominandum facinus machinaris? cur, in exitium

Et victoriam obtinet.

Sed mox in Normanniam redit.

Dein Alueradus invadit Angliam.

Sed, fraude Godwini, comitis Cantii, fit captivus.

Misera ejus mors.

[b] This circumstance, of prince Alfred's companions being embowelled, is not mentioned by the encomiast of queen Emma, who says only that they were bound hand and foot, and, in that helpless condition, stabbed to death with spears. Possibly they were first put to death with spears, and then had their bowels taken out; as is now the custom for the crime of high treason, of which it seems probable that these invaders might be considered as guilty. *Tamen quære.*

[c] Elye.

exitium tui tuorúmque, perfidissimam proditionem admittis, crudelissime homicida? Moliris, confecisse gratularis, quod remotissimarum à Christianismo nationum ritus ac leges detestantur. Alueradi indignissimæ ærumnæ tibi, improbissimo, gaudium, honestis pariunt lacrymas. Dictu equidem talia sunt lugubria. Guilelmus verò, gloriosissimus Dux, cujus acta venturam ætatem divinâ opitulatione freti docebimus, vindice gladiò feriet jugulum Heraldi, tuæ sobolis crudelitate perfidiâque consimillimæ. Fundis traditione tuâ immeritum sanguinem Normannorum; fundetur sanguis tuorum pari vice ferro Normannorum. Libuit inhumanum scelus hoc perpetuò silentio sepelire: sed in historiarum serie res quoque minùs pulchras, cùm necessariò incidunt, non à chartâ semovendas putamus, ut ab imitatione facti semovendæ sunt.

Mors Haraldi regis Angliæ. A.D. 1040.

HERALDUS non multo post decessit, cui frater HARDECHUNUTUS ex Emmâ, Edwardi matre, natus, reversus à Danimarchiâ successit. Hic generi materno similior, non, quâ pater aut frater, crudelitate regnabat, neque interitum Edwardi, sed provectum volebat. Ob morbos etiam, quos frequenter patiebatur, plus Deum in oculis habebat, et vitæ humanæ brevitatem. Cæterùm de regno ejus aut vitâ scribere aliis relinquamus, nè longiùs à materiâ propositâ digrediamur.

Gulielmus, dux Normannorum, arma militaria sumit.

Illuxit tandem gaudium festivissimum summè cunctis, qui pacem et justitiam desiderabant, expectatum. Dux noster, plus intelligentiâ rerum honestarum, et vi corporis, quam ætate adultus, arma militaria sumit; qui rumor metum Franciæ detulit omni. Alium non habebat Gallia, qui talis prædicaretur eques et armatus. Spectaculum erat delectabile simul ac terribile, eum cernere fræna moderantem, ense decorum, clypeo fulgentem, et galeâ teloque minitantem. Nam uti pulchritudine præstabat cùm indumenta Principis gestaret aut pacis, ita ornatus qui contrà hostem sumitur eum singulariter decebat. Hinc virilis in eo animus et virtus enitescebat egregiâ claritudine. Hinc namque summo studio cœpit Ecclesiis Dei patrocinari, causas impotentium tutari, jura imponere quæ non gravarent, judicia facere quæ nequaquam ab æquitate vel temperantiâ deviarent. Imprimis prohibere cædes, incendia, rapinas. Rebus enim illicitis nimia ubique, ut suprà docuimus, licentia fuit. Denique cœpit omninò à familiari-

tate

tate suâ removere quos imperitos aut pravos dinoscebat. Sapientissimorum verò optimorúmque consiliis uti, externis inimicis fortiter resistere, obsequia debita à suis potenter exigere.

Guido, filius Reginaldi, contrà ducem rebellat. A. D. 1046.

Cum hæc initia suum splendorem Normanniæ et antiqui statûs tranquillitatem jam redderent, et meliora promitterent, bonis obsequenter juvantibus rectorem consuetâ libertate perfrui, malebant quidam pro libitu sua retinere, aliena diripere. Hujus vesaniæ signifer prosiluit GUIDO, filius, Burgundionum Comitis, RAGINALDI, qui validissima castra, BRIONIUM et VERNONIUM, Ducis dono tenebat, à puerilibus annis cum ipso familiariter nutritus. Sed aut Principatum, aut maximam portionem Normanniæ, ambiebat. Secum itaque in pessimas conspirationes univit NIGELLUM Præsidem Constantini pagi, RANDULPHUM Baiocensem Vicecomitem, et HAIMONEM agnomine Dentatum, et alios potentes. Non cohibuit iniqui hominis contumaciam generis propinquitas, non tantorum beneficiorum impensa liberalitas, non denique Ducis in eum syncera dilectio summáque benevolentia. Insontes multos necavêre, quos nequicquam tentaverunt ad transvertendum, vel quos majori obstaculo sibi esse pervidebant. Fas quidem negligebant omne, nefas nullum devitare curabant, dummodò potentiam consequerentur ampliorem. Est nonnunquam hæc ambitionis cæcitas. Paulatìm ergò id perjuræ societatis incœptum eoúsque convaluit, ut directissimâ belli fronte VALESDUNIS in Dominum suum congregati longè per circuitum omnia tumultu concuterent. Sequebatur impietatis vexillum pars Normanniæ major. Verùm tot gladios minimè exhorruit partis vindicantis ductor Guilielmus [d]. Irruens enim strage pavorem injecit, quo ferè corda adversariis erepta sunt, brachia debilitata. Sola mens, quæ in fugam præcipitaret, relinquebatur. Insectabatur ille per milliaria aliquot duriter castigans. Avia pleróśque aut viæ difficiles in mortem subverterunt. Nonnullis in planitie tritâ celeritas ad ruinam, constipatio ad lethiferam collisionem fuit. Absorbuit non paucos fluvius OLNA equites cum equis. Interfuit huic prælio, Franciæ Rex, HENRICUS, victrici causæ auxilians. Fructuosissima sanè atque notificanda seculis unius diei pugna, quæ cùm exemplum tremendum sanciret, et cervices nimiùm elatas ferro contudit, et, propugnacula facinorum, plurima castella victoriæ manu impel-

Sed ab eo perdomatur.

[d] N. B. Duke William was at this time, A. D. 1046, about 19 years of Age.

impellendo disjecit, et bella domestica apud nos in longum sopivit. Turpissimè elapsus Guido BRIONIUM[e] cum magno equitatu contendit. Oppidum hoc cùm loci naturâ, tùm opere inexpugnabile videbatur. Nam præter alia firmamenta, quæ moliri consuevit belli necessitudo, aulam habet lapideam arcis usum pugnantibus præbentem, quam fluvius RISELA[f] nullo quidem tractu vadi impatiens circumfluit. Victor maturè insecutus arctam locavit obsidionem, castella, utrinque ad ripas fluminis bipartiti, opponens. Deinde oppugnatione diurnâ territans, egrediendi facultatem penitus interclusit. Postremò penuriâ etiam victualium obsessus Burgundio, interventores pro clementiâ missitabat. Motus Dux consanguinitate, supplicitate, miseriâ victi, non acerbiùs vendicavit. Recepto castro, in curiâ suâ commanere eum concessit. Supplicia item consociis, quæ capitalia[g] ex æquo irrogarentur, condonare maluit ob rationabiles causas. Nigellum alio tempore, quoniam improbè offensabat, exilio punitum fuisse comperio. Guido in Burgundiam sponte rediit propter molestiam probri. Ferre apud Normannos pigebat vilem se cunctis, odiosum esse multis. Et Burgundia tolerabat eum invita. Equidem si valuisset ille quantum contendebat, germanum suum, ipsius provinciæ Comitem, GUILIELMUM potentatu privâsset et vitâ. Annos decem in armis et amplius consumebat, venans præliis tàm cognatum sanguinem. Quid laborem, ut evidentius nequitiæ testimonium adducam? Normanni superati semèl universi colla subdidêre Domino suo, atque obsides dedêre plurimi. Dein ad jussum ejus

Fuga Guidonis ad castrum Brionii.

Submissio ejus.

Clementia Gulielmi.

Plena Normanniæ pacificatio.

 festinanter

[e] In French *Brionne*.

[f] In French *La Rille*. It runs into the Sea, or rather into the mouth, or wide part, of the river *Seine*, a little to the east of *Honfleur*.

[g] *Quæ capitalia ex æquo irrogarentur.* —— We see by this passage that, when William, the young Duke of Normandy (who was at this time about 19 years of age) had suppressed the rebellion of Guy of Burgundy, (who was his homager for the two castles of *Brionne* on the river *Rille*, and *Vernon* on the river *Seine* between *Pont de Larche* and *Mante*, which the young duke had generously given him) and had taken prisoners both *Guy* himself and many of his companions, who were Normans, and consequently were to be considered as rebels, and not as mere foreign enemies, he pardoned both Guy and them in the manner described in this sentence; *Supplicia, quæ capitalia ex æquo irrogarentur, condonare maluit.* Now from hence it seems to follow, that by the Laws of Normandy rebels might at this time be punished with death. This seems to be the more worth observing, because in this age the crimes of murder and robbery, and most other great crimes, were punished only by pecuniary mulcts by the law of many nations of Europe.

festinanter ac funditùs destruxêre munitiones novarum rerum studio constructas. Insolentiam humo tenùs posuêre Metropolitæ[h] Rotomagenses, quam contrà tenellum Comitem usurpaverant. Gaudebant dehinc Ecclesiæ, quia divinum in tranquillitate celebrare mysterium licebat, exultabat negotiator[i], tutò, quò vellet, iturus: gratulabatur agricola quòd securum erat novalia scindere, spem frugum spargere, nec latitare milite viso. Cujúsque conditionis, cujúsque ordinis, homo Ducem laudibus ad sydera tollebat, longitudinem ei vitæ atque sanitatem votis omnibus optabat.

Gulielmus regi Franciæ, Henrico, auxiliatur contrà Gaufredum Martellum.

Vicissitudinem post hæc ipse Regi fide studiosissimâ reddidit, rogatus ab eo auxilium contrà quosdam inimicissimos ei atque potentissimos ad officiendum. Rex etenìm Henricus contumeliosis GAUFREDI MARTELLI verbis irritatus, exercitum contrà eum duxit, et castrum ejus, quod MOLENDINUM HERLÆ vocabatur, in pago Andegavensi, cum manu validâ obsedit et expugnavit. Cernebant Francigenæ quòd invidia non cerni vellet, exercitum deductum è Normanniâ solâ regio majorem, omníque collegio, quantum adduxerant vel miserant Comites plurimi. Celeberrimè in AQUITANIA, dum PICTAVIS exularem, eadem, quam nostrates contestantur, Normanni Comitis divulgabatur claritudo, parta in illâ expeditione. Hunc inter cunctos ajebant excelluisse ingenio, industriâ, manu. Rex ei quàm libenter proponebat consultanda, & maxima quæque ad ejus gerebat sententiam; anteponens in perspicientiâ consulti melioris eum omnibus. Unicum id redarguebat, quod nimiùm periculis objectabat se, ac plerumque pugnam quæritabat, decurrens palàm cum denis aut paucioribus. Normannos etiàm primates obsecrabat, ne committi prælium vel levissimum ante municipium aliquod paterentur; metuens, videlicet, occasurum virtutem ostentando, in quo regni sui præsidium firmissimum et ornamentum splendidissimum reponebat. Cæterùm quæ velut immoderatam fortitudinis ostentationem multoperè dissuadebat Rex atque castigabat, ea nos fervidæ atque animosæ ætati aut officio ascribimus. Secessione tali interdùm explorando reperiuntur, quæ non modicè

[h] That is, the inhabitants of Roan, or Rouen, the metropolis, or capital city of the province.

[i] *Exultabat negotiator, tutò, quò vellet, iturus.* —— By the word *negotiator* in this place seems to be understood "an itinerant tradesman, who carried his goods about the Country, to markets and fairs."

modicè expediunt. Aliquando malefici excipiuntur, qui multitudines agminum cavent, modò efficitur aliud utilissimum.

En ipsius factum quem excusamus, et cujus mirabile tyrocinium attentiùs meminisse lepidiùs delectat. Suis familiaribus volens quasi elabi, secesserat ab exercitu, equites ducens aliquantisper trecentos. His dein cum solis quatuor subtrahit se, atque palatur. Ecce obveniunt ex parte hostili xv. superbientes in equis et armis. Continuò incurrens lanceam projicit, audacissimum cavens perfodere. Coxa autem dirupta est alliso terræ. Cæteros ad quartum milliarium persequitur. Tres intereà centuriæ, quas reliquerat, subsequentes investigando, (timebant enim ejus fidentiæ) repentè Comitem TEDBALDUM perspiciunt cum equitibus quingentis. Fit opinio tristissima. Hostes arbitrantur eos, atque dominum suum in eorum potestate comprehensum teneri. Invicem igitur cohortati, propè in dubium casum, ut illum eripiant, sese objiciunt. Sed ubi recognitum est agmen socium, in ulteriora perquirentes, inveniunt recubantem quem fractura coxæ alligabat ex quindecim unum. Paulùm hinc progressis alacer obviat eorum dominus, adducens, quos ceperat, milites septem.

Gestum ejus quàm fortissimum.

Dictitabat ex eâ tempestate, uti opinabatur, GAUFREDUS MARTELLUS, parem Comiti Normannorum equitem sive militem sub cœlo nullum degere. De Vasconiâ et Arverniâ potentes ei transmittebant vel adducebant equos, qui nominibus propriis vulgò sunt nobilitati. Item Reges Hispaniæ his donis inter alia ejus amicitiam captabant. Et erat expetenda optimis et potentissimis amicitia hæc, atque colenda. Perfectissimè namque inerat causa in ipso, cur à domesticis, à finitimis, à longinquè sepositis diligeretur. Ad hoc ipse ut esset decori amicis vel adjumento, tantum satagebat quantum esse valebat; et procurabat semper ut sibi quamplurimum amici deberent. Tunc florescebat in adolescentiâ principans uni Provinciæ; nec[k] regnis dominatur, annos natus circiter quadraginta quinque[l]. Cùm ab illâ ad ætatem hanc, vel si majus à pueritiâ pernoveris ejus actus, tute, sicuti verè potes, affirmabis per eum nunquam societatis jus aut amicitiæ fuisse violatum. Fixè enim perstabat

Magna ejus apud omnes æstimatio.

[k] Potius *nunc*.

[l] By this passage it appears that this history was written in the year 1072 or 1073, duke William having been born in the year 1027.

stabat in dictis atque conventis, tanquam edocens actu suo quod enuntiant Philosophi, justitiæ fundamentum esse fidem. Si cujus ab amicitiâ disjungi rationibus gravissimis cogebatur, sensim hanc diluere, quàm repente præcidere malebat. Consentaneum id videmus sapientum censuræ. Iniquè se alienavit iniquus, diram inimicitiam suscepit Rex Henricus, transversus hominum pessimorum suadelâ. Qui dum injuriis Normanniam lacesseret admodùm intolerabilibus, contraibat ad quem Normanniæ propugnatio pertinebat, Guillelmus: multum tamen veteri amicitiæ tribuens et regiæ dignitati. Confligere cum ejus exercitu, eo præsente, studio, quantum necessitudo sinebat extrema, cavebat. Et Normannos cohibebat sæpenumerò nec[m] jussu, modò quasi oratu, quammaximè concupientes prælii contumeliâ decus regium fœdare. Aliàs horum aliqua patentiùs intelligentur, simul quâ ipse magnanimitate Francorum aspernaretur enses, atque universorum, qui contrà se Regis edicto fuerant evocati.

Henricus rex fit ei sine causâ inimicus.

Ipsius quoque viribus et consilio EDWARDUS, Hardechunuti vitâ finitâ, tandem in paterno solio coronatus resedit, tam sapientiâ et eximiâ morum probitate, quàm antiquâ prosapiâ, eâ dignus gloriâ. Disceptantes etenim Angli deliberatione suis rationibus utilissimâ consenserunt, legationibus justa petentibus acquiescere, quàm Normannorum vim experiri. Reducem cum non maximo præsidio militis Normannici cupidè sibi eum præstituerunt, ne manu validiore, si Comes Normannicus adveniret, subigerentur. Qui quid bello valeret, rumore satìs noverant. Edwardus autem dum grato reputaret affectu, quàm sumptuosam liberalitatem, quàm singularem honorem, quàm familiarem dilectionem in Normanniâ sibi impenderit Princeps Guillelmus, tàm beneficiis quàm lineâ consanguinitatis longè sibi conjunctior: quinetiam quàm studioso ejus auxilio in regnum ab exilio sit restitutus, potissimum aliquid atque gratissimum recompensare desiderans more honestorum; coronæ, quam per eum adeptus est, cum ratâ donatione hæredem statuere decrevit. Optimatum igitur suorum assensu[n] per RODBERTUM Cantuariensem Archipræsulem,

Legatis in Angliam missis Guilelmus efficit ut Edwardus in regem eligatur. A. D. 1042.

Et mox ab Edwardo hæres regni Angliæ statuitur.

[m] Forte legendum esset *nunc*.

[n] *Optimatum igitur suorum assensu.* — According to this account king Edward's nomination of duke William for his Successor to the crown of England was made with

Archipræsulem, hujus delegationis mediatorem, obsides potentissimæ parentelæ GODVINI Comitis filium ac nepotem ei direxit.

Injuriæ Gaufredi Martelli comitis Andegavensis.

Est jam permutata in serenum turbulentia apud nos domestica omnis. Emulus autem è vicino nondum omnis conquievit. Brachium levabat in nos, quo non leviter sese vulnerabat, GAUFREDUS MARTELLUS. Huic enim calliditate bellandi egregiè instructo, unde triumphum non pollicitarentur Andegavi, Turoni, Pictones, Burdegala, multæ regiones, civitates plurimæ, quæ signis ejus parebant? Is namque dominum suum[o], Comitem Pictonum et Burdegalæ, vi bellicâ cepit, neque ante postiliminio concessit reverti mancipatum indignissimæ custodiæ, quàm argenti et auri pondus gravissimum, atque prædia ditissima extorsit cum sacramento de pactis. Porrò ipsius, defuncti post redemptionem die quarto [p], et novercam præcipuæ nobilitatis thoro suo sociavit, et fratres in tutelam suam accepit, et thesauros cum totâ honorum ac potentiæ amplitudine quasi ditioni suæ vindicavit. Finibus quidem Andegavensis Comitatûs claudi-

Primùm contrà comitem Pictonum et Burdegalæ, dominum suum.

with the consent of his great men: from which (whether the account be true, or not, in all its particulars,) it seems reasonable to conclude, that the consent of the great men of the kingdom was reckoned necessary to give validity to the nomination.

As to the account itself, it is probably not true; at least not in point of time. For duke William (who was born in the year 1027,) was but 15 years old in the year 1042, when Edward the Confessor succeeded to the crown of England: and it can hardly be supposed that at that early age, and surrounded, as he was throughout all his minority, with powerful domestic enemies, he sent a threatening message to the English nobles exhorting them to admit prince Edward to the throne of England upon pain of his displeasure: nor, if he had sent such a message, would it at that time have had much effect. Nor does it seem likely that king Edward should, very soon after his admission to the throne of England, appoint duke William, then so very young, to be his successor. But he may have done so fifteen or twenty years after, when he himself was likely to die without children, and his relation *Edgar Atheling*, was found to be a person of small abilities, incapable of keeping Earl *Godwin* and the other turbulent nobles of England in due submission, and when duke William, on the other hand, had thoroughly subdued all his enemies in Normandy, and raised his character for valour and wisdom above that of all the princes of his time. But of this we shall see more in the subsequent part of his history.

[o] *Is namque dominium suum, Comitem Pictonum et Burdegalæ, vi bellicâ cepit, &c.* —— By this passage it appears that the earl of Anjou was at this time a feudal tenant, or homager of the Earl of Poitou and Bourdeaux, and not an immediate vassal of the king of France.

[p] That is, who died the fourth day after he had been set free by Charles Martel upon agreeing to pay him a ransom.

claudi potestatem suam, inopem atque pudendam angustiam æstimabat. Latè in aliena eum captivum raptabat immanis cupiditas. Dilatatus ergo adquisitis, multa insigniter consummavit, nec minùs variâ astuciâ quàm opibus agens. Inter quæ Turonorum quoque ingentem et opulentiam et virtutem expugnavit contritâ priùs fortitudine Comitis TEDBALDI. Nam cùm subvenire maturaret TEDBALDUS percaræ urbi suæ, quam sub duris ictibus MARTELLI obsidentis ingemere ac propè deficere ipsâ denuntiante didicerat, promptissimê occurrens Martellus vicit. Denique comprehensum boiis arctavit ipsum cum suis præcipuis: neque pacto eos leviore quàm GUILLELMUM anteà PICTAVENSEM ejecit. Civitatem ex hinc Turonicam possidebat. Vexavit idem Franciam universam Regi rebellans. Tumidus itaque præliorum successu Normanniæ castrum invasione occupavit, et summoperè custodiebat ALENTIUM [q]. Inhabitatores ad se pronos repererat. Incrementum pulcherrimum deputabat suo nomini, patravisse quod Normanniæ dominum minuerit. Guillelmus tueri sufficiens jus paternum et avitum, quinetiam diffusiùs protendere, adibat cum exercitu terram Andegavensem; ut reddens talionem primò abalienaret Gaufredo DANFRONTUM [r], post reciperet Alentium. Ceterùm, sui militis unius fraudulentiâ ferè interiit, qui non extimescebat latam Provinciam inimici. Nam ubi approximabatur Danfronto, cum equitibus divertit quinquaginta, acceptum quæ stipendium augerent. Prædæ autem index Castellanis prodidit ipsum quidam ex Normannis majoribus, intimans quò, aut cur ierit, et quàm paucis comitatus, atque hunc esse qui mortem fugæ præferret. Emissi quantociùs equites trecenti, pedites septingenti inopinantem à tergo invadunt. Pectus verò intrepidè ille obvertens, dejecit humo quem audacia maxima primum sibi impegerat. Cæteri statìm amisso impetu ad munitionem refugiunt. Cursum promovet notum compendium tramitis. Ille autem non priùs ab insecutione desistit, quàm portæ munitionis fugatos eripiunt. Captum suis unum manibus retinuit. His magìs ad obsidendum accensus, castella circumponit quatuor. Celerem irruptionem situs oppidì denegabat omni robori sive peritiæ; cùm scopulorum asperitas pedites etiàm

Deinde contrà Tedbaldum, comitem Turonorum.

Mox Alentium occupat Normanniæ castrum.

Gulielmus obsidet Danfrontum.

[q] In French *Alençon*, a great town in the most Southern part of Normandy, situated on the river *Sartre*.

[r] *Danfrontum*, or *Domfront*, is a large town in the country called *Le Maine*, or *Cenomannia*, situate on the river *Mayenne*, a little South of the province of Normandy, and West of *Alençon*.

etiàm deturbaret, præter qui angustis itineribus duobus atque arduis accederent. Incolis adjumento viros imposuerat GAUFREDUS delectissimos. Oppugnatione tamen instabant eis Normanni creberrimâ ferventissimâque. Dux ipse primus ac præciquè terribilis imminebat. Aliquando perdius et pernox equitans, vel in abditis occultus, explorat, si qui offendantur aut commeatum advectantes, aut in legatione directi, aut pabulatoribus suis insidiantes. Sanè, ut intelligas quàm securè in terrâ hostili agitaret, interdum venatur. Est regio illa silvis abundans, ferarum feracissimis. Sæpè falconum, sæpissimè accipitrum volatu oblectatur. Non loci difficultas, aut sævitia hiemis, nec adversitas alia rigidam virtutem ab obsidione quivit dimovere. Auxiliaturum expectant, et nuntio advocant MARTELLUM inclusi. Deferre haudquaquam volebant dominum, [s] sub quo licenter quæstum latrociniis contraherent: quali causâ fuerant seducti inhabitantes Alentium. Non ignorabant quàm in Normanniâ esset invisus latro aut prædo, quam recto usu uterque supplicio addiceretur, et quòd neuter parvo absolveretur. Suis maleficiis eundem legis metuebant usum. Educit Gaufredus copias ingentissimas equestres ac pedestres ad subveniendum. Guillelmus ubi rescivit id, properat ex adverso, continuatione obsidionis militibus probatis creditâ. Speculatum præmittuntur [t] ROGERUS DE MONTE-GOMERICO, et GUILLELMUS FILIUS OSBERNI, ambo juvenes ac strenui, qui mentem quoque hostis arrogantissimam perdiscunt ex colloquio ipsius. Indicit per eos GAUFREDUS classico suo Guillelmi apud DANFRONTUM excubias excitatum

Gaufredus properat in auxilium Danfronti.

[s] *Sub quo licenter quæstum latrociniis contraherent.* — Here we see, that, when duke William besieged the town of *Danfront* or *Domfront*, belonging to *Godfrey Martel*, earl of Anjou, in return for his having suddenly seized the town of *Alençon* in Normandy, the people of *Domfront* were very much afraid of coming under the jurisdiction of duke William, because they knew that he would put a stop to their licentious custom of getting a livelihood by plunder or robbery, which they were permitted to do under *Martel*; *Sub quo licenter quæstum latrociniis contraherent.* And it is said further, that the uneasiness of the inhabitants of *Alençon* at the strict laws of duke William, which prohibited this practice, was the cause of their surrendering their town so readily to *Martel*; *quali causâ fuerent seducti inhabitantes Alentium* This shews the wild and uncivilized state of France at this time, where the inhabitants of many of the towns exercised publick robbery with the permission, or connivance, of their princes.

[t] *Rogerus de Monte-Gomerico, et Guillelmus Filius Osberni.* —— These were then young men distinguished for their valour, and afterwards went with duke William into England, and obtained large estates there.

tatum iri sub auroram lucis crastinam. Præsignat qualem in prælio equum sit habiturus, quale scutum, qualem vestitum. Illi contrà opus non esse respondent instituto eum itinere longiùs fatigari. Nam continuò, propter quem vadit, affore. Equum vicissim Domini sui præsignant, vestitum, et arma. Renuntiata hæc non parùm alacritati Normannorum addunt. At omnium acerrimus ipse Dux inurget accelerantes. Tyrannum fortasse absumi desiderabat adolescens piissimus. Quod ex omnibus præclaris factis pulcherrimum judicavit senatus Latinus et Atheniensis. Verùm subitaneo terrore consternatus GAUFREDUS, adversâ acie necdum conspectâ, profugio salutem suam cum agmine toto committit. En Duci Normannico liber progressus patet ad devastandam hostis opulentiam, ad delendum æmuli nomen ignominiâ sempiternâ. Sed novit esse prudentium victoriæ temperare, atque non satìs potentem esse qui semet in potestate ulciscendi continere non possit. Placet ergò fortunatum iter convertere. Festinus inde ecce Alenconio supervenit, arduam rem pugnâ ferè nullâ conficit. Oppidum enim naturâ opere, atque armaturâ munitissimum adeò currente proventu in ejus manum venit ut gloriari his verbis liceret, VENI, VIDI, VICI. Perculit citissimè hic rumor Danfrontinos. Diffidentes itaque alius clypeo se liberandos, post fugam famosissimi bellatoris Gaufredi Martelli, similiter deditione se liberant properatissimâ, quando reversum ad oppugnandum vident Normannorum Principem. Perhibent homines antiquioris memoriæ, castra hæc ambo Comitis RICHARDI concessu esse fundata, unum intrà alterum, proximè fines Normanniæ, atque tam succedentium ei Comitum quàm ipsius jussis obtemperare solita. Victor posteà domum reversus, patriam cunctam recenti decore ac tripudio illustrabat, simul amorem atque terrorem sui auctiùs in externa diffundebat.

Sed, audito Gulielmum ex adverso ei occursurum, subitò fugit.

Gulielmus Alentium recuperat.

Et mox in deditionem recipit Danfrontum.

Alia sub tempus idem Annalium voluminibus apta gessit princeps isdem, quæ, sicuti plurima cæteris temporibus ab eo gesta, prætermittimus, aut ne quem gravet spaciosus Codex, aut quia rem non admodùm sufficientem scriptori cognovimus. Primum quantulum in dicendo facultatis habemus, ad dicendum præstantissima omnium id reservamus. Parturire suo pectore bella quæ calamo ederentur, Poëtis licebat, atque amplificare utcumque cognita per campos figmentorum divagando. Nos Ducem sive Regem, cui nunquam impurè quid fuit pulchrum

pulchrum, purè laudabimus; nusquam à veritatis limite passu uno [u]delirantes.

Normanni optimates Gulielmum summoperè venerantur.

Coepêre post hæc Normanni Summates ferè cuncti incredibili eum amplecti veneratione: ut obluctari dudùm, sic modò serenam ei fidelitatem quisque suam probare nitentes. Adeò ut ejus et sobolem, quam solâ tum spe fovebant, dominum sibi concordi votorum electione creare certarent. Quod ipse universa, quæ ergà se vel à se fideliter acta, humili prudentiâ muneri divino (ut reputanda fuêre,) reputavit, juventutis in primordio moderatissimum virum agens. Consiliis itaque de matrimonio discrepatur, ut solent in diversum suadere ingenia disparium atque sententiæ: præsertìm cùm in frequenti curiâ ponderosâ de re consultatur. Reges de longinquo suas unicè charas filias huic marito voluntariè locarent, ac affines habere quos confines potissimùm placuit, multæ rationis gravitate id persuadente.

Optant ut uxorem ducat.

De Baldwino, marchione Flandrensi.

Vigebat eo tempore TEUTONIBUS collimitans ac Francis, eminénsque potentiâ, præcipuus eorum, [w]Flandrensis Marchio, BALDWINUS, nobilitate item prisco ex germine traditâ illustrissimus. Nam uti à Satrapis MORINORUM, quos moderni FLANDROS appellant; sic à Regibus Galliæ atque Germaniæ natales deducebat, nobilitatis etiam CONSTANTINOPOLITANÆ lineam attingentes. [x]Stupuerunt mirantes eum Comites, Marchiones, Duces, tum Archipræsulum alta dignitas, si quando præsentiam ejus, rari hospitis, imperatoria cura promeruit: Ipsius, velut amici et socii, prudentiam in deliberatione maximorum negotiorum consulturi, benevolentiam donis et multâ honoris impensâ comparaturi.

[u] Forte, *declinantes.*

[w] *Flandrensis Marchio Baldwinus.*——It is worth remarking that this Baldwin, who was the Sovereign or prince of Flanders, is here and in other passages of this author, as well as in the foregoing tract, intitled, *Encomium Emmæ*, called *Marquis*, and not *Earl*, of Flanders.

[x] *Stupuerunt mirantes eum Comites, Marchiones, Duces, tum Archipræsulum alta dignitas.* ——By this passage it should seem that the titles of Count, or Earl, Marquis, and Duke, were known as distinct titles even in this early age, though they are, all of them, often called *Earls*, or *Comites*. I am inclined to think that those whose proper title might be *Duke or Marquis*, were often called *Comites*, but that those whose proper title was that of *Comes* were never called *Duke* or *Marquis*. Thus the great man, who was the subject of this history, is often called *Comes Normanniæ*, and Baldwin Marquis of Flanders, is frequently called *Comes Flandrensis:* but a subordinate earl, such as the Earl of Arques in Normandy, *Comes Arcensis*, or the Earl of Ponthieu, *Comes Pontivi*, is never called *Dux*.

[y] Nomine siquidem Romani imperii miles fuit, re decus et gloria summa consiliorum in summâ necessitudine. Reges quoque magnitudinem ejus et venerati sunt et veriti. Est enim et nationibus procul remotis notissimum, quam frequentibus, quámque gravibus bellis Imperatorum immanitatem fatigaverit, pace demùm ad conditiones ipsius arbitratu dictatas compositâ, cùm Regum dominos [z] terræ ipsorum nonnullâ parte mulctaverit violenter extortâ. Sua quæque vel inexpugnatâ vel indefessâ potiùs manu tutans. Monarchia post Franciæ[a], cum puero Monarchâ, ipsius, consiliosissimi viri, tutelæ, dictaturæ, atque administrationi cessit. Marchio hic fascibus ac titulis longè amplior quàm strictìm sit explicabile, natam suam nobis acceptissimam dominam in Pontivo ipse præsentavit soceris generóque dignè adductam. Enutrierat autem prudens et sancta mater in filiâ quod muneribus paternis multuplo præponderaret. Requirens genus maternum, matris patrem sciat Regem Galliæ RODBERTUM, qui, filius et nepos Regum, progenuit Reges, cujus laudabilitatem in religione divinâ, et regni gubernatione mundi lingua non tacebit. Introductioni hujus sponsæ civitas Rotomagensis vacabat jocundans.

Gulielmus ejus filiam uxorem ducit.
A.D. 1053.

Compellamur istic ore quodam gesti pervulgati, nec ARCENSEM [b] COMITEM GUILLELMUM properantis ad altiora stili celeritate prætereire, et ipsum quidem patriæ lacrymis ultrà terminum æqui et boni, quantum in ipsius conatibus fuit, potentem. Ignavam propaginem atque perfidam præclaræ stirpis GUIDONEM [c] nec humanæ nec divinæ legis frena retinuêre. Hunc neque hæc, neque GUIDONIS ruina, prætereà neque magni victoris à nullo victi admiranda et virtus et

Comes Arcensis contrà ducem Normanniæ rebellat.
A.D. 1053.

[y] *Nomine siquidem Romani Imperii miles fuit, &c.*——By this passage it appears, that the *Earl*, or *Marquis*, of Flanders was a *miles*, or feudal tenant, of the Roman, or German, Emperor. And as Flanders was the North-western boundary of the Empire, he was probably, for this reason, called *Marchio*, or *Marquis*, that is, Lord of *the marches* or *boundaries*.

[z] By *Regum dominos* the author probably means the emperours of Germany, who, pretending to be the successors of the old Roman emperours, have claimed a superiority over kings, or to be *the Lords of Kings*.

[a] That is, the care and government of the kingdom of France and its young king Philip the first, was some years afterwards entrusted to this Baldwin marquiss of Flanders; namely, after the death of Henry, king of France, which happened in the year 1060.

[b] That is, the earl of *Arques*, a little village in the northern part of Normandy, a little to the East of Dieppe.

[c] *L.* Guillelmum.

et felicitas, partúmque iis inclytum nomen. Quod in præstantes animos et laudanda quæque facinora erigere debuit, id in immoderatam confidentiam ac nimìs altam extollendo præcipitavit utrumque; ortûs, videlicet, sui nimia notitia. Ambo enim sinistrè[d] noverunt in progenie se computari DUCUM NORMANNIÆ. Burgundio se nepotem Richardorum è filiâ secundi: Arcensis fratrem se tertii, secundi filium, primi nepotem. Is ab ineunte pueri principatu infidus ei et adversus, quanquam fidelitatem juratus et obsequium, hostilia agitabat, modò temeritate non latente resistens, clandestinis interdùm dolis. Improba quidem animi elatio facillimè hominem in res injustas detrudit. Motus dissensionum aliorúmque superiùs commemoratione aliquantâ digestorum malorum, nonnullos ipse, caput principale, concitavit, pleró{s}que exemplo, concilio, favore, et auxilio incitavit, auxit, confirmavit. Multa, et inquieta, longíque temporis, ejus molimina fuêre, pro suâ et contrà domini sui magnitudinem, cujus accessum non modò ab Arcensi castro, verumetiàm ab ei propinquâ Normanniæ parte, quæ citrà flumen Sequanam sita est, arcere sæpenumerò surrexit. Postremò in supradicti Danfronti oppugnatione quasi desertoris furtivo more discessit, nequaquam petitâ missione: satellitii[e] debitum, cujus anteà nomine hostilitatem utcúnque velabat, jam omne detrectans. Ob hæc et alia tot ejus et tanta ausa, Dux, uti res monuit, suspiciens plura et majora

[d] This word *sinistrè* here means "*unfortunately for themselves.*"

[e] The author here informs us, that the earl of Arch, or Arques, some time before he appeared in open rebellion against his feudal Lord, the duke of Normandy, had deserted the duke's army, while it was employed in the siege of Domfront, pretending that he did not owe the duke the service of attending him in his wars, or that he was not his feudal tenant, though it was under a pretence of this very feudal subjection to the duke of Normandy that he had before attempted to justify some former hostilities he had committed against duke William. This is expressed in these words. — *Postremò in supradictâ Danfronti oppugnatione quasi desertoris furtivo more dicessit, nequaquam petitâ missione; satellitii debitum, cujus anteà nomine hostilitatem utcunque velabat, jam omne detrectans.*

The obligation of a feudal tenant to attend his Lord in his wars is here called *Satellitii debitum*; and in some other passages in these old authors we meet with the word *Satellites*, which must be understood of *feudal, or military tenants*, attending their lords in the wars, and not of *hired guards*. It appears also from this passage, as well as from several others, that all duke William's armies in these Norman and French wars were made up of feudal tenants called together according to the obligation of their tenures to assist their lord.

Castellum prope Areas dux Normanniæ occupat.

Quod mox Arcarum comiti perfidiâ custodum traditur.

majora ausurum; receptaculi, quo plurimùm confidebat, editius firmamentum occupavit, custodiam immittens, in nullo ampliùs tamen jus ejus imminuens. Nempe eas latebras, id munimentum initæ elationis atque dementiæ ipse primus fundavit, et quàm operosissimè extruxit in præalti montis ARCARUM cacumine. Ceterùm malefidi custodes non multò post castri potestatem conditori reddunt, munerum pollicitatione, et impensiùs imminente variâ solicitatione fatigati subactique.

Dux Normanniæ contrà comitem Arcarum celerrimè proficiscitur.

Solito mox acriores intromissum furiæ incendunt ultionem quoque sui velut per injurias diminuti exacturum. Oritur toto ambitu pagi vicini multa miseria. Tumultus, prædæ, rapinæ sæviunt, vastitatem minantes. Armis, viris, commeatu, et quibuscúnque tali negotio idoneis castrum exornatur, munimenta priùs firma firmiora fiunt. Paci et otio locus nullus relinquitur. Denique sævissima rebellio instruitur. Quæ postquam Duci comperta sunt Guillelmo, è CONSTANTINO PAGO, ubi certiorem nuntium accepit, eâ properabat celeritate, ut equi comitantium, præter sex, omnes priúsquam perventum sit ARCAS, lassitudine defecerint. Nam festinantem, ut contrairet injuriæ suæ, ampliùs incitaverunt audita mala. Provinciæ suæ, Ecclesiarum bona, agrestium labores, negotiatorum[f] lucra, militum prædam injustè fieri dolebat. Miserando planctu imbellis vulgi, qui multus tempore belli aut seditionum oriri solet, advocari se cogitabat. Ceterùm, in itinere haud procul ab ipso castro obvios habuit quosdam suæ militiæ Principes, fidos acceptósque sibi. Hi repentino rumore in urbe ROTHOMAGO quæ Comes ARCENSIS agitabat audierant, et cum equitibus trecentis quantocius ARCAS accesserant, si convectationem frumenti et aliarum rerum contrà obsidionem necessariarum prohibere valerent. Verùm, ubi cognoverunt maximas copias militum inibi congregatas esse; simul

[f] By this passage it appears, that there were at this time merchants, or tradesmen, *negotiatores*, in Normandy. They seem by a former passage in this author, page 42, to have been, many of them, like our pedlars, or perhaps, like those tradesmen who attend fairs, travelling about with their goods from one place to another. That passage is at the end of the account of the rebellion of *Guy* of *Burgundy:* the author there says that, by the complete suppression of that rebellion, peace and plenty were every where restored, and all men could follow their occupations without danger, and that *exultabat negotiator, tutò, quò vellet, iturus*; "the trader rejoiced, being again able to travel wherever he pleased;" as if travelling about had been an essential part of his business.

ſimul quia metuebant, ipſos etiàm qui ſecum venerant tranſituros fore ad ſocietatem GUILLELMI[g], ante poſteri diei ortum (ſic eis amicorum opinio ſecretò prædixerat) diffiſi quam ociſſimè redibant. Hæc referunt, atque ipſi[h], ut exercitum præſtoletur, conſilium dant. Etenim ejus partem plùs quàm fama divulgaverit deſeri, viciniam penè omnem in adverſarii favorem concedere, ulteriùs pergere cum paucis nimìs periculoſum eſſe. At conſtantia illius minimè his ad pavorem eſt mota, vel ad diffidentiam. Nam eos confirmans hoc reſponſo, "nihil quidem rebelles in ſe, cùm præſentem conſpexerint, auſuros," mox, quantùm calcaria equum cogere poterant, accelerans perrexit. Egit eum propria fortitudo; felicitatem ei promiſit juſta cauſa. Et ecce, ut ſeditionis principem in prælto monte cum acie multarum legionum proſpexit, eniſus in arduo cunctos intrà munitionem terga dare impigerrimé compulit. Ac ni obſtitiſſent citiùs obſeratæ fores, inſecutus, uti animus iratus fortíſque tulit, malè ominatos ex magnâ parte obtruncaviſſet.

Caſtellum illud propè Arcas obſidione cingit.

Rem verè geſtam, et quid prope geſtum erat memoramus, ſed quæ poſteritas difficile ſit creditura. Dein potiri volens munitione, juſſu properè contracto exercitu circumſedit. Fuit difficillimum, quos ea natura loci maximè defenſabat, expugnare. Sanè more ſuo illo optimo, rem optans abſque cruore confectum iri: efferatos et contumaces obice caſtelli ad montis pedem extructi clauſit, præſidióque impoſito, aliis poſteà negotiis invitantibus, ipſe receſſit: ut, dum ferro parceret, fame vinceret.

A cædibus ſemper, quantum potuit, abſtinuit.

Monet equidem digna ratio et hoc memoriæ prodere, quàm piâ continentiâ cædem ſemper vitaverit, niſi bellicâ vi aut aliâ gravi neceſſitudine urgente. Exilio, carcere, item aliâ animadverſione, quæ vitam non adimeret, ulciſci malebat: quos juxtà ritum, ſive legum inſtituta, cæteri Principes gladio abſumunt belli captos, vel domi criminum capitalium manifeſtos[i]. Salubriter penſans qui arbiter, quàm tremendus,

[g] Scilicet, *comitis Arcarum.*

[h] Id eſt, *duci Normanniæ.*

[i] By this paſſage it appears that there were ſome crimes that might in this age have legally been puniſhed with death in Normandy and France, or that all crimes were not either compounded for in thoſe countries by a pecuniary mulct, or puniſhed with the loſs of hands or eyes, or other mutilations, though many of them were ſo.

mendus, terrenæ potestatis acta desuper prospiciat, moderatæ clementiæ ut immoderatæ sævitiæ omníque meritorum qualitati sua cuíque decernens.

Henricus rex comiti Arcarum contrà Normannos auxiliatur.

Audiens verò Rex HENRICUS inclusum esse, cujus vesaniæ fautor erat atque consultor, auxilium ferre festinat, manum adducens armatorum non modicam: ad hoc quibus indigent obsessi complura. Adducti in spem memorandi facinoris quidam ex eo numero, qui in præsidio Ducis relicti custodiunt, Francorum adventantium itinera explorata insidunt. Et ecce numerosa pars minùs cauti excipiuntur. INGELRANNUS PONTIVI COMES, Nobilitate notus ac fortitudine, et cum eo quamplures viri nominati interimuntur. HUGO BARDULPHUS ipse item, vir magnus, capitur. Perveniens tamen quò ire intenderat, Rex, exacerbatissimis animis summâ vi præsidium attentavit; GUILLELMUM ab ærumnis uti eriperet, pariter decrementum sui, stragem suorum, vindicaret. Sed ubi negotium difficile animadvertit, (quippè inimicos impetus facilè toleraverunt castelli munimenta, et militum virtus æquè valida) ne cruentâ morte et pudendâ fugâ pelleretur, abire maturavit, decus nullum adeptus: nisi forte decorum fuerit quorum advenit causâ inopiam stipendio minuisse, militibus numerum auxisse. Reverso dein ad obsidionem Duce, et qualiter otium aliquod jocundum celebrari solet, in procinctu aliquandiu morato, famis acrimonia sæviùs et arctiùs quàm armis urgens propè jam expugnavit. Rex denuò accitus multo et miserè supplici nuntio, venire abnuit: superiorem casum reputans, magis aspera magísque ignominiosa metuens. Cernit tandem angustiarum oculo Papiæ partus [k] rapiendi contrà dominum suum

Sed malo successu.

Ingelrannus, Pontivi comes, à Normannis interficitur.

Comes Arcarum cum suis se duci Normanniæ submittit.

[k] That is, the Earl of Arques, who was the son of Richard the second, duke of Normandy, by *Papia*, or *Pavia*, a beautiful woman, born at, or near, Domfront in Normandy, but not of noble parents, and who had been first mistress, and afterwards wife, to the said duke Richard, and had born him several children, amongst whom were, this earl of Arques, and *Malger*, or *Mauger*, archbishop of Roan, or Rouen.

A modern French writer informs us that duke Richard had been so much enamoured of this woman, that, for the sake of making her his wife, he had divorced his former wife *Estrith*, tho' sister to Ethelred the IId, king of England. See *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant, duc de Normandie, & roi d'Angleterre. Par M. l'Abbe P****, in two vols. duodecimo, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1742; vol. I, pages 53, 54, 91, and 92.— From what original author this account of *Papia* is taken, the Abbé P * * * does not inform us. But I find in the history of the Normans written by *Willelmus Gemeticensis*,

ſuum principatûs cupidinem maleſuadam eſſe, ſacramentum aut fidem violare, ut iniquum, ſic plerúmque perniciosum : pacis nomen blandum et dulce, rem ipſam profectò jucundam et ſalutarem. Damnat ipſe præ cunctis nimiùm audax incœptum, dementiſſimum conſilium, ruinoſum factum. Dolet armatum ſe in arctis arctari. Impetrant ſupplicantes deditionem accipi, præter vitam nihil aliud neque honeſtum neque utile pacti. En ſpectaculum triſte, letum miſerabile! Properant ultrà quam vires invalidæ ſufficiant, famoſi paulô ante equites cum Normannis evadere Franci, non minùs dedecore quàm inediâ cervicibus contuſis, pars in jumentis famelicis, quæ pedum cornu modicè vel ſonarent, vel pulverem excitarent, pendentes: pars ocreis & calcaribus ornati, inſolito comitatu incedentes, & eorum pleríque ſellam equeſtrem incurvo languidóque dorſo, nonnulli ſolùm ſe nutabundi vix eportantes. Erat item cernere calamitatem levis armaturæ egredientis fœdam ac variam. Miſerans infortunia hujus quoque, ut pridem Guidonis, celebranda Ducis clementia noluit extorrem & inopem caſu magis pudendo cruciari; ſed cum gratiâ & poſſeſſionibus quibuſdam amplis, atque multorum redituum, patriam ei conceſſit, æſtimans rectum potiùs in eo patruum reminiſci quàm adverſarium inſectari.

Et ab eo iterùm in gratiam recipitur.

In ipſâ morâ obſidionali Normannorum aliquanti potentiores ab duce ad regem defecerunt, quos jam anteà conſpirationis rebellantium occultíque fuiſſe adjutores opinabile erat. Malevolentiam, quâ olim contrà infantem

ticenſis, or *William* of *Jumieges*, that this Richard the ſecond, duke of Normandy, had married for his firſt wife, *Judith* the ſiſter of Geoffrey, earl of Britany, by whom he had three ſons, namely, firſt, Richard the third, who ſucceeded him in the dukedom of Normandy in the year 1026, and died in the year 1028; and ſecondly, *Robert*, who ſucceeded his brother *Richard* in the dukedom, and died in the year 1035, leaving the dukedom to his baſtard ſon *William*, who was afterwards *William the Conqueror*; and thirdly, *William*, who became a monk in the monaſtery of *Feſcamp* in Normandy; and likewiſe three daughters; namely, firſt, *Adeliza*, who married *Rainald*, count, or earl, of Burgundy, and by him had two ſons, namely, *William* of *Burgundy* and *Guy* of Burgundy, of whom (as we have ſeen in our author,) the latter rebelled againſt his couſin, duke *William*; and, ſecondly, a daughter that married Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and thirdly, a daughter that died unmarried. And this author tells us further, that after the death of his firſt wife, Judith, this duke Richard the ſecond married a woman of the name of *Papia*, by whom he had two ſons, namely, *Malger*, archbiſhop of *Roan*, and *William*, earl of *Arques*. But he makes no mention of *Eſtrith*, the princeſs of England. See Ducheſne's *Hiſtoriæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, in a large volume in folio, printed at Paris in the year 1619, pages 255 and 270.

infantem fuerant inflati, nondum evomuêre totam. Eorum è consortio GUIMUNDUS præsidens munitioni, quam MOLENDINAS appellant, in manus regis eam dedit. Imposita est regia cohors. GUIDO frater COMITIS PICTAVENSIS GULIELMI, atque ROMANÆ IMPERATRICIS, et cum eo viri militares atque illustres. Verùm et ii, et quiqui aliàs relicti sunt à Francis, cùm deditas esse comperissent ARCHARUM latebras, sese nostris fugâ furati sunt. Normanni autem, puniendi lege[l] transfugarum, levi pœnâ aut nullâ domino suo reconciliati sunt: rati nullas jam opes vel astutias contrà eum fore efficaces.

Gulielmus quibusdam transfugis ignoscit.

Franci omnes cum ipsorum rege, invidiâ moti, contrà Normannos bellum parant A.D. 1054.

Vehementiùs post hæc in æmulationem exardere, novóque moveri tumultu Francia cœpit. Principes universi, cum rege, Normanno principi ex inimicis jam inimicissimi. Anxiè tumebat in eorum malevolis mentibus vulnus præcipuè invidum, quod recenter sauciavit, mors INGELRANNI COMITIS, et in eodem conflictu interemptorum. Acerbè inflammabat eos memoria eventûs Andegavorum comitis Gaufredi, depulsi dudùm Guillelmi clypeo, qualiter memoravimus, aliorúmque non modici numeri detrimentorum, atque dedecorum inflictorum eis virtute Normannicâ, (Inimicitiæ causas veraciter explanamus,) ac pleniter rex ægerrimè ferebat, et velut contumeliam suam diffiniebat quam maximè ulciscendam, cùm IMPERATOREM ROMANUM, (quo majus potentiæ, sive dignitatis, nomen in orbe terrarum aliud non est) amicum et socium haberet, provinciis multis præsideret potentibus, quarum domini, aut rectores, militiæ suæ essent administri, comitem GUILLELMUM suum nec amicum nec militem[m], sed hostem esse;—Norman-

[l] By these words, *puniendi lege transfugarum*, compared with those in page 41, *quæ capitalia ex æquo irrogarentur*, it seems probable that at this time in Normandy deserters might legally have been punished with death.

[m] By this expression, "*nec militem*," it should seem that the dukes of Normandy were not bound, like the other feudal princes that held of the crown of France, to attend the king of France in his wars with a body of troops, whenever he should require them so to do.

This seems rather strange: but it agrees well enough with the account given by Dudo, dean of St. Quintin, (the ancient historian of Normandy,) of the grant made by *Charles the Simple*, king of France, in the year 912, of the provinces of Normandy and Britany to *Rollo*, the general of the *Danish*, or *Norman*, invaders, who had committed

mannium, quæ ſub regibus Francorum egit ex antiquo, propè in regnum evectam;—Superiorum ejus comitum (quanquam ardua valuerint,) nullum

mitted ſuch dreadful ravages in various parts of France for many years together. The king made him an offer, by his meſſenger *Franco*, archbiſhop of *Roan*, of his daughter *Giſla* in marriage, and of a large tract of country in the northern part of France for him and his army to ſettle in, upon condition that he would make a firm peace with the French, and would embrace the chriſtian religion and be baptized. To this propoſal *Rollo* conſents, and ſends back the ſame archbiſhop *Franco* to king *Charles* to declare his ſaid conſent, but upon condition "that he and his ſucceſſors ſhall poſſeſs the ſaid land for ever as their ſoil and full property;" which is expreſſed in theſe words; *Quinetiam non conciliabitur tibi niſi terra, quam daturus es, in ſacramento Chriſtianæ religionis juraveris, Tu, et Archipræſules, et Epiſcopi, Comites, et Abbates totius regni, ut teneat ipſe et ſucceſſores ejus ipſam terram, ab Eptâ fluviolo ad mare uſque, quaſi fundum et alodum in ſempiternum.* The king, upon this anſwer, by the advice of his great men, agrees to give *Rollo* the promiſed land in this manner, and to add to it the province of *Britany*, in order to afford the Normans the immediate means of ſubſiſtence, which could not then be had from Normandy in the waſted and deſert condition in which it then was. And hereupon hoſtages are given on both ſides for the due performance of the treaty, and *Rollo* is introduced to the king of France, and puts his hands between the hands of the king of France to do him homage for the lands. This is expreſſed in theſe words; *Statim, Francorum co-actus verbis, manus ſuas miſit inter manus regis; quod nunquam pater ejus, et avus, atque proavus cuiquam fecit. Dedit itaque filiam ſuam, Giſlam nomine, uxorem Duci, terrámque determinatam in alodo et in fundo, à flumine Eptæ uſque ad mare, totámque Britanniam, de quâ poſſet vivere.* After the foregoing ceremony of putting his hands between thoſe of the king of France (which we may naturally ſuppoſe to have been for the performance of homage,) *Rollo* was required to kneel down and kiſs the king's foot. But this he abſolutely refuſed to do, notwithſtanding the exhortations of the French biſhops there preſent, who told him that every perſon who received ſo noble a gift from the king as he had juſt received, ought to acknowledge it by kiſſing the king's foot. But it appeared to him ſo degrading an act that he not only refuſed to do it himſelf, but was with difficulty prevailed upon to order one of the officers of his army, who attended him, to do it for him. And this perſon did not ſeem to like the office. For, inſtead of kneeling down before the king in order to reach his foot with eaſe, he ſeized it violently and brought it to his mouth, and kiſſed it in a ſtanding poſture, and thereby made the king fall backwards; which, the author ſays, was the occaſion of a great deal of laughter amongſt all the company there preſent. Then, after Rollo had thus performed his homage to the king of France for the land ſo granted him, the king, and all the great men of France, took an oath to maintain him and his poſterity, to the remoteſt generations, in the full and quiet poſſeſſion of it. The words of the original are as follows. *Rolloni pedem regis nolenti oſculari dixerunt Epiſcopi; "Qui tale donum recipit, oſculo debet expetere pedem Regis." Et ille, "nunquam curvabo genua mea alicujus genibus, nec oſculabor cujuſpiam pedem." Francorum igitur precibus compulſus juſſit cuidem militi pedem regis oſculari: Qui ſtatim pedem regis arripiens, deportavit ad os ſuum, ſtandóque defixit oſculum, regémque fecit reſupinum. Itaque magnus excitatur riſus, magnúſque in plebe tumultus. Cæterùm Karolus rex, Dúxque Rotbertus,*

nullum in hæc ausa illatum. Condolentes in eadem TEDBALDUS, PICTAVORUM COMES, GAUFREDUS, item reliqui summates, quâdam insuper indignatione privatâ intolerandum ducebant sese regis, quocunque prævia vocarent, signis parere: GUILLELMUM Normannorum [a] nequaquam pro rege, sed confidentèr atque indesinentèr ad ejus magnitudinem, quam aliquantùm attrivit, ulteriùs atterendam, vel, si quâ viâ valeat, conterendam, in armis agitare. Præthereà concupiebant Normanniam, aut ejus partem, quidam regis proximi. Hi, quasi faces flagrantissimæ, regem incendebant et principes.

Exercitum quàm numerosissimum congregant;

Eas ob res post consultationem infausto omine communicatam, edicto regio bellum jubente, innumerosissimæ copiæ in Normanniam expeditæ sunt.

bertus, comitésque et proceres, præsules et abbates, juraverunt sacramento Catholicæ fidei patricio Rolloni vitam suam et membra et honorem totius regni; insuper terram denominatam, quatinùs ipsam teneret et possideret, hæredibúsque traderet, et per curricula cunctorum annorum successio nepotum in progenies progenierum haberet et excoleret. His, ut dictùm est, expletis, rex Karolus ad sua remeavit, Rotbertus et Franco cum Rollone remansit. After this account of the grant of the land of *Normandy* and *Britany* to *Rollo*, the historian tells us, that *Rollo* was baptised by *Franco*, the archbishop of *Roan*, by the name of *Rotbert* (which we now call *Robert*, and which signifies *Redbeard*, like *Barbarossa* in Italian, and *Ahenobarbus*, or *Ænobarbus*, among the Romans,) which was given him by *Rotbert*, duke of France, who was present at the ceremony of his baptism, and was his godfather: and, after he had thus embraced christianity himself and been baptized, he caused all his officers and soldiers *comites suos, et milites, omnémque manum exercitûs sui*, to be baptized in like manner, and to be instructed by preachers in the doctrines of the christian religion.

In this account of the grant of Normandy and Britany to Rollo, there is no mention of any obligation on him and his successors to attend the kings of France in their wars with any number of troops, whenever they should be required so to do, as it is probable many others of the vassals of the crown of France were expressly bound to do. This supposition is agreeable to the indignation which the other great princes, or earls, of France are said in the text of this note to have felt at seeing the duke of Normandy exempt from the obligation of attending the king of France in his wars, while they themselves were bound to follow his banners where-ever he chose to lead them, *intolerandum ducebant sese regis, quocunque prævia vocarent, signis parere, Gulielmum, Normannorum comitem, nequaquam pro rege, sed . . . ad ejus magnitudinem . . . . atterendam . . . . . . in armis agitare.* Yet, as Rollo had performed homage to the king of France for the land granted him, it should seem, from the very nature of homage, that he must have been under an obligation to assist the king of France in all his defensive wars, though not to attend him in his offensive ones. And this assistance the dukes of Normandy did afterwards, in fact, frequently afford to the kings of France. See *Du Chesne*'s collection of the historians of Normandy, *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui*, in a large volume in folio, printed at Paris in the year 1619, pages 83, 84.

[a] Scilicet *Comitem*.

ſunt. Burgundiam, Arverniam, atque Waſconiam properare videres horribiles ferro: imò vires tanti regni, quantum in climata mundi quatuor patent, cunctas, Franciam tamen et Britanniam, quanto nobis viciniores, tantò ardentiùs infeſtas. Julium Cæſarem, vel bellandi peritiorem aliquem, ſi fuerit peritior, exercitûs Romani ducem, (ex mille nationibus coacti olim, dum Roma florentiſſima mille provinciis imperitaſſet:) hujus agminis immanitate terreri potuiſſe affirmâris. Nimirùm concipit pavorem aliquantum terra noſtra. Eccleſiæ metuunt inquietanda fore otia ſanctæ religionis, ſtipendia ſua ex libidine armatorum diripienda, quamvis orationum præſidio certantes confidant. Plebs urbana et agreſtis, necnon quicunque imbellis et minùs firmus, ſolliciti ſunt ac trepidi: timent ſibi, uxoribus, liberis, rebus ſuis, cùm adeò gravem hoſtem timoris modo ampliorem quàm ſit metiuntur. At cùm reminiſcuntur quem habeant propugnatorem, quàm luctuoſas patriæ calamitates adhuc adoleſcens, vel puer potiùs, magno conſilio, maximâque virtute ſuſtulerit, ſpe timorem leniunt, afflictionem fiduciâ conſolantur. Verùm admirandæ conſtantiæ dux Guillelmus nullâ perculſus formidine, regi, qui robur immanius ipſe ducit, jam in Rotomagenſem ex Ebroicenſi pago ſenſim procedenti, magno animo ſeſe feſtinus opponit. Trans adverſam ripam Sequanæ partem ſuarum copiarum, ut hoſtem diſtributum prænovit, contrà dirigens. Sic enim diſpoſitum eſt induſtriâ, quæ multùm profutura ſperabatur: ut quantus miles inter Sequanam et Garonnam fluvios colligeretur, (quas gentes multas uno nomine Celtigallos appellant,) nos hac, rege ipſo duce, invaderent, illac verò ducibus, fratre regis Odone, et Rainaldo familiariſſimo, inter flumen Rhenum et Sequanam collecti, quæ Gallia Belgica nuncupatur. Regem inſuper comitabatur Aquitania, pars Galliæ tertia et latitudine regionum, et multitudine hominum à pleriſque æſtimata. Nec mirum, ſi fortè Francorum temeritati atque ſuperbiæ ſic munitæ ſpes erat aliquanta, Ducem noſtrum aut opprimendum eſſe eâ mole, aut ignominioſâ fugâ elapſurum; milites aut occidendos, aut capiendos; oppida excidenda, vicos exurendos; hæc ferienda gladio, illa in prædam diripienda: poſtremò terram totam uſque in fœdam ſolitudinem redigendam.

quo in duas partes diviſo Normanniam invadunt.

Hujus exercitûs una pars à Normannis superatur, apud Mare mortuum; A. D. 1054.

Sed longè alium res eventum habuit. Nam inauspicatò congressi Odo et Rainaldus, cùm suam aciem quàm terribili atrocitate vastari animadverterent, ducatu et ensis ope simul omissis, equorum velocitate saluti consulunt. Urgebat namque cervices eorum, non meritas leniora, mucro Roberti Aucensis* Comitis, ut natalibus ita virtute magni, unà Hugonis Gornacensis, Hugonis Montisfortis, Gualterii Giffardi, Guillelmi Crispini, aliorúmque nostræ partis fortissimorum virorum. Guido, Pontivi Comes, ad vindicandum fratrem Ingelrannum nimìs avidus, captus est, et cum eo complures genere et opibus clari; plurimi ceciderunt, reliquos fuga eripuit cum antesignanis. Cognito citiùs hoc successu propugnator noster Dux Guillelmus nocte intempestâ cautè instructum quendam direxit, qui tristem regi victoriam propiùs castra ipsius ab alto arboris per singula

* *Roberti Aucensis Comitis*, means Robert, Earl of *Eu*, or *Ou*, or *Owe*, (for it is wrote all the three ways in old authors,) which is a town in the north-eastern part of Normandy near the sea-coast, about half-way between Dieppe and Saint Valery, at the mouth of the river *Somme*. This Robert, Earl of Eu, was descended from Richard the first, duke of Normandy, by one of his concubines. This duke Richard, besides his children by his beautiful wife, Gunnor, a lady of great family in Denmark, (amongst which were Richard the second, his successor in the dukedom of Normandy, and Emma, that was queen of England, and mother of king Edward the Confessor,) had two sons by his concubines, whose names were *Godfrey* and *William*. Of these *Godfrey* was first made earl of *Eu*; and upon his death his brother *William* succeeded him in that earldom, and was succeeded in it by his posterity down to the time of *Willelmus Gemeticensis*, or *William of Jumieges*, who flourished in the reign of William the Conqueror. The words of *Gemeticensis* are as follows. *Genuit etiàm [Richardus primus] duos filios, et totidem filias ex concubinis. Quorum unus Godefridus, alter verò dicebatur Willelmus. Horum prior comes fuit Aucensis. Quo defuncto, accepit frater ejus eundem Comitatum, quem adhuc hæredes ejus jure successionis possident.* It seems probable therefore that the Robert, earl of Eu, mentioned in the text, was grandson to this William, and consequently great-grandson to duke Richard the first: and if so, he was second cousin to William the Conqueror. It is on account of this descent that our author says he was *natalibus magni*, a person of high birth.

All the five warriours mentioned in the text of this note, namely, Robert, earl of Eu, Hugh, earl of Gournay, Hugh, earl of Montfort, Walter Giffard, and William Crispin, accompanied duke William in the year 1066 in his expedition into England, and obtained large possessions there as a reward for their services. Four of them, namely, the earl of Eu, Hugh de Gournay, Hugh de Montfort, and William Crispin, are mentioned in an antient Norman Chronicle as having being present at the great battle of Hastings, by the names of *Le Sire de Montfort*, *Guillaume Crispin*, *Le Comte d'Eu*, and *Hugues de Gourné*, See the above-cited *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquerant*, vol. I, pages 271, 272, 273. And it is well known that Walter Giffard accompanied duke William to England, and was made by him earl of Buckinghamshire.

ſingula inclamavit [p]. Rex attonitus inopinato nuntio, procùl omni cunctatione ſigno antelucano ſuos in fugam excitavit; ſummè neceſſarium ratus quàm maximâ celeritate Normanniæ finibus diſcedere. Multa dehinc hoſtilia utrinque acta ſunt, qualia præter belli conflictum inter tantos hoſtes fieri ſolent. Francis tandem graviſſimarum ſibi diſſentionum finem cupientiſſimè volentibus, pax convenit. Eâ pactione inter Ducem et regem mediâ, ut capti apud Marc-mortuum regi redderentur, ejus verò aſſenſu et quaſi dono quodam dux jure perpetuo retineret quod Gaufrido, Andegavorum Comiti, abſtulerat, quodque valeret auferre. Confeſtìm in ipſo conventu principes militiæ ſuæ juſſu commonuit

Quo audito, rex cum alterâ exercitûs parte fugit ex Normanniâ.

Pax fit inter regem Franciæ et ducem Normanniæ.

p Another contemporary writer, *Willelmus Gemeticenſis*, or William of *Jumieges*, tells us who the perſon was that was ſent to communicate theſe diſmal tidings to the French army, and mentions ſome other particulars concerning this invaſion of Normandy, which are worth relating. His account of this matter is as follows. "Tunc "etiàm Normannos diſcordia turbavit, eóſque vicinorum qui bella paci præponebant, "cruores effundere compulit. Enimverò, ex quo Normanni arva Neuſtriæ cœpe- "runt incolere, mos fuit Francis ſemper eis invidere. Concitabant ergò reges ad- "verſùs illos inſurgere, aſſerentes terras, quas poſſident, ſuis majoribus violentèr eos "ſurripuiſſe. Quibus Rex Henricus vehementèr irritatus, ambagibus, imò malig- "niſſimis æmulorum ſuggeſtionibus, ob ducis imperium, duobus hoſtium agminibus "Normanniam eſt aggreſſus. Unum quidem electæ nobilitatis virorum fortium, ad "Calcinum ſubvertendum territorium, direxit: cui fratrem ſuum, nomine Odonem, "præfecit. Alteri verò cum Goiffredo Martello, ad demoliendum Comitatum Ebroi- "cenſem, ipſe præfuit. Dux ergò, ut ſe ſuóſque taliter opprimi vidit, magno et no- "bili tactus dolore milites protinùs elegit, quos ad comprimendos Calceii ſubverſores "celerrimè direxit. Ipſe autem cum ſuorum nonnullis circà regem ſe contulit, qua- "tenùs pœnas lueret, ſi quem ſatellitum à regis latere abſtrahere aliquatenùs valeret. "Venientes verò Normanni ad Francos, repererunt eos apud Mortuum-mare in in- "cendiis et mulierum ludibriis occupatos. Cum quibus illicò mane commiſſum bel- "lum in continuâ cæde occumbentium ad uſque nonam ab utriſque eſt protractum. "Noviſſimè autem Francigenæ victi fugerunt, et Normanni eventum duci mox per "nuncios intimaverunt. At ille nimìs lætus ſuper hac re, Henricum Regem volens "effugare, terruit eum ejus legatione. Nuncius Ducis regalibus caſtris appropiavit, "et in quodam proximo monte noctu ſtans fortitèr clamare cœpit. Cúmque Regii "vigiles ſciſcitarentur, quis eſſet, vel quare tali horâ ſic vociferaretur, reſpondiſſe "fertur: "'Rodulfus de Toeniâ nominatus ſum, vobíſque defero lugubre nuncium. "'Ad Mortuum-mare currus veſtros cum carris ducite, et inde cadavera charorum "'veſtrorum reportate. Franci quippe Normannorum militiam experiri ſuper nos ve- "'nerunt, eámque multò majorem quàm voluiſſent invenerunt. Odo ſignifer eorum "'turpitèr fugatus eſt, et Guido, Pontivi Comes, captus eſt. Reliqui omnes capti, "'aut perempti ſunt, aut obnixè fugientes vix evaſerunt. Hoc ex parte ducis Nor- "'mannorum confeſtìm renunciate regi Francorum.'" Rex igitur ut infortunium ſuo- "rum

nuit dux intrà terminos Martelli Andegavensis Ambreras [q] construendas maturè adesse paratos. Et quem hujus incœpti diem eis ipse, eundem Martello per legatos præfinivit. O validum, ô confidentem et nobilem hujus viri animum! ô admirandam, nec facilè competenti præconio extollendam virtutem! Non petit imbellis cujuslibet terram debellandam, sed tyranni ferocissimi & in re militari, ut superiora docuêre, plurimùm strenui, quem, uti fulmen terribile, Comites atque duces potentissimi tremerent; cujus vires et versutias colimitantium ei quisquam

" rum agnovit, à Normannicâ infestatione concito gradu, quantociùs valuit, mœstus
" de interitu Gallorum retrò pedem retraxit. Hæc pugna anno Dominicæ incarna-
" tionis MLIV. facta est."

In this account *Calcinum territorium* and *Calceii* mean the *Pais de Caux* in Normandy, lying on the east side of the river Seine; and *Comitatus Ebroicensis* means the county, or earldom, of *Evreux*, or the territory belonging to the city of *Evreux*; and *Mortuum mare* means the town, or castle, of *Mortemer* on the east side of the Seine.

q *Ambreræ*, or *Ambreres*, where duke William resolved to build the castle mentioned in the text, is a place in the district, or country, called *Le Maine*, on the south of Normandy, about ten miles to the north of the city of *Mayenne*, on the river *Mayenne*; which city of *Mayenne* is here called *Meduanum*. This city of Mayenne, with the country about it, seems at this time to have belonged to, or to have been governed by, a prince of the name of Geoffrey, (whom the author calls *Gaufridus Meduanensis,)* and to have been held by him, as a fief, from Geoffrey Martell, the earl of Anjou. For the author here tells us that this Geoffrey of Mayenne applied to the earl of Anjou, as his lord, for protection against this attempt of the duke of Normandy to build a castle at Ambreres, which, if carried into execution, would expose the country round the city of Mayenne to be invaded and plundered by the Normans at their pleasure. The answer of Geoffrey Martell to this application is worthy of observation. " I will give you leave, says he, to reject me for your upper Lord for the future, as " being a base and spiritless protector of my dependants, if I let this encroachment " be made on your territory without doing all I can to prevent it. *Meum, inquit, sicut* " *vilis et pudendi Domini, omninò abnuas dominium, si, patiente me, patrari videas quod* " *metuis.*" By this passage it appears that the duties of a Lord and his vassal, or feudal tenant, were reciprocal, and that, as the vassal was to forfeit his fief, if he did not attend his Lord in his wars according to the condition of his tenure, so the Lord was to forfeit his sovereignty over the fief if he did not defend his tenant, when unjustly attacked. And accordingly we meet with frequent instances, in these times, of tenants, or vassals, throwing off their subjection to their Lords on this account, and transferring their homage, or dependance, to other princes more able and willing to protect them. The result of this very attempt of duke William to build a castle at Ambreres, was a change of the sovereignty of the city and territory of Mayenne. For the author informs us, that, after the duke had built the said castle, and put a Norman garrison

quisquam vix evaderet. Porrò, ut magis admirêre, ipsum hostem incautum vel imparatum non aggreditur, sed priùs ei diebus xl. "ubi, quando, cujus rei gratiâ, sit adventurus," denuntiat. Hujus famæ terrore perculsus Gaufredus Meduanensis, Gaufredum, Dominum suum, festinus adit, dolens & miserans conqueritur; "constructis Ambreris opibus Normannorum, terram ejus ad libitum inimici invadendam, destruendam, desolandam." Cui tyrannus Martellus, ut erat elatus animo, grandia præsumere et loqui solitus: "Meum, inquit, sicut vilis et pudendi "Domini, omninò abnuas dominium, si, patiente me, patrari videas quod "metuis." Die præfinito, Cenomanicum solum ingressus Normannorum rector, dum castrum quod minatus est erigit, famâ referente, quæ tam falsi quàm veri nuncia volat, Gaufredum Martellum brevi adventurum audit. Quapropter opere administrato hostis adventum magnâ constantiâ et alacritate præstolatur. Quem ubi ampliùs opinione morari videt, et jam de cibariorum penuriâ plebeii pariter ac proceres conqueruntur, ne milite minùs prompto in futurum utatur, modò dimittere statuit, castro viris et alimoniis munito; jubens tamen, ut cùm nuncium ejus acceperint, quantociùs eodem redeant cuncti. Exercitûs nostri mox divulgato discessu, Martellus in auxilium suum adjunctis Guillelmo, Pictavorum Comite, domino suo, et Eudone, Britannorum Comite, necnon undequáque copiis collectis, Ambreras contendit. Dein præsidii situ & munimentis perspectis, ad oppugnandum accingitur. Parant vallum rescindere; Castellani resistunt. Exardent, audent, aggrediuntur propiùs et acriùs: certatur utrinque magnâ vi. Missilia, saxa, libriles sudes, item lanceæ desuper feriunt. Iis plerique interempti cadunt, alii repelluntur. Sic audaci molimine cassato aliud incipiunt. Tentant murum ariete, qui percussus in virgâ Castellanorum frangitur.

Guliemus erigit castellum apud Ambreras in terrâ Gaufredi Martelli;

et, militibus aliquibus ibi relictis, in Normanniam redit.

Martellus cum Pictavorum et Britannorum comitibus hoc castellum aggrediuntur.

Interiâ

rison in it, Geoffrey Martell, earl of Anjou, assisted by his Lord, William, earl of Poitou, and Eudo, earl of Britany, laid siege to it with as large an army as they could raise, but without success; and afterwards, upon the approach of duke William with an army of Normans, they abandoned the siege with precipitation, and returned home; and Geoffrey, the reigning prince of the city and territory of Mayenne, being utterly unable to contend with the Norman forces, was obliged to transfer his homage for the said city and territory from Geoffrey Martell to duke William. *Victor Guillelmus Gaufredum Meduanensem è vestigio bello adortus. - - - intrà exiguum tempus eoúsque compulit ut in remotissimis Normanniæ partibus sibi manus perdomitas daret, fidelitatem quam satelles domino debet, jurans.* The word *satelles*, evidently means in this passage (as in several other passages of this author,) a vassal, or feudal tenant.

Sed, Gulielmo in subsidium ejus adveniente, in fugam vertuntur.

Gaufredus Meduanensis à Gulielmo duce superatur, et ad homagium ei faciendum pro terrâ suâ Meduanensi compellitur. A.D. 1055.

Intereâ cognito labore suorum munitionis fundator Guillelmus, omnis moræ impatiens evocat exercitum, subventum ire quàm maximè properat. Quem postquam inimici, tres adeò nominati comites, adequitare percipiunt, mirâ celeritate, ne dicam trepidâ fugâ, cum immanibus exercitibus dilabuntur. Victor Gaufredum Meduanensem è vestigio bello adortus, qui domini furorem præcipuè incendit querelâ præfatâ, intrà exiguum tempus eoúsque compulit, ut in remotissimis Normanniæ partibus sibi manus perdomitas daret, fidelitatem quam satelles domino debet, jurans.

Rex Franciæ iterùm Normanniam invadit. A.D. 1059.

Rursùm pace solutâ, rex ignominiæ suæ magìs quàm detrimenti requirens ultionem, renovatâ expeditione Normanniam[r] aggreditur, exercitu coacto copioso quidem, et [s] minùs quàm anteà immani. Regni siquidem ejus pars amplior funera, sive indecoram fugam, suorum lugens aut timens, ad redeundum super nos minùs prona erat[t], quanquam vindictæ in nos longè cupidissima. Martellus, Andegavensis, nondum tot sinistris casibus fractus, minimè defuit, quantum ullatenùs virium colligere potuit, adducens. Vix enim hujus inimici odium et rabiem Normanniæ

[r] This invasion of Normandy was in the year 1059, or five years after the former, which was terminated by the battle of Mortemer. See *Ordericus Vitalis* amongst Du Chesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, page 478.

[s] Forte legendum erit, *at*.

[t] The author here informs us that, after the former war against the Normans, in the year 1054, (in which almost all France had joined,) had ended so unhappily by the defeat of the French army at Mortemer, the king of France made another attempt upon Normandy with a large army, but not with so very large a one as before, because many of the princes of France were discouraged by their last ill success from engaging again against the Normans. Now from this passage it seems reasonable to infer, that the king of France had not an absolute power of making war when, and against whom, he pleased, and requiring the attendance and assistance of his vassals, or feudal tenants, on every such occasion, in consequence of the tenures of their lands; but that the said vassals had some power of judging for themselves in those matters, and of either granting or refusing their consent to such a requisition, as they thought best, unless in the case of a defence of the kingdom, or some other such urgent necessity. It seems probable that both in France and England all these great prerogatives of the crown were exercised by the advice and with the consent of the great councils of the several nations, which were composed of these feudal tenants. This conjecture seems to be confirmed by the following words, (which occur above in page 58 in the beginning of the account of the former expedition against Normandy,) *post consultationem infausto omine communicatam.*

manniæ tellus penitùs contusa vel excisa satiaret. Famam tamen sui motûs, quantum potuêre, occultantes, ne confestìm in ipso ingressu obvio propugnatore, quem experti sunt, repellerentur: citis itineribus per Oximensem [u] Comitatum ad fluvium Divam [w] pervenêre, hostili immanitate per transitum populati. Neque illìc aut converti placuit, aut

 consistere

[u] *Oximensem Comitatum* means *Le pais d'Auge*, which lies on the east side of the river *Orne* on which the great city of *Caen* is situated.

[w] *Fluvium Divam.* I cannot find in the map of Normandy in Bleau's Atlas any river named *Diva*, or *Dive*. But, from the context, one would be apt to suppose, that this river was the river *Orne*, on which the city of *Cäen* is situated, that river being the western boundary of the *Päis d'Auge*, or *Comitatus Oximensis*, through which the French army is here said to have passed, when it came to the river *Dive*. *Willielmus Gemeticensis*, or William of *Jumieges*, giving an account of this expedition of the French into Normandy, says, that they penetrated into the country called *Le Bessin*, of which the episcopal city of *Bayeux* is the capital [*Comitatum Baiocacencem*], which lies on the western side of the city *Orne*; according to which account, one might suppose that the river *Dive* was the western branch of the river *Orne*, which falls into the main river at *Cäen*. *Tamen quære.* The account given by this William of Jumieges of this last expedition of Henry I. king of France, into Normandy, is contained in Chap. xxviii. of his history, (page 283 of Duchesne's edition of the *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui)* and is in the words following.

CAPUT XXVIII.

Quomodo Henricus, Rex Francorum, apud vadum Divæ exercitum amisit, et posteà, Duci reconciliatus, eidem castrum Tegularias *reddidit.*

REX autem Henricus injuriam sibi à Duce illatam toto annisu cupiens ulcisci, sumpto Goiffredo Comite Andegavensi, copiosissimo cum exercitu iteratâ expeditione Normanniam aggreditur. Qui Comitatum pertransiens Oximensem, et penetrans Bajocacensem, tandem reflexo calle redeundi vadum Divæ appetiit. Quod Rege transeunte, media exercitûs pars substitit, mari eructuante, ob redundationem fluminis non valens transmeare. Cum quibus Dux acriter superveniens sub Regis oculis illicò congressus, tantâ illos cæde prostravit, ut quos gladius non extinxit, hos per Normannica compita dispergeret violentia diræ captivitatis. Videns autem Rex suorum interitum, quantociùs valuit à Normannis recessit, et ad eos ultrà venire non apposuit. Amicitiam quoque Ducis, consideratâ ejus probitate, requisivit; et Tegulense castrum, quod dudùm abstulerat, illi tradidit. Sæpedictus Rex valdè fuit militaris, magnæque fortitudinis, et pietatis. Mathildem Juliusclodii, Regis Rugorum, filiam in matrimonio habuit, ex quâ duos filios, Philippum et Hugonem, unámque filiam genuit. Qui postquam regnum Galliæ ferè xxv. *annis rexit, causâ corporeæ salutis à Joanne, medicorum peritissimo, potionem accepit. Sed, veneno nimiam sitim inferente, jussum Archiatri sprevit, et à cubi-*

consistere fiducia fuit. Etenim si permitteretur ulteriùs progredi, quasi eò perventum est cursu, et sic in Franciam dein evadere incolumes; præclaræ famæ occasionem sibi promisêre, quod Guillelmi Normanni terram ad littus usque marinum ferro ignéque vastaverint, nemine obsistente, nemine insequente. Verùm ea spes, ut illa quondam, fefellit. Nam dum ad vadum Divæ morarentur, supervenit ipse alacer cum exiguâ manu virorum felici horâ. Pars exercitûs jam flumen cum rege transierat. Et ecce fortissimus vindex in residuos insiluit, cecidit populatores, parcere flagitium credens, cùm patriæ sauciatæ adeò necessaria causa ageretur, infestissimo hoste in medio sinu ejus deprehenso. Citrà aquam intercepti, in oculis regiis ferè cuncti ferro ceciderunt, præter qui sese ingurgitare maluerunt pavore impellente. Ne verò jure sæviens gladius in adversam ripam insequeretur, rheuma maris obstabat, alveum Divæ insuperabili mole occupantis. Interitum suorum miserans ac metuens rex, cum Andegavense tyranno quàm celerrimè Normannicos fines exivit; decernens animo consternato vir strenuus et nominatus in rebus bellicis, dementiæ reputandum Normanniam ultrà attentare.

Sed à Gulielmo, cum multâ suorum cæde, superatur.

Non multo post universæ carnis viam demigravit, nunquam gloriatus triumpho, quem de Guillelmo, Normanno Comite, retulerit: imò nec multæ in eum vindictæ compos. Philippus, filius, ei successit infans, inter quem et principem nostrum firma pax composita est, ac serena amicitia, totâ Franciâ cupiente et annuente.

Mors Henrici, regis Franciæ. A. D. 1060.

Sub idem tempus obiit et Gaufredus Martellus ad vota multorum, vel quos oppresserat, vel qui metuerant eum. Sic terrenæ potestati et humanæ superbiæ finem natura ponit inevitabilem. Serò pœnituit miserandum hominem nimiæ fortitudinis, ruinosæ tyrannidis, perniciosæ cupiditatis. Equidem sua eum extrema docuêre, quod anteà pensare neglexit; "etiàm quæ justè in mundo possidentur, necessariò amittenda fore." Sororis filium hæredem reliquit, qui nomine proprio idem, probitate

Et Gaufredi Martelli, comitis Andegavensis.

Gaufredo Martello, Comiti Andegavensi, succedit in isto Comitatu sororis filius, qui eodem nomine *Gaufredi Martelli* est designatus.

à cubiculario potum accipiens, dum medicus abesset, ante purgationem bibit. Unde nimis infirmatus, eodem die post perceptionem sacræ Eucharistiæ obiit. Philippum verò filium suum in regimine Francorum heredem constituit, et tutelæ Balduini Flandrensis Satrapæ commendavit.

By the Words *Castrum Tegularias* and *Tegulense castrum* this author means the castle of *Tillieres* in the southern part of the dutchy of Normandy, on the river *Aure*, about half-way between *Verneuil* and *Nonnancourt*.

bitate[x] absimilis ei, cælestem regem timere, et pro comparando externo honore bona actitare cœpit.

Auctoris sollicitudo ut vindicet justitiam, non minùs quam fortitudinem, Gulielmi.

Quod humanæ linguæ ad malevolentiam quàm ad benevolentiam laudandam sint promptiores, novimus; ob invidiam plerúmque; interdùm ob aliam pravitatem. Nam et pulcherrima facinora in contrariam partem iniquâ depravatione traducere solent. Unde nonnunquam fieri constat, quatinùs decora regum, sive ducum, sive cujuscunque optimi, cùm non verè traduntur, apud ætatem posteram censurâ bonorum damnentur, ut nequaquam imitanda mala ad invasionem, vel aliud iniquum facinus placeant exemplo. Quapropter nos operæ pretium arbitramur quàm verissimè tradere, quatinùs Guillelmus hic (quem scripto propagamus, quem tàm futuris quàm præsentibus, in nullo displicere, imò cunctis placere optamus;) Cenomanico Principatu, quemadmodum Regno Anglico, non solùm forti manu potitus fuerit, sed et justitiæ legibus potiri debuerit[y].

 Comitum

[x] *Probitate absimilis ei.* This seems to mean that this *Geoffrey Martel*, who was the nephew of the former, and succeeded him in the earldom of Anjou, was inferior to him in strength and valour, or the talents of a warriour, that being the most usual meaning of the word *probitas* in the writers of this age.

[y] *Cenomanico Principatu, quemadmodum regno Anglico, non solùm forti manu potitus fuerit, sed et justitiæ legibus potiri debuerit.*

By this passage it appears, that the two actions that were chiefly objected to by Duke William's enemies in his life-time, as proceeding from an inordinate ambition, and being irreconcilable with the rules of justice, and which his friends and admirers were therefore most sollicitous to vindicate, were his invasion of the country of Maine, [*Cenomanicum Principatum, sive comitatum*] about the year 1063, after the death of Earl Herebert, or Herbert, without children, and his invasion of England in the year 1066. Our author endeavours to justify both these actions; and whoever is desirous of forming a true idea of Duke William's character, with regard to his observance of the rules of justice, ought to examine with attention what our author has alledged in his defence. His account of the invasion of the earldom, or district, of Maine, (which lies to the south of Normandy, and to the north of the earldom of Anjou, and of which Mans, on the river Sartre, is the chief town) is as follows.

Hugh, earl of Mans and the country about it, called *Le Maine*, held his earldom of Geoffrey Martel, the valiant, but ambitious and insolent, earl of Anjou, who has been so often mentioned in this history. And he had often suffered the greatest injuries from him without being able to make any resistance. More than once his capital city of Mans had been burnt by this tyrannical lord; and at other times it had been taken by

Injuriæ à comitibus Andegavensibus in Cenomannorum comites illatæ.

Comitum Andegavensium dominatio Cenomanorum Comitibus pridem gravis ac penè intolerabilis extiterat. Ut enim alia plurima omittam, novissimè nostrâ memoriâ Fulco Andegavensis Herbertum Cenomanicum majorem Santonas illexit, sponsione urbis ipsius. Ibi, vinctum in medio colloquio, ad pactiones, quas avarè concupierat, carcere ac tormentis coëgit.

Tempore

by him, and given up to his soldiers to be plundered; and in other incursions Geoffrey Martel had laid waste all the country about Mans; and at one time he had absolutely driven Earl Hugh out of the whole country, and seized it into his own hands. And in this state of hostility with Geoffrey Martel, and of oppression from his power and injustice, Earl Hugh was at the time of his death. Upon this event the earldom of *Mans*, or *Le Maine*, devolved upon his son *Herebert*, or *Herbert*, together with his quarrel with Geoffrey Martel; whose power was so great that Herebert was afraid of being totally destroyed by it, and therefore applied to William, duke of Normandy, for protection; and, in order to obtain it, gave up his earldom to him, and took it back again from him as his feudal tenant, doing him homage for it as a military tenant to his liege lord; and he also appointed Duke William to be his heir, in case himself should die without children, notwihstanding he had a sister living, whose name was *Margaret*; and lastly, he engaged to marry a daughter of Duke William. Upon these terms Duke William undertook to protect him in the possession of the earldom of Mans, or Maine. But before Duke William's daughter was old enough to enter into the married state, this Earl Herebert died, exhorting his subjects with his last breath to fulfill his agreement with Duke William, and submit themselves to his government, and representing to them that their peace and safety depended entirely on their doing so.

But, instead of following this advice, the people of Maine submitted themselves to the government of another prince in their neighbourhood with whom their two last earls had been connected by marriage, namely, Walter earl of Mante, (a great town situated on the river Seine) who had married a sister of Hugh, earl of Maine, the father of the last earl Herebert. To this Earl Walter they gave possession of their country, and its capital city Mans, and, as it should seem, on the ground of his marriage with the aunt of their last earl, Herebert. Duke William, however, would not allow this connection to be sufficient to supersede his right to the country grounded on his aforesaid express agreement with the late Earl Herebert; and therefore he immediately raised an army, and invaded the country, and laid siege to the city of Mans. The new Earl Walter, who, upon his taking possession of this earldom, had put himself under the protection of Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, (the nephew of the famous Geoffrey Martel) and had become his vassal for the earldom of *Mans*, or *Le Maine*, (as his brother in law, the late Earl Hugh, had been to the former Geoffrey Martel) called upon the said earl of Anjou for assistance against the Normans, but never received any. So that, after a long blockade, the city of Mans was surrendered to the duke of Normandy, together with the whole country of Maine belonging

Temporè verò Hugonis, Gaufredus Martellus urbem Cenomanicam sæpè igne injecto cremavit, sæpe militibus suis eam in prædam distribuit, plerúmque vineas circà ejus ambitum extirpavit, aliquandò, expulso qui justè præsedit, soli dominio suo eam vindicavit. Hugo hæreditatem

longing to it, and all the inhabitants of both acknowledged him for their immediate lord and sovereign. And Earl Walter consented to this surrender of Mans to Duke William, and resigned all his former pretensions to this earldom, in order to obtain peace from the duke, and thereby preserve his former and hereditary possessions, to wit, the towns of Mante (upon the river Seine) and Chaumont, (a few miles to the south-east of Gisors) from being invaded by the Normans. And thus duke William became the immediate lord and governor of all the country called *Le Maine*, with *Mans*, its principal city, into which he put a garrison.

This title of Duke William to the earldom of *Mans*, or *Le Maine*, is set forth by this author in the manner above-related, as being a full justification of his invasion of it. And, if it be so, we may conclude from it, " That, at least in extraordinary " cases, and upon great provocation and ill treatment received by a feudal tenant " from the lord of whom he held his land, it was held in this age to be lawful for " such a tenant to renounce his allegiance, or homage, to his said lord, and transfer it " to another lord;" as this Herebert, earl of Mans, or Le Maine, withdrew his allegiance, or homage, for the said earldom, from Geoffrey Martel, the tyrannical earl of Anjou, and transferred it to William, duke of Normandy, from whom he expected better treatment. The words in which this transfer of Earl Herebert's allegiance, or homage, for the earldom of Mans, from the earl of Anjou to the duke of Normandy, is expressed, are as follows. *Hic, Gaufridi tyrannide metuens omninò deleri, Normanniæ ducem Gulielmum, sub quo tutus foret, supplex adiit, manibus ei sese dedit, cuncta sua ab eo, ut miles à domino, recepit, cunctorum singulariter eum statuens hæredem, si non gigneret alium.*

It is also remarkable, that Earl Herebert is represented in this passage as not only making Duke William *his lord* in preference to his former lord, Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, but likewise as making Duke William *his heir* in preference to all his collateral relations, notwithstanding he had a sister then living, and as giving only his own children (if he should have any) a priority of succession before him. Now, if in this settlement he followed the custom of the time with respect to the succession to feuds, or lands holden by military tenure, (as it is not improbable that he did) it will follow, that the right of collateral succession to feuds was not yet well established in France.

Our author mentions another circumstance in justification of Duke William's invasion of the country, or earldom, of Maine, upon Earl Herebert's death, namely, that this earldom had formerly been subject to the dukes of Normandy. *Nam et olim egit sub Normannorum Ducum ditione Regio Cenomanica.* But he does not seem to lay much stress upon it.

Herebertus, comes Cenomanniæ, sese et terram suam ponit sub dominio Gulielmi, ducis Normanniæ, et eum statuit sibi fore hæredem si sine prole morietur.

reditatem suam Hereberto reliquit filio, et inimicitias easdem. Hic Gaufredi tyrannide metuens omninò deleri, Normanniæ ducem Guillelmum, sub quo tutus foret, supplex adiit, manibus ei sese dedit, cuncta sua ab eo, ut miles à domino, recepit, cunctorum singularitèr eum statuens hæredem, si non gigneret alium. Præthereà, ut conjunctiùs attingeret tantum virum ipse et posteritas ipsius, Ducis ei filia petita atque pacta est. Quæ priúsquam nubiles pervenisset ad annos, morbo ipse interiit: suos in ipso fine obtestans et obsecrans, " ne quærerent ali-

Et posteà moritur.

" um præter quem ipse dominum eis, hæredem sibi, relinqueret. Cui si " volentes pareant, leve servitium toleraturos fore: si vi subacti, forsitàn " grave. Potentiam illius, prudentiam, fortitudinem, gloriam, necnon " genus antiquum ipsos optimè nôsse. Sub eo præside agentes formidini " fore quibúsque confinibus."

Mortuo Hereberto Gulielmus invadit Cenomanniam ut jure sibi debitam.

At homines malefidi Galterium Medantinum[1] Comitem, cui soror Hugonis nupserat, receperunt invasorem desertores. Indignans ergò repulsam Guillelmus, jure multiplici successurus Hereberto, arma expedivit, quibus requireret sic prærepta. Nam et olim egit sub Normannorum ducum ditione regio Cenomanica. Incendium confestìm injicere, aut urbem totam exscindere, ausos iniqua trucidare, quantum ingenio abundavit & viribus, potuisset. Sed hominum sanguini, quanquam nocentissimo, parcere maluit solitâ illâ temperantiâ, et validissimam urbem relinquere incolumem, caput atque munimentum terræ quam in manu habebat. Hæc itaque expugnandi via placuit. Cre-

Urbem Cenomanicam obsidione cingit;

bris expeditionibus, et diuturnis in ipso territorio mansionibus, metum incutere; vineas, agros, villas, vastare; loca munita circumquaque capere; præsidia, ubi res postulavit, imponere; denique plurimâ turbâ ærumnarum incessantèr affligere. Cùm ea geri viderent Cenomanici, quàm anxii trepidíque fuerint, quàm cupierint onus molestissimum à cervicibus depellere, conjectare quàm referre facilius est. Accito sæpiùs Gaufredo[2], quem præses eorum Galterius dominum sibi ac tutorem præfecit, prælio decernere minati sunt nonnunquam, sed ausi nunquam. Perdomitis

[1] The Earl of *Mante*, a large town on the river Seine.

[2] This is Geoffrey Martel the younger; who succeeded his uncle, the famous Geoffrey Martel, in the earldom of Anjou in the year 1060. See above, page 66.

Perdomitis tandem, castellis jam per totum Comitatum subactis, reddunt civitatem prævalenti. Et quem longâ detinuerunt rebellione, supplici et ingenti suscipiunt honore. Studium est summis, mediis, infimis, placare infensum. Occurrunt, clamant dominum suum, procidunt et inclinantur ejus dignitati: fingunt hilares vultus, lætas voces, plausus congratulantes. Fiunt obviàm faventes laïcorum studio, omnium, quotquot ibidem sunt, ecclesiarum ordines religiosi. Templa summoperè, quemadmodùm processiones, adornata effulgent, redolent thymiamata, resonant sacra cantica. Victori sufficiens pœna fuit perdomitos in potestatem suam venisse, et urbis firmamentum suâ in reliquum custodiâ occupari. Voluntariè Gualterus deditioni consensit, ne, invasa protegens, hæreditaria amitteret. Clades à Normannis illata vicinitati Medanti et Calvimontis[b] metum ei faciebat de majori.

et tandem capit. A.D. 1063.

Clementia ejus in victos.

Voluit in omne seculum et progeniei suæ optimè consultum fuisse prudens victor, pius parens. Idcircò germanam Hereberto, ex partibus Teutonum suæ munificentiæ maximis impensis adductam, nato suo conjugare decrevit, [c] ut per eam ipse et progeniti ex ipso, jure quod nullâ

Sororem Hereberti defuncti, Margaritam, Roberto, filio suo, matrimonio conjugare destinat.

[b] This is *Chaumont*, a considerable town a few miles to the south-east of Gisors.

[c] *Ut per eam ipse et progeniti ex ipso, jure quod nullâ controversiâ convelli posset vel infirmari, Hereberti hæreditatem possiderent sororius et nepotes.* The author here informs us, that Duke William, after having made himself master of the earldom of Mans, or Maine, upon the death of Earl Herebert, resolved to marry his eldest son Robert to *Margaret*, the sister of the said Herebert, to the end that his posterity might ever after enjoy the said earldom by a title that could admit of no dispute, *Jure quod nullâ controversiâ convelli posset vel infirmari.* This the author seems to think a proper precaution to take away all possibility of doubt concerning the right of his posterity to the said earldom in after-times: but he does not seem to look upon it as absolutely necessary to give Duke William a good title to it. This prudent resolution did not, however, take place in fact, the lady Margaret dying a short time before the day appointed for the marriage. But Duke William, nevertheless, kept possession of this earldom to his dying day.

Upon the whole matter it seems probable, that Duke William's consenting to become Earl Herebert's upper lord and protector as to the earldom of Mans, or Maine, when Earl Herebert applied to him for that purpose, was perfectly regular and justifiable, according to the notions and customs that prevailed in that age; but that his acting as Earl Herebert's heir upon his death, and seizing upon that earldom by force of arms, to the exclusion of Walter, earl of Mante, (who had married earl Herebert's aunt) and of all the other relations of Earl Herebert, his sister Margaret not excepted, and against

lâ controversiâ convelli posset vel infirmari, Hereberti hæreditatem possiderent sororius et nepotes. Et quoniam pueri ætas nondum fuit matura conjugio, in locis tutis illam, propè nubilem, magno cum honore custodiri fecit, nobilium atque sapientium virorum ac matronarum curæ commissam. Hæc generosa virgo, nomine Margarita, insigni specie decentior fuit omni Margaritâ. Sed ipsam, non longè ante diem quo mortali sponso jungeretur, hominibus abstulit Virginis filius, virginum sponsus, cælicus imperator: cujus igne salutifero pia puella flagrabat, pro cujus desiderio orationibus, abstinentiæ, misericordiæ, humilitati, denique plurimæ bonitati studebat, vehementèr exoptans, præter ipsius connubium, aliud perpetuò ignorare. Sepelivit eam Fiscannense Cœnobium, quod cum aliis Ecclesiis, quantum licebat religioni, nimirùm doluit raptam properato obitu, cujus longævitatem affectuosissimè concupivit. Illius etenim anima prudentèr evigilans, cum lucernâ ardente Christi adventum expectans, ecclesias colere cœpit cum reverentiâ. Cilicium quoque, quo latentiùs carnem domare proposuerat, posteà quàm transmigravit proditum, mentem æternis intentam prodidit.

Sed illa prius moritur.

Quàm longinquus à favore [d] ducis Guillelmi animo fuerit, versutus homo, Gaufredus Meduanensis, certissimè, cùm urbs Cenomanica dederetur, patefactum est. Ne enim hanc ejus gloriosam felicitatem præsens conspiceret, deseruit ante non minùs invido dolore quàm inconstanti perfidiâ abactus. Noluit meminisse impudens audacia, quomodo pridem [e] clementiam oraverit perdomitus. Non est verita impudens iniquitas jurisjurandi violare promissum. At perpetuum nomen, quanto

against the will of the people of the country, (who were inclined to have the earl of Mante for their sovereign, and had admitted him as such into the town of Mans) was thought by many impartial persons at the time, to have been an act of injustice, and the effect of an ungoverned ambition. And therefore our author, (who is a professed panegyrist of the great man whose life he wrote) has taken so much pains to give it a colour of justice; and Duke William himself was sollicitous to mend and confirm the title of his posterity to this earldom by marrying his son Robert with the lady Margaret, the sister and nearest relation of the last rightful sovereign of it.

[d] That is, how far he was from favouring, or wishing well to, Duke William's cause and enterprize against the town of Mans and earldom of Maine.

[e] That is, in the year 1055. See above, page 64, line 8.

to majores illius (quanquam potentes) nunquam sunt gloriati, parere sibi videbatur, si virtutem invictam, triumphis magnificatam quamplurimis, lacessere auderet. Per legatos iterùm iterúmque monitus ad obsequendum, mentem obstinatam non omisit. Fuga, astutia, validæque munitiones non modicum fiduciæ ministraverunt. Statuit ergò prudentia repudiati Domini latibulum charissimum abalienare ei castrum Meduanum. Æstimans multo satius ac dignius hac pœnâ ferire, quàm fugitantem persequi, et victoriam levem ex eo capto insignibus titulis addere. Hujus castri latus alterum, quod alluitur scopuloso rapidóque flumine (nam suprà Meduanæ ripam in præruptâ montis rupe situm est) id nullâ vi, nullo ingenio vel arte humanâ attentari potest. Alteri verò munimenta lapidea, paritérque difficillimus aditus propugnant. Disponitur tamen obsidio, exercitu nostro admoto quantum natura repellens patitur, cunctis mirantibus ducem rem hanc nimìs arduam confidentissimè aggressurum. Equitum ac peditum copias tantas incassùm fatigari cuncti ferè opinantur, multi conqueruntur, nullâ spe animos eorum erigente: nisi fortè morâ annuâ vel ampliore fames expugnet. Etenim gladiis, lanceis, missilibus, nihil geritur, nihil gerendum speratur. Item neque ariete, neque tormento [f], cæterísve instrumentis bellicis. Siquidem locus omninò machinamentis importunus erat. Verùm magnanimus ductor Guillelmus urget incœptum, præcipit, hortatur, confirmat diffidentes, lætum exitum pollicetur. Nec multo temporis intervallo dubii sedent. En solerti consilio ipsius injecti ignes castrum corripiunt. Citissimè diffunduntur, more suo, sæviùs omni ferro quæque obvia vastantes. Custodes atque propugnatores, attoniti subitâ clade, portas murúmque deserunt, discurrunt trepidi laribus et rebus incensis primo succurrere. Dein propriæ saluti, quo refugio valent, consulere festinant, victores gladios vehementiùs quàm incendium metuentes. Normanni alacerrimè concurrunt, exultantes animos et gratulantem clamorem pariter tollentes, certatìm irrumpunt, potentèr munitione potiuntur. Opima præda invenitur, nobiles equi, arma militaria, omnísque generis supellex. Quæ (sicut alibi capta plerumque grandia,)

Gaufredus Meduanensis adhuc Gulielmo resistit.

Gulielmus castrum Meduanum obsidet;

Et, injectis ignibus, subitâ irruptione occupat.

[f] By the words *ariete* and *tormento*, the author probably means the battering-ram and *catapulta*, or engine for throwing large stones, which had been invented by the Greeks and Romans, and probably continued to be used in Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire.

Castellani, qui in arcem confugerant, sese illi dedunt.

grandia,) militum potiùs quàm sua esse voluit continentissimus ac liberalissimus princeps. Castellani, qui in arcem confugerant, die postero dediderunt se, contrà Guillelmi ingenium ac fortitudinem nulli firmamento confidentes. Restauratis ille quæ flamma corruperat, præsidióque providenter disposito, insolitum triumphum, quasi de naturâ superatâ, domum revexit cum immenso gaudio exercitûs. Et confines Gaufredi non triste acceperunt hoc eum fuisse detrimento mulctatum; asseverantes gloriam solius Guillelmi comitis, ultionem multorum, esse de perjuro ac prædone.

Heraldi legatio in Normanniam.

Per idem ferè tempus Edwardus, Rex Anglorum, suo jàm statuto [a] hæredi Guillelmo, quem loco germani aut prolis adamabat, graviore quàm

[a] It appears from Ingulphus, (another writer who lived in the reign of William the Conquerour) that Edward the Confessor formed this resolution of appointing his relation, the duke of Normandy, his successor to the crown of England, in the year 1065, which was the last year of his life. Duke William was the son of Robert, duke of Normandy, who was cousin-german to Edward the Confessor; duke Robert being the son of Richard II: duke of Normandy, and Edward the Confessor being the son of queen Emma, who was sister to the same duke Richard. This relation of blood between Edward, the Confessor, and duke William, had been the foundation of a friendly intercourse between them during the whole of the Confessor's reign: and the connection had been greatly strengthened by the important favours king Edward had received from the dukes of Normandy, during the reigns of the Danish kings in England, to wit, Canute, Harold I, and Hardicnute. For during those reigns (which took in the time of his youth and education) he had lived in Normandy as an exile from England, and been both protected and maintained by its dukes. And this education and long residence in Normandy, Ingulphus tells us, had given him a strong predilection for the Normans in general, as well as the dukes of the country, who were his relations, and had likewise given him a fondness for the Norman customs, language, and manners, so as almost to have made a Frenchman of him. And in consequence of this disposition in the king, many of the customs of Normandy were introduced in this reign into England, and the Norman language (which differed but little from the French, or language spoken at Paris and in the isle of France) grew much into fashion at the court, and amongst the nobles, of England; and the English, or Saxon, language and customs began to fall into disuse. And numbers of Normans were promoted by the king's favour to bishopricks and abbeys, and other great offices in England, both in church and state; of whom three of the principal were, *Robert*, a monk of *Jumieges* in Normandy, who was first promoted to the bishoprick of London, and afterwards made archbishop of Canterbury; and William and Ulfelm, two of the king's chaplains, of whom the former

quàm fuerat cautum pignore cavit. Placuit obitûs necessitatem prævenire,

L 2

former was made bishop of London, and the latter bishop of Dorchester. The words of Ingulphus upon this subject are as follows.

Rex autem Edwardus natus in Angliâ, sed nutritus in Normanniâ, et diutissimè immoratus, penè in Gallicum transierat, adducens ac attrahens de Normanniâ plurimos, quos variis dignitatibus promotos in immensum exaltabat. Præcipuus inter eos erat Robertus, monachus Gemmeticensis, factus per eum episcopus Londoniensis, posteà in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem elevatus; et Willielmus et Ulfelmus, regis capellani; quorum prior posteà factus est episcopus Londoniensis, posterior episcopus Dorcacistriæ. Cœpit ergò tota terra, sub rege, et sub aliis Normannis introductis, Anglicus ritus dimittere, et Francorum mores in multis imitari; Gallicum, scilicet, idioma omnes magnates in suis curiis, tanquam magnum gentilitium, loqui; chartas et chirographa sua more Francorum conficere, et propriam consuetudinem in his, et in aliis multis, erubescere.

Yet, notwithstanding this inclination towards the Normans and their language and customs, and the affection and regard which he justly entertained for his illustrious relation, duke William, it appears from Ingulphus that king Edward did not form the resolution of appointing him his successor to the crown of England till the last year of his reign. For Ingulphus informs that, when duke William made king Edward a visit in England in the year 1051, (which was the 9th or 10th year of king Edward's reign, and fifteen years before the conquest) he was received by the king with great civility and kindness, and entertained by him with great splendour and magnificence, and was carried about to see all the king's cities and castles, and at last, when he returned to Normandy, was dismissed with many valuable presents: but yet that no mention was at that time made of his succeeding to the crown. This is expressed in the words following.

Hac in tempore [*scilicet anno gratiæ* 1051] *illustrissimus ac gloriosissimus Normannorum Comes, Willielmus, cum multo militum comitatu, in Angliam ad regem Edwardum venit, Quem rex honorificè suscipiens, et aliquandiu secum retinens, ad civitates et castella regia circumduxit, et, condignam humanitatem exhibens, tandem multis donatum muneribus ad propria dimisit. De successione autem regni spes adhuc, aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit.*

Instead of making duke William his successor to the crown of England, king Edward, during the first part of his reign, intended to procure that honour for his nephew and namesake, Prince *Edward*, who was the son of his brother, the brave Edmund, surnamed *Ironside*, who was the eldest son of king Ethelred, and had reigned during a short time, after the death of Ethelred, over the southern part of England, having agreed, after a number of bloody battles, with Canute the Dane, to leave him in possession of the northern part. This brave king Edmund had been murdered soon after this agreement in a base and strange manner, as we are told in the Chronicle of Mailros, the assassin having given him a mortal wound in his private parts as he was sitting in a necessary house in the act of easing nature. The words of the chronicle are as follows. *At quidam proditor sub purgatoriâ domo Edmundum, ad requisita naturæ nudatum, inter celanda percussit; et mortuus est.* This happened in the year 1017.

Upon

nire, cujus horam homo sanctâ vitâ ad cælestia tendens, proximam affore

Upon the death of Edmund *Ironside* in this unhappy manner, Canute reigned over all England; and in order to secure himself in the possession of the throne, he immediately put to death Prince *Edwin* who was full brother to Edmund Ironside, and who was probably a man grown at that time, and therefore capable of giving him immediate trouble; and he sent two other princes, *Edmund* and *Edward*, who were the sons of Edmund Ironside, and were at that time very young children, out of the kingdom to Sweden, with a request to the king of that country to destroy them. But the king of Sweden, instead of complying with this request, sent the children to Solomon, king of Hungary, that they might be taken care of and brought up: which happened accordingly. In process of time, *Edmund*, the elder of the two brothers, died in Hungary, and, it must be supposed, unmarried, as no mention is made of his marrying: but *Edward*, the younger brother, married *Agatha*, the daughter of *Henry* III. Emperor of Germany, and by her had three children, namely, *Edgar Atheling*, (who is so well known in the history of these times, as being the right heir of the crown of England, according to the usual rules of succession, at the time of the Norman conquest) and his two sisters, *Margaret*, who married Malcolm king of Scotland, and *Christiana*, who died unmarried in a monastery. The words of the chronicle of Mailros are follows. *Anno* 1017 *Rex Cnutus, filius Suani, totius Angliæ suscepit imperium. Posteà, occiso* Edwino *clitone, germano regis Edmundi, filios ejusdem regis* Edmundum *et* Edwardum *ad regem* Suavorum *occidendos misit. Qui, nolens pueros innocentes perimere, eos ad regem* Ungariæ, Salomonem, *nutriendos misit.* Edmundus *processu temporis ibidem vitam finivit.* Edwardus *verò* Agatham, *filiam* Germani *Imperatoris* Henrici, *in matrimonium accepit; ex quâ* Margaretam, *posteà Scotorum reginam, et* Christinam, *sanctimonialem virginem, et clitonem* Edgarum *suscepit.*

The chronicle of Mailros further informs us, that in the year 1054, that is, three years after the above-mentioned journey of William, duke of Normandy, to England to visit king Edward, the king sent Aldred, bishop of Worcester, over to Germany, to desire that the emperour would use his endeavours to procure the return of the aforesaid prince Edward, the Confessor's nephew, from Hungary, (where he had till then continued in exile) to England; which was done accordingly: and prince Edward spent the remainder of his life in England at the court of his uncle, king Edward, and was generally considered as the person whom the king intended to make his successor to the crown of England; but he died at London in the year 1057, which was eight years before the death of king Edward himself. He was, probably, about four or five and forty years of age at the time of his death, as he was a very young child in the year 1017, which was 40 years before. The words of the chronicle of Mailros are as follows. *Anno* 1054 *rex Edwardus misit Aldredum, Wigornensem episcopum, ad imperatorem, ut per eum reciperet fratruelem suum, Edwardum, qui in Ungariâ exulaverat.* And *Anno* 1057 *Clito Edwardus, Edmundi Ferrei lateris, regis, filius, pro quo rex in Ungariâ miserat ut regem post se substitueret, obiit Lundoniis.* And Ingulphus confirms this account of king Edward's intentions in favour of his nephew prince Edward, in the following words, relating to the events of the year 1057. *Edwardus etiàm, patruelis regis Edwardi, vocatus de Hungariâ, ubi Angliam attigit, imfirmatus obiit; spésque*

fore meditabatur. Fidem sacramento confirmaturum Heraldum ei destinavit;

spésque regii Sanguinis de-inceps deficere cæpit. See Gale's collection of old English Historians in three small volumes, folio, intitled, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Vol. i. p. 66.

From these passages it seems clear, that till the death of prince Edward, that is, till the year 1057, king Edward entertained no thoughts of making the duke of Normandy his successor to the crown of England.

Nor does it appear, that for several years after the death of prince Edward, the king had resolved to appoint the duke of Normandy his successor. But, on the contrary, there is reason to suppose, that he for a long time intended to make choice of Edgar Atheling, the son of prince Edward, for that purpose; as it was, in every view, most natural that he should. But at last, as Ingulphus informs us, in the last year of his life, or the year 1065, when he found his strength declining apace, and thought that his death could not be far off, he reflected on the state of the kingdom, and endeavoured to make provision for its continuance in peace after his death: and, observing, on the one hand, the weakness, and incapacity for government, of prince Edgar, his great-nephew, and the great abilities, and power, and ambitious views, of earl Godwin's numerous children, which Edgar's authority would not be able to controul, and which would therefore, probably, soon throw the kingdom into confusion; and considering, on the other hand, the high reputation of his maternal relation, William, duke of Normandy, for piety, justice, wisdom, and valour, and all the talents requisite for an able governour; — he thought he should best provide for the future safety and tranquillity of his kingdom by appointing that great man for his successor: and, for this purpose, he sent over Robert, archbishop of Canterbury (whom we have before observed to have been a Norman) to duke William, to acquaint him with his intention. This is expressed by Ingulphus in these words.

Anno eodem [1065] *rex Edwardus, senio jam gravatus, cernens Clitonis Edwardi, nuper defuncti, filium, Edgarum, regio solio minùs idoneum tàm corde quam corpore, Godwiniquè comitis multam malámque sobolem quotidiè super terram crescere, ad cognatum suum, Willelmum, comitem Normanniæ, animum apposuit, et eum sibi succedere in regno Angliæ voce stabili sancivit. Wilhelmus enim comes tunc in omni prælio superior, triumphator contrà regem Franciæ ac omnes comites Normanniæ contiguos, publicè personabat, invictus in armorum exercitio, judex justissimus in causarum judicio, religiosissimúsque ac devotissimus in divino servitio. Hinc rex Edwardus Robertum, archiepiscopum Cantuariæ, legatum ad eum à latere suo direxit, illúmque designatum sui regni successorem tam debito cognationis quam merito virtutis, sui archipræsulis relatu insinuavit.*

When king Edward had thus sent Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, to Normandy, to make duke William acquainted with his intention of making him his successor to the crown of England, he thought it necessary to take some steps to facilitate and secure the execution of this design; and with this view, according to our author, William of Poitiers, he first sent over to Normandy two near relations of Harold, earl of Wessex, (who was at that time the most powerful subject in England) to wit, a brother and a nephew, to be hostages in the hands of the duke of Normandy for the acquiescence of him and all his family in the duke's succession to the crown

navit, cunctorum sub dominatione suâ divitiis, honore, atque potentiâ eminentissimum: cujus anteà frater et fratruelis [h] obsides fuerant accepti de successione eâdem. Et eum quidem prudentissimè, ut ipsius opes et auctoritas

crown according to king Edward's appointment; and soon after, he sent over earl Harold himself to confirm these promises to the duke of Normandy, and to take an oath to duke William that he would observe them, *fidem sacramento confirmaturum*. But these two last circumstances are not clearly confirmed by Ingulphus, who does not mention king Edward's sending over a brother and a nephew of Harold to the duke of Normandy as hostages of his succession to the crown of England, but only says that Harold himself did go to Normandy and take such an oath of fidelity to the duke, but does not say whether he was sent there by king Edward for that very purpose, or whether he came there by chance, and without intending it, in consequence of a sudden storm at sea, and, when in duke William's power, was, in a manner, forced to take such an oath in order to obtain his liberty, as is related by some other writers.

It appears from what has been stated in this note, that king Edward's appointment of duke William to be his successor, did not take place before the last year of king Edward's life, or the year 1065. But it is natural to inquire also, "in what manner "this appointment was made, and whether with, or without, the knowledge and "consent of the great men of the English nation." By the words in the text, *suo jam statuto haeredi*, one would be apt to think that the great men of the nation had given their consent to it, the word *statuto* seeming to imply some formality of that kind. Yet there is very little said by these old writers in proof of such a consent. And I am inclined to think, that, if any such consent was given, it was only by a few of the great men at court who were most devoted to king Edward's will: for, by the general submission of the nation to Harold, when he seized the crown upon king Edward's death, and by their brave resistance of the Normans at the battle of Hastings, and their frequent insurrections against king William the Conquerour, after he was crowned, and likewise by the dislike they had shewn to the Normans in king Edward's time, notwithstanding the king's inclinations in their favour, it seems very manifest that the English in general were not desirous of having the duke of Normandy for their king: and indeed the Norman historians expressly allow as much, notwithstanding their endeavours to make out a good title for duke William to the crown of England in consequence of king Edward's appointment. And therefore it is probable that the majority of the great men, or of the Parliament, or *Wittena Gemot*, or governing body of the nation, by whatever name it was called, never did give their consent to such appointment.

[h] *Cujus anteà frater et fratruelis.* The name of the brother of Harold that is here mentioned as having been sent into Normandy by King Edward the Confessor, to be kept by duke William as a hostage for the acquiescence of Harold and his family in the duke's succession to the crown of England upon king Edward's death, was *Ulnoth*, or *Wilnoth*. And the name of the nephew of Harold that is here mentioned as having been sent into Normandy for the same purpose, was *Hacun*. He was the son of *Swein*, or *Swane*, the eldest brother of earl Harold, who was at this time, in the year 1065, dead.

auctoritas totius Anglicæ gentis dissensum coërcerent, si rem novare mallent perfidâ mobilitate, quantâ sese agunt. Heraldus, dum ob id negotium venire contenderet, itineris marini periculo evaso littus arripuit Pontivi [i], ubi in manus Comitis Guidonis incidit. Capti in custodiam traduntur ipse et comitatus ejus; quod infortunium vir adeò magnus naufragio mutaret. Docuit enim avaritiæ calliditas Galliarum quasdam nationes execrandam consuetudinem, barbaram, et longissimè ab omni æquitate Christianâ alienam. Illaqueant potentes aut locupletes: trusos in ergastula afficiunt contumeliis, tormentis. Sic variâ miseriâ propè ad necem usque contritos ejiciunt sæpissimè venditos magno. Directi ad se Dux Guillelmus eventu cognito, properè missis legatis, precatu simul àc minis extortum obvius honorificè suscepit eum. Guidoni benemerito, qui nec pretio, nec violentiâ compulsus, virum, quem torquere, necare, vendere potuisset pro libitu, ipse adducens apud Aucense [k] castrum sibi præsentavit, grates retulit condignas, terras tradidit amplas, ac multùm opimas, addidit insuper in pecuniis maxima dona. Heraldum verò sufficientissimè cum honore in urbem, sui principatûs caput, Rothomagum introduxit, ubi multiplex hospitalitatis officiositas viæ laborem perpessos jucundissimè recrearet. Nimirùm gratulabatur tanto super hospite, sibi omnium charissimi propinqui & amici legato: quem inter se et Anglos, quibus à rege secundus erat, mediatorem sperabat fidissimum. Coadunato ad Bonamvillam [l] consilio, illic Heraldus ei fidelitatem sancto ritu Christianorum juravit. Et sicut veracissimi, multâque honestate præclarissimi, homines recitavère, qui tunc affuère testes, [m] in serie summâ sacramenti libens ipse hæc distinxit; "se in curiâ domini sui

Barbara consuetudo maritimorum Gallorum.

Heraldus jurat fidelitatem Gulielmo.

[i] The words *Littus Pontivi* mean the coast of the county, or district, called *Ponthieu*, in the north of France, in the province of *Picardy*. It lies between the river *Somme*, on which the great town of *Abbeville* is situated, and the river *Authie*, on which the towns of *La Broie*, *Doulens*, and *Authie*, are situated.

[k] *Apud Aucense castrum.* That is, at the castle of *Eu*, or *Ou*, or *Owe*, (for it is written all the three ways in old authors) in the north-eastern part of Normandy, near the sea coast, about half-way between Dieppe and Saint Valery, at the mouth the river *Somme*.

[l] *Bonam villam.* That is, at the town of *Boneville*, which is situated to the east of *Pont L'Evesque*, and to the north-east of the episcopal city of *Lisieux*, (called in Latin *Lexovium*) on a small river called the *Calone*, which runs into the river *Touques*.

[m] *In serie summâ sacramenti libens ipse hæc distinxit.* The meaning of these words seems to be, "That, over and above the common oath of homage, which Harold "took

" sui Edwardi Regis, quandiu superesset, Ducis Guillelmi vicarium
" fore: enisurum quanto consilio valeret, aut opibus, ut Anglica
" Monarchia post Edwardi decessum in ejus manu confirmaretur:
" traditurum interìm ipsius militum custodiæ castrum Doveram,
" studio atque sumptu suo communitum; item per diversa loca illius
" terræ alia castra, ubi voluntas ducis ea firmari juberet: abundè quo-
" que alimonias daturum custodibus." Dux ei, jam satelliti suo accepto per manus, ante jusjurandum terras ejus cunctúmque potentatum dedit petenti. Non enim in longum sperabatur Edwardi ægrotantis vita.

Britanni Armorici contrà Normannos rebellant.

Deinde, quia ferocem et novi nominis cupidum novit, ipsum et qui venerant cum ipso, armis militaribus et equis delectissimis instructos secum in bellum Britannicum duxit: hospitem atque legatum quasi contubernalem habens, ut eo quoque honore quodam sibi magìs fidum et obnoxium faceret. Britannia namque præfidentèr adversùs Normanniam fuit omnis armata. Hujus audaciæ princeps erat Conanus Alanni filius. Is in virum ferocissimum adultus, à tutelâ diu toleratâ liber, capto Eudone patruo suo, atque vinculis ergastularibus mancipato, provinciæ, quam dono paterno accepit, magnâ cum truculentiâ dominari cœpit. Paternæ dehinc rebellionis renovator, Normanniæ hostis, non miles, esse voluit. Dominus autèm ejus antiquo jure, sicuti Normannorum, Guillelmus, castellum quod sancti Jacobi [a] appellatum est, interìm opposuit in confinio, ne famelici prædones ecclesiis inermibus, aut ultimo terræ suæ vulgo, excursionibus latrocinantibus nocerent. Emit namque Rex Francorum Karolus pacem atque amicitiam à Rollone, primo duce Normannorum, ac posteriorum parente, natam suam Gislam

" took on this occasion, to duke William, by anticipation, for the lands and offices
" he then possessed in England, and in the possession of which the duke promised
" that, when he should be king of England, he would continue him, (*terras ejus,*
" *cunctúmque potentatum, dedit petenti*) he also distinctly and expressly promised duke
" William to do him the several services here enumerated in the words that follow,
" to wit, *se in curiâ Domini sui Edwardi regis, quamdiù superesset, ducis Gulielmi vicarium*
" *fore: enisurum, &c.*"

[a] *Castellum quod sancti Jacobi appellatum est.* That is, the *Château de Saint Jaques,* situated in the south-west corner of the dutchy of Normandy, a few miles to the south of the episcopal city of *Avranches* in the said dutchy, and a few miles to the east of the town of *Dol* in Britany.

Gislam in matrimonium, et Britanniam in servitium perpetuum, ei tradens. Exoraverant id fœdus Franci, non valentes ampliùs resistere Gallico ense Danicæ securi. Annalium paginæ attestantur[o]. Exinde Comites Britannici è jugo Normannicæ dominationis cervicem omninò solvere nunquam valuerunt, etsi multotiens id conati totâ vi obluctando. Alanus et Conanus, quanto Normanniæ Rectores consanguinitate propiùs attingebant, tanto gloriantibus animis contrà eos elatiores existebant. Conani in tantum jam temeritas crevit, ut quo die terminos Normanniæ aggrederetur, denuntiare non formidaret. Homini acrioris naturæ, fervidæ ætatis, ministravit plurimum fiduciæ regio longè latéque diffusa, milite, magìs quàm credibile sit, referta. Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, sortitus more barbaro denas aut ampliùs uxores: quod de Mauris veteribus refertur, legis divinæ atque pudici ritûs ignaris. Adhoc populositas ipsa armis et equis maximè, arvorum culturæ, aut morum, minimè, student. Ubertimo lacte, parcissimo pane, sese transigunt. Pinguia pabula gignunt pecoribus loca vasta et fermè nescia segetum. Cùm vacant à bello, rapinis, latrociniis, cædibus domesticis aluntur, sive exercentur. Prælia cum ardenti alacritate ineunt; dum præliantur, furibundi sæviunt. Pellere soliti, difficilè cedunt. Victoriâ et laude pugnando partâ nimiùm lætantur atque extolluntur: interemptorum spolia diripere, ut opus decorum voluptuosúmque, amant. Nihil pendens terribilitatem hanc Dux Guillelmus, in quem diem adventum Conani meminit denuntiatum, eo ipse intrà fines ejus occurrit. Ille, quasi fulminis ictum, proximè imminentem extimens, in loca propugnatura citissimam fugam instituit, castri terræ suæ Doli oppugnatione omissâ. Id enim rebelli adversum, justæ causæ fidum stabat. Sistere tentat Conanum castri præses RUALLUS, revocat illudens, morari biduum precatur, sufficiens huic moræ stipendium ab ipso sumpturum. Homo miserè exterritus, pavorem potiùs audiens, cursu instituto longiùs profugit. Ductor terribilis, qui depulit, instaret fugitanti, ni manifestum periculum animadverteret agere militem numerosum per regiones vastas, famelicas, ignotas. Si quid residuum erat inopi terræ ex his quæ nata fuerant anno superiore, id in tutis locis incolæ cum pecoribus abdiderant. Stabant in aristis fruges immaturæ. Igitur ne sacrilegâ prædâ

Descriptio Britannorum.

Adventu Gulielmi Conanus fugit.

M diriperent

[o] See above, note *m*, pages 56, 57, and 58.

diriperent (si qua reperirent) ecclesiarum bona, menstruâ penuriâ fatigatum exercitum reducebat: magnò animo præsumens Conanum pro veniâ delicti et gratiâ propediem deprecaturum. At excedenti jam Britanniæ limitem repentè indicatur Gaufredum [p] Andegavensem cum

[p] This Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, was nephew of the valiant and insolent warriour of the same name, who was duke William's great rival in military reputation, and who died in the year 1060, much about the same time as Henry I. king of France, as we have seen above, page 66.

As these earls of Anjou became the progenitors of the kings of England who reigned after king Stephen, and whose surname was *Plantagenet*, it will not be amiss to give the reader the following short account of them from the history of the transactions of those old times written by *William of Malmesbury*, who flourished in the reigns of king Henry I. of England, and king Stephen, and from the history of *Ordericus Vitalis*, another old author of the same age.

The valiant Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, who died in the year 1060, was the son of *Fulco*, or *Fulk*, earl of the same country, who was called *Fulk the Elder*, to distinguish him from his grandson of the same name. This Fulk reigned many years in *Anjou*, and lived to be an old man, and in the latter part of his life resigned the government of Anjou to his son *Geoffrey Martel*. The new earl abused his power in a most shameful manner, and not only governed the people under his authority in a very cruel and oppressive manner, but behaved with great insolence to his father and benefactor, from whose gift he had received it. This provoked the old earl to make an attempt to resume the government of the province, in which he was successful; and his son *Geoffrey* was reduced to the necessity of humbling himself so far as to walk some miles with a saddle on his back, and then lay himself down in that condition at his father's feet, in token of the most perfect submission to his authority, according to a custom which then prevailed in France on such occasions. His father, while he thus lay at his feet with the saddle on his back, gave him two or three kicks, which he accompanied with these words, "You are at last subdued, "quite subdued." To which Geoffrey made answer, "Yes, Sir, I am subdued; "but it is only by you, who are my father, and because you are my father. By "all other men I am still unconquered." This answer appeased Fulk's anger, and he again resigned the earldom to his son, but admonished him at the same time to use his power with moderation and discretion, and, instead of oppressing his subjects, as he had done before, to consider that their quiet enjoyment of their property, and their living in peace and plenty, would be the surest means of making him great and powerful out of his own dominions, and happy within them. In the same year, being then very old, and grown tired of temporal honours and the common pursuits of the world, which he had been so long engaged in, he resolved to employ the remainder of his life in the contemplation of his approaching end, and in making the necessary preparations for entering into another state of existence. And, as a part of this preparation, he went upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; which was then considered as an action of great piety and merit. And when he was come to the holy city, he caused himself to be led publickly through the streets of it, with a halter about his neck, by one of his servants, to the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, in

cum ingentibus copiis Conano fuisse conjunctum, et ambos postero
M 2 die

in the presence of the Turks that were then settled there, and at the same time to be whipped upon his naked back by another servant; he having first obliged them to take a solemn oath that they would execute the commands he should impose upon them, whatever they might be. And while he was undergoing this discipline, he cried out continually in these words, "O Lord receive the wretched *Fulk* to thy "mercy, who has been guilty of perjury and desertion of thy service. Vouchsafe "to pardon a soul that confesses its unworthiness, O Lord, Jesus Christ!" And he seemed to wish that his life might end in the performance of this act of humiliation. But in this he was disappointed: for he returned safely and quietly to Anjou, and did not die till some years after. See William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, Lib. iii. p. 97.

Besides his son and successor Geoffrey Martel, this Fulk the elder had a daughter who married *Albericus*, or *Aubery*, earl of the country called *Le Gastinois*, or *Le Gâtinois*, (in Latin *Comes Wastinensium*) by whom she had two sons, the eldest of whom was called *Geoffrey Martel*, as well as his uncle, and the other was named Fulk, from his grandfather, and afterwards obtained the surname of *Rechin* or *the Surly*. See Ordericus Vitalis, page 532.

Geoffrey, the son of this Fulk the elder, took the name of *Martel*, which signifies a hammer, (as the word *marteau* does in the French language at this day) to express the force with which he used to bruise and knock down all his enemies; *cognomento* Martellus; *quod ipse sibi usurpaverat* (says William of Malmesbury) *quia videbatur sibi felicitate quâdam omnes obsistentes contundere.* He was, however, obliged to give way to the valour and good fortune of his rival, William, duke of Normandy, as we have seen above in our author. And he died in the year 1060, or 1061.

Upon the death of this Geoffrey Martel, who was the first of that name, the earldom of Anjou was enjoyed by his sister's son, who was also called Geoffrey Martel. This earl was not of a warlike disposition, but took more pleasure (says William of Malmesbury) in attending the offices of religion in churches, than in the exercises of war: in consequence of which he incurred the contempt of the people of Anjou, his subjects, who could not bear to live in a state of inaction, and was, after some time, dispossessed of the earldom by his brother Fulk, surnamed *Rechin*, or *the Surly*, and kept a prisoner by him during the remainder of his life. This, however, cannot have happened till after the year 1065, in which duke William went with earl Harold into Britany to oppose duke Conan; since William of Poitiers informs us that this Geoffrey Martel assisted Conan on that occasion with a large body of troops. What William of Malmesbury tells us of this second Geoffrey Martel is in these words: *Is* [*Gaufridus Martellus senior*] *moriens Gaufrido, sororis filio, hæreditatem suam contradidit, sed industriam seculi transfundere non potuit. Nam ille, simplicium morum juvenis, magis in ecclesiis orare quam arma tractare consuetus, homines regionis illius, qui quietè victitare nescirent, in contemptum sui excitavit. Quarè, totâ terrâ prædonibus expositâ, Fulco, frater illius, ultrò ducatum corripuit. Fulco* Rhetin *dictus, quod, germani simplicitati crebrò infrendens, ad ultimum, honore spoliatum, perpetuâ custodiâ co-ercuerit.* Lib. iii. page 98. The word *Rhetin* is in some copies of William of Malmesbury spelt *Rechin*, and means *morose*, *crabbed*, or *surly*, or, as the French say at this day, *rechigné*. See Du Cange's Glossary, at the word *Rechinus*.

This

die præliatum affuturos. Itaque opperitur, conflictûs eò cupidior, quòd
gloriosius

This Fulk II. or Fulk *Rechin*, or *the Surly*, had two sons, by different wives, namely, *Geoffrey Martel*, the third of that name, and *Fulk*, who both succeeded to the earldom of Anjou. Geoffrey (who was the elder of the two by many years) succeeded his father, Fulk *Rechin*, and gained great honour by his valour and other great qualities, and govern-ed his people with great ability and justice, but was assassinated by some of his own sub-jects, probably through resentment for the strictness with which he punished robberies and other acts of violence, to which they had been too much accustomed; and he was succeeded by his half-brother Fulk, who was still alive when William of Malmesbury wrote his history. His words are as follows. *Filii Fulconis fuerunt* Gaufridus *et* Fulco. *Gaufridus cognomen* Martelli *hæreditarium sortitus, suis sudoribus ampliavit, tantâ pace et quiete per terras illas partâ quantam nemo viderit, nemo visurus sit. Quapropter suorum insidiis necatus egregiæ probitatis decus luit. Fulco in regimine succedens, adhuc in rebus humanis versatur.* Lib. iii. page 98.

It appears from two passages in *Ordericus Vitalis*, pages 723 and 818, that Fulk *Rechin* kept his brother Geoffrey Martel II. in prison in the castle of *Chinon* almost thirty years, but that the said Geoffrey was at length delivered from his imprisonment in the year 1095 by means of the very powerful intercession of pope Urban II. in his behalf; and that about eight years after, namely, in the year 1103, Fulk Rechin resigned the government of Anjou to his eldest son Geoffrey Martel III. with the consent, or by the command, of his elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II. who, though he had been released from his confinement in the year 1095 by the intercession of pope Urban II. does not seem to have resumed the government of Anjou, but to have left it in the hands of his brother Fulk Rechin. It follows therefore that Geoffrey Martel II. must have been imprisoned in the year 1065 or 1066, and consequently that he must have held the government of Anjou about five years, to wit, from the year 1060 or 1061, (in which the first and most famous Geoffrey Martel died) to the year 1065, or 1066: and Fulk Rechin must have held it after him for 37 or 38 years, to wit, from the year 1066, or 1065, to the year 1103. In that year 1103, *Ordericus* says, Geoffrey Martel III. the eldest son of Fulk Rechin, succeeded to the government of the said province, and held it for three years, or till the year 1106, when he was killed by an arrow shot at him from the castle of Condé, to which he had been laying siege. The place had been reduced to the necessity of surrendering, and the principal officers of the garrison had come out of it to treat with him of the terms on which it should be delivered up, and had agreed to surrender it on the next day, when one of the soldiers of the garrison perfidiously aimed an arrow at him, as he was parlying with the officers upon the subject, and gave him a wound in the arm, of which he died the following day. He had reigned with great valour, justice and glory, and was much regretted. Upon his death his brother Fulk (who was extremely young, being the son of Fulk Rechin by his last wife *Bertrade*) succeeded to the government of Anjou, and held it to the year 1130, when he was made king of Jerusalem upon the death of king Baldwin II. whose daughter he had married for his second wife. Upon this promotion to the dignity of a king he resigned the earldom of Anjou to his eldest son by a former wife, *Geoffrey Martel* IV. who had, about three years before, mar-ried the English princess Matilda, the only daughter and heiress of king Henry I. and widow of Henry V. emperour of Germany. From this marriage of Geoffrey
Martel

gloriosius intelligebat, triumphum de hoste bino, utróque immani, uno consequi certamine. Ad hoc fore multiplicem ejusdem triumphi fructum. RUALLUS autem, cujus in territorio tentoria figebantur, affatur querelâ. "Haberi quidem gratum, quòd ab inimicâ vi per eum fuerit "ereptus, si proficuum non deleat incommodo. Nam si præstolatu-"rus considerat, regionem modicè fœcundam nimìs attenuatam fun-"ditùs devastari. Nec penès agricolas interesse, Normannico an "Britannico exercitu consumpti anni laborem amiserint. Sibi modò "ad famam valuisse, non ad conservationem rerum, Conani depul-"sionem." Considerandum esse dux respondens, ne discessio properantior opinionem pariat minùs honoram, detrimenti recompendium in auro plenissimum promittit. Statim Rualli segetes militibus interdicit ac pecora. Obtemperatum est præcepto eâ continentiâ, ut frumenti manipulus unicus ad recompensandum omne damnum superabundaret. Certamen nequicquam fuit expectatum, adversario magìs in ulteriora profugiente. Receptus in sua percharum hospitem Heraldum, apud se post moratum aliquandiù, donis onustum remisit; dignè utróque, et cujus jussu, et pro cujus honore ampliando, venerat [q]. Quin etiàm fratruelis ejus [r], alter obses, cum ipso redux propter ipsum redditus est. Paucis igitur te affabimur, Heralde. "Quâ mente "post

Egregia continentia militum Normannorum.

Apostrophe ad Heraldum de perfidiâ ejus.

Martel IV. and Matilda sprung Henry II. king of England, duke of Normandy, and earl of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and from him descended all the following kings of England to the present day.

The succession therefore of the earls of Anjou from Fulk the Elder to Henry II. king of England, was as follows; to wit, 1st, Fulk the Elder; 2dly, Geoffrey Martel I. the rival of William, duke of Normandy; 3dly, in the year 1060, or 1061, Geoffrey Martel II. the nephew of Geoffrey Martel I. by his sister who was married to *Albericus*, or *Aubery*, earl of the country called *Le Gastinois*, or *Le Gâtinois*, (in Latin *Comes Wastinensium*) and by him had two sons, namely, this Geoffrey Martel II. and Fulk *Rechin*; 4thly, about the year 1066, Fulk *Rechin*; 5thly, in the year 1103, Geoffrey Martel III. the eldest son of Fulk *Rechin*; 6thly, in the year 1106, Fulk, the second son of Fulk *Rechin*, by his last wife *Bertrade*, who in the year 1130 became king of Jerusalem; 7thly, Geoffrey Martel IV. the son of the last-mentioned Fulk, who was king of Jerusalem; and 8thly, Henry II. king of England, the son of Geoffrey Martel IV. and Matilda of England, daughter of king Henry I.

[q] That is, "the duke of Normandy sent earl Harold away loaded with rich and "noble presents, that were worthy of, or suitable to the dignity of, both king Ed-"ward the Confessor, (by whose command Harold had come on this occasion into "Normandy) and the duke of Normandy, for the purpose of whose advancement "to the crown of England he had been sent there."

[r] *Fratruelis ejus, alter obses.* That is, *Hacun*, the son of Harold's eldest brother *Swane*.

"post hæc Guillelmo hæreditatem auferre, bellum inferre, ausus es,
"cui te gentémque tuam sacrosancto jurejurando subjecisti tuâ et
"linguâ et manu? Coërcere debuisti, et perniciosissimè concitâsti.
"Infelicitèr secundi flatus, qui nigerrimis velis tuis aspiraverunt rede-
"untibus: impiè clemens pontus, qui vehentem te hominem teter-
"rimum ad littus provehi passus est: sinistrè placida statio fuit, quæ
"recepit te naufragium miserrimum patriæ afferentem!"

Pietas Gulielmi.

Inter occupationes tamen rerum bellicarum sive domesticarum, quas mundanas appellant, studia optimi principis in divinis egregia extitêre; quæ per singula ac pro magnitudine suâ recitare non sufficimus. Noverat enim non solùm principatus in mundo florentes brevi occasu terminari, verumetiàm ipsius mundi figuram præterire: unicum autem regnum immobilitèr stare, huic præsidere imperatorem ineffabilem dominatu æterno, rerum universalitatem, quam condidit, coæternâ sibi providentiâ gubernantem, terrenorum dulcedini nimiùm deditos tyrannos momento conterere potentem, diademata [s] atque palatia inæstimabili perpetìm fulgentia decore satellitum suorum perseverantiæ disponentem, in illâ gloriosissimâ civitate veri summíque boni patriâ: genitorem suum, inclytum ducem Robertum, post memoranda merita, quibus domi claruit, fasces dignitatum seposuisse, peregrinum iter ac periculis plenum arripuisse, desiderio imperatoris illius in supernâ Sion conspiciendi: ipsius crucem in fronte, dilectionem in mente, reverentiam in actu, Richardos ac superiores avos potentiâ sublimes, famâ præclaros, humiliter gestavisse. Pensaverat ut prudentis animæ homo, quàm sit miserum atque indecorum spoliatos honore caduco in exilium caliginosum damnari, ubi flammâ inextinguibili ardebunt, non consumentur; plangent in miseriis absque clementiâ, errata lamentabuntur absque veniâ. Econtrà felix atque pulchrum esse post consulatus terræ, stolâ immortalitatis redimitos Angelorum cives ordinari [t]; ubi voluptate omni delectabuntur, Deum, sicuti est, contemplabuntur, in ejus laude perpetuâ jocundabuntur.

Vir

[s] *Diademata atque palatia,* &c. The meaning is, "that God Almighty prepares "crowns and palaces that shine for ever with inestimable beauty and riches, in the "heavenly Jerusalem, the seat of true and perfect happiness, as rewards for the "perseverance of his faithful servants."

[t] *Angelorum cives ordinari.* That is, "to be made fellow-citizens of the angels "in Heaven."

Vir itaque dignus pio parente, et piis majoribus, [u] neque dum armatus actitabat, oculum interiorem à timore sempiternæ Majestatis dejiciebat. Armis namque proterendo bella externa, arcendo seditiones, rapinas, prædas, patriæ consulebat Christum colenti: ut quo pace plus frueretur, minùs violaret sacra instituta. Nec verè dictum unquam erit suscepisse eum bellum quod justitiâ vacaret. Ita Christicolæ Reges gentium Romanarum et Græcarum tutantur sua, propulsant injurias, justè ad palmam contendunt. Quis autem dicat esse boni principis pati seditiosos aut raptores? Ejus animadversione et legibus è Normanniâ sunt exterminati latrones, homicidæ, malefici. Sanctissimè in Normanniâ observabatur sacramentum pacis, quam *Treviam* [w] vocant, quod effrenis

Justitia ejus, in bellis.

Et in pace.

[u] *Neque, dum armatus actitabat, oculum interiorem à timore sempiternæ Majestatis dejiciebat.* The meaning is, "that even when he was engaged in warlike exercises "and expeditions, he did not forget the fear of God."

[w] *Sacramentum pacis quam* Treviam *vocant.* In the tenth and eleventh centuries the feudal nobles of Normandy and other parts of France, and indeed of most parts of Europe, exercised the right of making war upon each other whenever they thought fit; as the kings of Europe and the sovereign dukes, and other independant princes, of Germany and Italy, (such as the duke of Hanover, the duke of Bavaria, the duke of Saxony, the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Tuscany, and many other such princes) do at this day. This produced continual scenes of violence and bloodshed, which it was the constant endeavour of great and wise kings, and of the bishops of the church, to lessen as much as possible. Thus, for example, in the year 990 several bishops in the south of France assembled and published various regulations, in order to set some bounds to the violence and frequency of these private wars; and ordained that those who should transgress these regulations, should be excluded from all christian privileges during their lives, and be denied christian burial at their death. See *Du Mont's Corps Diplomatique*, Tom. i. p. 41.

And a few years after, to wit, in the year 994, a council was held for the same purpose at Limoges, and the bodies of several saints were carried to it, by which men were exhorted to lay down their arms, and suppress their animosities against each other, and swear that they would not for the future violate the publick peace by their private hostilities. See *Bouquet's Recueil des Histor.* Vol. x. pages 49, 147. And several other councils issued decrees to the same effect. See *Du Cange's Dissert.* 343. But the authority of councils, though much respected in those ages, was not sufficient to remedy this inveterate evil. The bishops therefore had recourse to pretended miracles to remove it, which in that age of ignorance and superstition, obtained easy credit with the people and produced great effects. A bishop of Aquitaine in the year 1032 pretended that an angel had appeared to him, and brought him a writing from Heaven, enjoining men to cease from their hostilities, and to be reconciled to each

effrenis regionum aliarum iniquitas frequenter temerat. Causam viduæ

each other. It was during a season of publick calamity that he published this pretended revelation, when the minds of men were disposed to receive pious impressions, and they were willing to do any thing to appease the wrath of Heaven. The effect was accordingly very great. A general peace and cessation from hostilities took place, and continued for seven years; and a resolution was formed that no man should, for the future, attack, or molest, his adversaries during the seasons set apart for celebrating the great festivals of the church, to wit, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, nor in the rest of the year, from the evening of Thursday in every week to the morning of Monday in the week following, the three days between, to wit, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, being considered as particularly holy, because the passion of our Lord happened on the first of them, and his resurrection on the third. So great and happy a change in the dispositions of men, brought about so suddenly, and supported by so salutary a regulation, was considered as a miracle; and the respite from hostilities which followed upon it, was called *The Truce of God*, or *The Truce of the Lord*, *Trevia Dei*, *Trevia Domini*, or *Treuga Dei*, and *Treuga Domini*, and likewise *The Peace of God*, or *of the Lord*, or *Pax Dei*, and *Pax Domini*.

However, the observance of this truce of God was not of a long duration, nor general. But some princes of great vigour and power, such as our William duke of Normandy, caused it to be observed in their dominions while it was neglected in the adjoining countries. See Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. Vol. I. Note xxi. pages 279, 280, 281.

Monsieur Du Cange, in his learned glossary, at the word *Treua*, cites the following passage from *Glaber*, which gives a pretty clear account of the nature of this respite from violence, which was called in the eleventh century *The Truce of God*.

Anno 1041 *contigit, inspirante divinâ gratiâ, primitùs in partibus Aquitanicis, deinde paulatìm per universum Galliarum territorium, firmari pactum, propter timorem Dei paritèr et amorem, talitèr "ut nemo mortalium à feriæ quartæ vespere usque ad secundam "feriam, incipiente Luce, ausu temerario præsumeret quippiam alicui hominum per vim "auferre, neque ultionis vindictam à quocunque inimico exigere, nec etiàm à fidejussore "vadimonium sumere." Quod si ab aliquo fieri contigisset contrà hoc decretum publicum, aut de vitâ componeret, aut à christianorum consortio expulsus patriâ pelleretur. Hoc insuper placuit universis, veluti vulgò dicitur, ut* Treuga Domini *vocaretur.*

This passage shews the nature of the restraints laid upon men's hostile proceedings against each other by this useful regulation. As to the time at which the truce is said to begin in every week, namely, *feriæ quartæ vespere*, or Wednesday evening, it is a day longer than it is above stated to be. But it seems to have been longer in some places than in others. In the laws of king Edward the Confessor it is stated to have been from Saturday morning at nine o'clock to Monday morning, *omnibus sabbatis ab horâ nonâ, et totâ die sequenti usque ad diem lunæ*; which is only two whole days.

There is a passage relating to this subject in the history of *Ordericus Vitalis*, which it will be proper here to transcribe. He tells us that duke William in the year 1080, after he had been king of England 14 years, held a great council of Normans, both of the ecclesiastical and the temporal order, at *Lillebonne*, (which is a considerable

viduæ, inopis, pupilli ipſe humilitèr audiebat[x], miſericorditèr agebat, rectiſſimè

able town in the *Pâis de Caux* in Normandy, a few miles to the north of the river Seine at it's mouth, and over-againſt *Quillebeuf*,) at which ſeveral ſtatutes were enacted, which he ſets down, and of which the firſt relates to *the peace*, or *truce of God* abovementioned. This paſſage is in theſe words.

Anno ab incarnatiône Domini M.LXXX, *Rex Guillelmus in feſto pentecoſtes apud Illebonam reſedit, ibique Guillelmum archi-epiſcopum, et omnes epiſcopos et abbates, comitéſque, cum aliis proceribus Normanniæ, ſimul adeſſe præcepit. Ut rex juſſit, factum eſt. Igitur octavo anno papatûs domini Gregorii, papæ, ſeptimi, celebre concilium apud Illebonam celebratum eſt: et de ſtatu eccleſiæ Dei totiúſque regni, providentiâ regis cum baronum ſuorum concilio utiliter tractatum eſt. Statuta verò concilii, ſicut ab his qui interfuerunt veracitèr annotata ſunt, volo hîc inſerere; ut poſteri diſcant quales in Normanniâ leges fuerunt ſub Guillelmo rege.*

Pax Dei, (quæ vulgo TREVIA dicitur,) ſicut ipſe princeps Guillelmus eam in initio conſtituerat, firmitèr teneatur, et per ſingulas parochias dictis excommunicationibus renovetur. Qui verò ſervare contempſerint, vel aliquatenùs fregerint, epiſcopi, ſecundùm quod priùs ſtatutum eſt, eos judicando juſtitiam faciant. Si quis verò epiſcopo ſuo inobediens fuerit, Domino, in cujus terrâ habitat, epiſcopus hoc demonſtret; et ille ſubdat eum epiſcopali juſtitiæ. Quod ſi et Dominus facere contempſerit, regis vicecomes, per epiſcopum inde requiſitus, omni remotâ excuſatione, faciat.

By this paſſage we ſee that king William had eſtabliſhed this law concerning *the Peace*, or *Truce, of God*, in Normandy many years before, and that in this council of biſhops and temporal lords of Normandy, in the year 1080, he only confirmed, or re-enacted, it. *Pax Dei, (quæ vulgò TREVIA dicitur) ſicut ipſe princeps Guillelmus eam in initio conſtituerat, firmitèr teneatur.* And by the paſſage in the text of our author, William of Poitiers, it appears that he had firſt eſtabliſhed it in Normandy before the invaſion of England.

In the paſſage in the text our author calls this truce of God *Sacramentum Pacis*, or *the Oath of Peace*, becauſe perſons of all ranks and conditions were bound to take an oath to obſerve it, as will appear from another paſſage of *Ordericus Vitalis*, which, though it relates to an event a little poſteriour to the Conquerour's reign, has ſo cloſe a connection with the ſubject of this note that I am perſuaded the reader will be

[x] By this paſſage it appears that duke William uſed to hear and determine cauſes himſelf in perſon, while he was only duke of Normandy. And he afterwards did the ſame thing in England, after he had acquired the crown of that kingdom. And we may preſume that it is from this practice of the ancient kings of England, of hearing and determining cauſes in their own perſons, that the Court of King's Bench in England is ſaid to be holden *coram ipſo rege*, or *before the king himſelf*.

rectissimè definiebat. Ejus æquitate reprimente iniquam cupiditatem, vicini

be glad to see it transcribed. It relates to a council of Norman bishops, which was held by William, archbishop of Roan, or Rouen, in Normandy, in the month of February, in ths year 1096, soon after the General Council held at *Clermont*, in the province of Auvergne in France, in the year 1095, before pope Urban II. at which two hundred and twenty five bishops from France and Spain, and a great number of abbots and other ecclesiastical persons had been present. The Norman Council, held in the following month of February, 1096, before William, archbishop of Roan, was convened for the purpose of taking into consideration the canons that had been passed in this Council of Clermont, and adopting and confirming them by their authority in Normandy, and likewise to make other provisions for the benefit of the church in Normandy: and on this occasion they made a canon for enforcing the observance of *the Peace*, or *Truce*, *of God*, and directed that all men of the age of 12 years and upwards should take an oath, of which they there set forth the form, to keep the said peace; and ordained that those persons who should either refuse to take the said oath, or break it after they had taken it, should be excommunicated and cursed by the church, *anathemate feriantur*. The whole passage is in these words.

Odo, episcopus Baiocensis, Gislebertus, Ebroicensis, et Serlo, Sagiensis, Legati quoque aliorum de Normanniâ præsulum, cum excusatoriis apicibus Arvernensi Concilio interfuerunt; et, inde cum benedictione apostolicâ regressi, synodales epistolas co-episcopis suis detulerunt. Guillelmus igitur archiepiscopus concilium Rotomagi aggregavit, et cum suffraganeis episcopis de utilitatibus ecclesiasticis tractavit. Tunc omnes mense Februario Rotomagum convenerunt, et capitula synodi quæ apud Clarum montem facta est, unanimitèr contemplati sunt. Scita quoque apostolica confirmaverunt, et hujusmodi scriptum posteris dimiserunt. "Statuit "synodus sancta ut trevia Dei firmitèr custodiatur; à dominicâ die ante caput jejunii usque "ad secundam feriam, oriente sole, post octabas Pentecostes; et à quartâ feriâ ante Ad- "ventum Domini, occidente sole, usque ad octabas Epiphaniæ; et per omnes hebdomadas "anni à quartâ feriâ, occidente sole, usque ad secundam feriam, oriente sole; et in omnibus "festis apostolorum, et vigiliis eorum; ut nullus homo alium assaliat, aut vulneret, aut "occidat; nullus namnum, vel prædam, capiat. Statuit etiam ut omnes ecclesiæ, et atria "earum, et monachi et clerici et sanctimoniales, et fœminæ, et peregrini, et mercatores, "et famuli eorum, et boves, et equi arantes, et homines carrucas ducentes, et herceatores, et "equi de quibus herceant, et homines ad carrucas fugientes, et omnes terræ sanctorum, et "pecuniæ clericorum, perpetuâ sint in pace; et in nullâ die aliquis audeat eos assalire, vel "capere, vel prædari, vel aliquo modo impedire. Statuit etiam ut omnes homines à duo- "decim annis et suprà, jurent hanc constitutionem Treviæ Dei, sicut hìc determinata est, "ex integro se servaturos, tali juramento. ""Hoc audiatis vos, nempe, quod ego amodò ""in anteà hanc constitutionem treviæ Dei, sicut hìc determinata est, fidelitèr custodiam; et ""contrà omnes qui hanc jurare contempserint, vel hanc constitutionem servare noluerint, ""episcopo, vel archidiacono, meo auxilium feram; ita ut, si me monuerint ad eundum super ""eos, nec diffugiam, nec dissimulabo, sed cum armis meis cum ipso proficiscar, et omnibus, ""quibus potero, juvabo adversùs illos per fidem, sine malo ingenio, secundùm meam con- ""scientiam.

vicini minùs valentis, aut limitem agri movere, aut rem ullam usurpare, nec potens audebat quisquam nec familiaris. Villæ, castra, urbes jura per eum habebant stabilia et bona. Ipsum lætis plausibus, dulcibus cantilenis vulgò efferebant. Accipere solitus est avido auditu suavíque gustu sacræ paginæ sermones, iis, ut animæ epulum sumeret, delectari desiderans, castigari, atque edoceri. Sumebat et honorabat condecenti reverentiâ hostiam salutarem, Dominicum sanguinem: syneerâ

Andire solitus erat sacras scripturas.

N 2

"" *scientiam. Sic Deus me adjuvet, et isti sancti.*"" " *Statuit prætereà sancta synodus,* " *ut omnes feriantur anathemate qui hoc juramentum facere noluerint, vel hanc constitutionem* " *violaverint, et omnes qui eis communicaverint, vel sua vendiderint, sive fabri, sive alii* " *officiales; sive presbyteri qui eos ad communionem susceperint, vel divinum eis officium* " *fecerint.*" After which follow some other canons relating to other subjects.

In this passage we see all the circumstances of importance that belong to this useful institution of the *Peace*, or *Truce*, *of God*, namely, the time during which it was to be observed, the actions of violence from the commission of which men were obliged by it to abstain, and the form of the oath they were obliged to take, both that they would observe the said *Peace*, or *Truce*, themselves and assist the bishops and arch-deacons of the church in compelling others to observe it. The times during which it was to be observed were, 1st, From the Sunday before Lent to the Tuesday morning in the week after the Whitsun week; and 2dly, From the evening of the Wednesday before Christmas to the day that was seven days after the day of Epiphany, or the 6th of January, that is, to the 13th of January; and 3dly, In the other parts of the year from the Wednesday evening in every week to the following Monday morning, and likewise in all the holydays appointed by the church to be kept in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary and of the holy apostles, and in the eves of the said holydays. The restraints upon men's actions, that were injoined by it, were, " That no man should " assault another, or wound, or kill him; and that no man should even, during those " seasons, distrain another's cattle for rent, or other legal cause:" for so I imagine we must understand the words, *Nullus namnum, vel prædam, capiat.* And the oath they took was, " That they would themselves faithfully observe and keep the said " institution of the *Truce of God*, and would assist the bishop of the diocese, or his " arch-deacon, against all persons who should either refuse to take an oath to observe " the said truce, or, after having taken such oath, should nevertheless be guilty of " breaking the said truce; and that they would, upon receiving a summons for the " purpose, attend upon and accompany the said bishop and arch-deacon with arms " in order to assist them in compelling the said refractory persons both to take the " said oath and observe the promises contained in it."

It seems not improbable that the expression used at this day in our indictments for murder concerning the person murdered, to wit, " that he was *in the peace of God* and of our lord the king," may have taken it's rise at first from this institution of *the Peace, or Truce, of God*: though at present it has no such meaning, nor indeed, as I conceive, any meaning at all.

Doctrinam transsubstantiationis sincerè credidit, et non credentes insectatus est.

syncerâ fide tenens, quod vera doctrina præceperat, "panem[y] et vinum, quæ altari superponuntur, consecrata sacerdotis linguâ et manu, sancto Canone, Redemptoris veram esse carnem et verum esse sanguinem." Utique

[y] *Panem et vinum, quæ altari superponuntur, consecrata sacerdotis linguâ et manu, sancto canone, redemptoris verum esse carnem et verum esse sanguinem.* This celebrated opinion of the church of Rome, "that the bread and wine used in the Sacrament of "the Lord's Supper were, after consecration by the priest, really changed into the "body and blood of Jesus Christ," had been adopted by the popes and doctors of that church only a short time before duke William's accession to the government of Normandy, and had not yet obtained a thorough establishment amongst them. For about the year 1045, a learned and eloquent priest of Touraine in France, whose name was *Berenger*, denied that there was any such change made in the bread and wine used on those occasions, and publickly taught a contrary doctrine; and great numbers of people either embraced, or adhered to, his opinion. This occasioned Pope Leo IX. to hold a council at Vercelli in Piedmont in the year 1049 to settle this matter: and at this council *Lanfrank*, (who was afterwards the famous archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of William the Conquerour, but at this time was prior of the convent at *Bec* in Normandy,) distinguished himself by his arguments in support of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and contributed much to its establishment. For the pope and council decreed that it was the true doctrine, and required Berenger to acknowledge it to be so, and retract his former opinion as erroneous and heretical; which he, through fear of being burned as a heretick, consented to. For it seems that the abominable practice of burning men for heresy, or erroneous opinions in religion, had begun in the Romish church even in these early times. All this will appear from the following passage of *Ordericus Vitalis*, page 519. *Studiosus fuit idem Coenobita [Lanfrancus] gladio verbi perimere sectas, si quæ fidem lacesserent catholicam. Profectò Berengerium Turonensem (quem nonnulli Hæresiarcham putabant, et ejus dogma damnabant, quo de salutis hostiâ mortem animabus propinabat,) spiritualis eloquii mucrone confodit in Synodo Romanâ et Vercellensi. Ibi sanctissimè exposuit, veracissimè comprobavit, "panem et vinum, quæ Dominicæ mensæ super-ponuntur, post consecrationem esse "veram carnem et verum sanguinem Domini Salvatoris." Profundissimis disputationibus Berengerium Romæ Turonisque palàm evicit, omnémque hæresim anathematizare, scriptóque veram fidem profiteri, co-egit. Deinde blasphemus Hæresiarcha, quia moestus erubuit quòd libellos perversi dogmatis Romæ suis, ne ipse cremaretur, manibus in ignem conjecerit, discipulis pecuniâ pariter ac fallaciâ corruptis recens scriptum domi condidit, et per eosdem peregrè transmisit, ut vetus error approbatiùs fulciretur, et in futuros perdurabilior annos porrigeretur. Ad quod destruendum Lanfrancus dilucido edidit venustóque stylo libellum, sacris auctoritatibus ponderosum, et indissolubiliter constantem consequentiis rationum, veræ intelligentiæ astructione de Eucharistiâ copiosum, facundo sermone luculentum, nec prolixitate tædiosum.*

Duke William, who had a great regard for the virtues and learning of Lanfrank, and who also was much devoted to the authority of the popes in all matters of doctrine, (though he resisted their encroachments in things of a temporal nature) adopted zealously

Utique non ignotum est quanto zelo fuerit insectatus, atque exterminare

zealously this newly-settled doctrine of Transubstantiation, and persecuted with extreme severity those of his subjects who refused to profess a belief in it; as appears from the words of our author, which are as follows: *Utique non ignotum est quanto zelo fuerit insectatus, atque exterminare sategerit è terrâ suâ, aliter sentientem pravitatem.*

The above-mentioned learned priest, *Berenger*, was, according to the account given of him by William of Malmesbury, (who wrote his history in the reign of Henry I. only about seventy years after the time in which Berenger flourished) a most accomplished and excellent person; insomuch that *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans* in France, and the country about it called *Le Maine*, *(Cenomania)* who was one of the best writers of Latin verses in that age, composed a long copy of hexameter and pentameter verses in praise of him after his death, which shew the highest veneration for his memory. The verses are inserted in Malmesbury's history; and, as they are really elegant, if we consider the ignorance of the age in which they were written, I presume my readers will not be sorry to peruse them. I shall therefore here insert them, together with the few lines of William of Malmesbury's history concerning Berenger's character, by which they are introduced. The whole passage is as follows:

Porrò, licet Berengarius primum calorem juventutis aliquarum hæresium defensione infamaverit, ævo austeriore ita resipuit ut sine retractatione à quibusdam habeatur sanctus; innumeris bonis, maximè autem humilitate et eleëmosynis, approbatus: largarum possessionum, dispertiendo, dominus, non, abscondendo et adorando, famulus; foemineæ venustatis adeò parcus ut nullam conspectui suo pateretur admitti, ne formam videretur delibâsse oculo, quum non pruriebat animo: Non asperiari pauperem; non adulari divitem; secundùm naturam vivere; habens victum et vestitum, juxtà apostolum, his contentus esse. Unde eum laudat Cenomanensis pontifex Hildebertus, *in primis versificator eximius: cujus verba propterea inserui, ut prædicabilis episcopi affectum in magistrum ostendam; simul et doctrina ejus erit exemplo posteris, quâ, quomodo vivi debeat, instituit; etsi fortasse metas veræ laudis, amore incitatus, transilierit.*

Quem modò miratur, semper mirabitur, orbis,
Ille Berengarius, non obiturus, obit.
Quem sacræ Fidei fastigia summa tenentem
Jani quintà dies abstulit, ausa nefas:
Illa dies damnosa dies, et perfida mundo,
Quâ dolor et rerum summa ruina fuit;
Quâ status ecclesiæ, quâ spes, quâ gloria cleri,
Quâ cultor juris, jure ruente, ruit.
Quicquid philosophi, quicquid cecinère poëtæ,
Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo.
Sanctior et major sapientia, majus adorta,
Implevit sacrum pectus et ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit;
Singula factori sic studuère suo.

Vir

minare satagerit è terrâ suâ, aliter sentientem pravitatem. Colebat devotus

Vir sacer et sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas;
Quo minor est quisquis maximus est hominum.
Cui census peperit, partos servavit honores:
Cui potior pauper divite, jùsque lucro.
Cui nec desidiam nec luxum res dedit ampla,
Nec tumidum fecit multus et altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum nec ad aurum lumina flexit,
Sed doluit quoties, cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec inops dando, pauper et ipse fuit.
Cujus cura sequi naturam; legibus uti;
Et mentem vitiis, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus; verum præponere falso;
Nil vacuum sensu dicere, nil facere;
Lædere nec quemquam; cunctis prodesse; favorem
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui vestis textura rudis: cui non fuit unquam
Ante situm potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem Pudor hospitium statuit sibi: quámque Libido
Incestos superat, tàm superavit eam.
Quem Natura parens, cum mundo contulit, inquit,
"Degenerant alii, nascitur iste mihi."
Quæque vagabatur, et pœne reliquerat orbem,
Inclusit sacro pectore justitiam.
Vir sacer à puero: qui, quantum præminet orbi
Famâ, tàm famæ præminet ipse suæ.
Fama minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis; Vir sic in utroque modestus,
Livor ut in neutro rodere possit eum.
Livor enim deflet quem carpserat antea; nec tam
Carpsit et odit eum quàm modò laudat, amat.
Quàm priùs ex vitâ, tàm nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abîsse dies.
Vir verè sapiens, et parte beatus ab omni:
Qui cœlos animâ, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum vivam secum, secum requiescam;
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte suâ.

Videas in his versibus quòd laudis excesserit modum Episcopus. Sed sic se ostentat eloquentia, tali gestu procedit aureus lepos, eo modo,
Fundit purpureos dives Facundia flores,

devotus à tenerâ ætate sacra solemnia, concelebrans ea sæpissimè cum frequentiâ religiosi Conventûs, Cleri, sive Cœnobitarum. Senibus ille juvenis grande exemplum inclaruit, sedulitate quotidianâ frequentando sacra mysteria. Item ejus liberi pietatem Christianam infantes didicêre diligenti provisione ipsius. Fulgent [z] plangendi quidam in culminibus potestatis terrenæ, sese in interitum animæ ab eis ipsi præcipitantes, quorum avara malignitas optimorum largæ voluntati obsistens, Basilicas intrà dominationem suam construi difficilè aut nullatenùs permittit, constructas donari vetat, nec veretur spoliare, sacrilegio cumulans divitias peculiares. In pluribus verò Ecclesiis Dominum collaudat patria nostra sui Principis Guillelmi benigno favore extructis,

Ecclesias multas et ipse construxit et ditavit, et idem ab aliis fieri facilè permisit.

[z] *Fulgent plangendi quidam*, &c. The meaning of this passage I take to be as follows: "There are some men placed in the highest posts of human grandeur, "who throw themselves headlong from those exalted stations into the gulf of ever-"lasting perdition, to the utter loss of their souls, by a malignant conduct towards "the church of God, founded upon avarice. For from this base motive they not "only decline building and endowing churches themselves, but hinder those of their "subjects who are piously dispose'd, from doing so within the territories subject to "their jurisdiction; to the end that they may not lose their possible chance of suc-"ceeding to the possession of the lands which those pious persons are desirous of so "bestowing on the church, either by the right of escheat in case the owners of the "said lands should die without heirs, or upon the forfeiture of them for some crime, "or by some other means: which chance would be extinguished by granting such "lands to churches, or convents, or other such societies, in perpetuity. And, when "new churches have been built by such pious persons, these avaritious and irreligious "princes have restrained the persons who built them from bestowing them in per-"petuity on convents or other religious societies; and sometimes have even seized "them to their own use, and plundered them of the rich ornaments that had been "placed in them, and thereby acquired riches to themselves in a most unjust and "sacrilegious manner. But in our country of Normandy we may justly boast that "our sovereign's conduct has been the reverse of all this. For duke William has built "many churches there from the foundations at his own expence, and has made large "donations of land in perpetuity for the support of many other churches, which had "been built by other persons: and, whenever any of our rich Norman land-holders "have been inclined to bestow any part of their land upon any church, or reli-"gious society in perpetuity, he has always most readily granted them his licence to "do so, and has never been known to injure any saint, to whom a church, or con-"vent, has been dedicated, by taking from such church, or convent, any part of "the holy vessels, or ornaments, that had been consecrated to him in it." This I take to be the meaning of the passage which begins with the words *Fulgent plangendi quidem*, and ends with the words, *dicatam eis quippiam abaliendo*.

tructis, promptâ largitate adauctis. Qui volenti conferre libens cuique liberam authoritatem concedebat, Sanctos nullâ unquam injuriâ lædens, dicatum eis quippiam abalienando. Æmulabatur ejus tempore beatam Ægyptum Normannia regularium Cœnobiorum collegiis, quæ præcipuum consulem habebant ipsum fideli patrocinio, instanti magisterio. Cunctis quidem amorem, honorem, curam exhibebat: impensiùs tamen illis, quos major existimatio studiosæ religionis commendavit. O recolendam, ô imitandam, ô in omne ævum propagandam diligentiam! Abbates atque Pontifices persona principans et laïca pro disciplinâ Ecclesiasticâ subtilitèr monebat, constantèr exhortabatur, severè castigabat. Quotiens [a] ejus edicto et hortatu convenêre Præsules, Metropolitanus cum suffraganeis, de statu Religionis, Clericorum, Monachorum atque laïcorum, acturi: Synodis his arbitrum se deesse nolebat: cùm ut præsentiâ suâ studiosis adderet studium, cautionem cautis; tùm ne alieno testimonio discere indigeret qualiter fuissent acta, quæ cuncta rationabilitèr, ordinatè, et sanctè acta fuisse desiderabat. Delato [b] fortè suas ad aures immani alicujus crimine,

Synodos cleri frequenter tenuit, et in iis semper ipse præsens erat.

[a] *Quotiens ejus edicto et hortatu convenêre præsules, metropolitanus cum suffraganeis, de statu religionis, clericorum, monachorum, atque laïcorum, acturi; synodis his arbitrum se deësse nolebat.*

By this passage (as well as several others in the authors of these times) it appears that in the reign of duke William the Norman synods consisted only of bishops and abbots and priors, or the heads of convents of monks, (for the word *præsules* may comprehend these heads as well as bishops) without any deputies from the parochial clergy, though these last have made a part of the English synods or convocations, ever since the twenty-third year of the reign of king Edward I. or A.D. 1295.

[b] *Delato forte suas ad aures,* &c. The meaning of this passage I take to be as follows. "When duke William was at any time informed of some great crime "that had been committed to the disgrace and injury of religion, (such as gross "blasphemy, or heresy) and he found that the bishop of the diocese in which the "offender lived, or the arch-deacon of the diocese, acting for the bishop, had punished "the offender more slightly than he ought to have done according to the canons of "the church and laws of the dutchy, the duke would cause the offender, who had thus "been guilty of high treason against the majesty of God, to be arrested and kept in "prison till the cause of God should be worthily maintained and vindicated by in-"flicting a more adequate punishment on such offender: and he would also bring an "accusation before the synod against the bishop, or arch-deacon, who had treated "such offender with an undue degree of lenity, for having acted like an enemy of God "and religion by such a neglect of his duty, and would demand from the synod "a severe and exemplary censure and sentence against such bishop, or archdeacon, "for his said misconduct."

crimine, quod Episcopus aut Archidiaconus justo dementiùs [c] vindicaverit, reum majestatis æternæ teneri jussit incarceratum, quousque [d] causa domini æquitate districtâ decerneretur, episcopum aut archidiaconum, veluti adversarios divinæ partis, criminans in judicium devocandos, feriendos gravi sententiâ. Clerici, sive monachi, cujus à professione vitam non discrepare testimonio probabili comperit, charam habebat collocutionem, precatui totam voluntatem inclinabat. E diverso neque amici oculi respectu dignabatur infamem ob enormitatem vitæ.

Lanfrancum quendam, de quo venit in litem, plúsne sit meritus reverentiam atque gloriam, secularium ac divinarum litterarum singulari peritiâ, an ordinis monachici singulari observantiâ, intimâ familiaritate colebat: ut patrem venerans, verens ut præceptorem, diligens ut germanum aut prolem. Illi consulta animæ suæ, illi speculam quandam, unde ordinibus ecclesiasticis per omnem Normanniam prospiceretur, commisit. Potuit namque viri talis vigilans cura, cùm maximam auctoritatem sapientiæ pariter ac sanctitatis prærogativâ comparavit, securitatem non parvam optimæ sollicitudini promittere. Ipsum [e] piâ quâdam violentiâ monasterii Cadomensis abbatem statuit, non minùs reluctantem subjectionis amore, quàm altioris gradûs timore. Multis deinde possessionibus, item argento, auro, diversisque ornamentis monasterium idem locupletavit, suo largo sumptu à fundamento astructum ingenti et magnitudine et decore, dignè beatissimo protomartyre Stephano,

De Lanfranco.

O cujus

[c] Forte legendum foret, *Clementiùs.*

[d] *Quousque causa Domini æquitate districtâ decerneretur.* That is, *until the cause of God should be decided according to strict equity, or justice.* That this is the meaning of the expression *æquitate districtâ* in this place, is evident not only from the general sense of the passage, but from the use of the word *districtè* in the following passage of our author a little lower down, to wit, *Eos clementissimè, tanquam caecati amore, judicant, alios perspicaciter atque districtè.*

[e] *Ipsum piâ quâdam violentiâ monasterii Cadomensis abbatem statuit.* That is, he made Lanfrank Abbot of the monastery of *Caen* in Normandy. He was before this Prior of the smaller monastery of Bec in Normandy, as we learn from a passage of *Ordericus Vitalis*, page 519. It is worth remarking that Lanfrank is here said to have been made Abbot of *Caen* by the authority of duke William [*abbatem Statuit*] and not to have been appointed to it by the Pope, or elected by the monks of the said convent.

cujus reliquiis magnificandum, honori dedicandum erat. Majoris pendere nemo poterit officia precum, quæ in cælestia mittuntur. Crebrò famulorum Christi orationes flagitabat et emebat maximo majore, cùm bellum aut alia res ardua imminebat.

Cum hæc retracto, dulcis recordatio obvenit Theodosii Augusti, quem in pugnam contrà tyrannos processurum animabant priùs oracula atque responsa Ioannis Monachi in ultimâ Thebaide commorantis. Acceptabat ex omnibus monachis ille [f] Ioannem obediendo adeptum prophetiæ gratiam, iste [g] Lanfrancum sermone et actu spiritum Dei redolentem.

De Malgerio Rotomagi archiepiscopo.

Boni plerique, transversi affectu carnali, sanguinis propinquitate conjunctorum criminibus parcunt, in excelso dignitatum indignè præsidentes non descendere volunt. Eos clementissimè, tanquam cæcati amore, judicant, alios perspicaciter atque districtè. Cæterùm Guillelmus, cujus integerrimam bonitatem inscribimus, animo intentiùs volutare libet ac mirari, cùm patris dejectionem [h] divinæ nequaquam præferendam noverit, negotium Dei prudentèr simul et justè contrà patruum suum peregit Malgerium archipræsulem. Is, Richardi secundi filius, sacrâ dignitate abutebatur, veluti, natalium jure, suâ [i]. Pallio [k] tamen nunquam est insignitus, quod principale ac mysticum archipræsulatûs insigne, manus Romani Pontificis, mittere solita, ei denegavit

[f] Scilicet *Theodosius.*

[g] Scilicet *Guillelmus.*

[h] Forte legendum foret, *dilectionem.*

[i] The meaning is, that this Malger, archbishop of Roan, neglected the duties of his high ecclesiastical station, which he considered as belonging to him in right of his high birth, or as his patrimony.

[k] *Pallio tamen nunquam est insignitus, quod principale ac mysticum Archipræsulatûs insigne, Manus Romani Pontificis, mittere solita, ei denegavit ut minùs idoneo.* By this passage it appears that Malger, archbishop of Roan in Normandy, had exercised his archiepiscopal office for many years, without having received the *Pallium*, or archiepiscopal mantle, from the Pope; and consequently that the said confirmation of his episcopal authority by the Pope was not in this age deemed a matter of absolute necessity in order to the exercise of his office of archbishop: though the Pope's refusal to send him this mark of his approbation seems to have been considered as a great blemish and stain upon his character. The Pope's authority was at this time in a growing state, and had not reached the height to which it was carried a century or two later, in the reigns of Henry II. king John, and king Henry III.

gavit ut minùs idoneo. Scripturarum arcana intelligentiæ literalis oculo colligere non indoctus fuit: sed quo præcipiunt moderamine, neque subjectorum neque propriam vitam gubernare studuit. Quam pietas plurimorum ornando ditavit, ille spoliando attenuavit ecclesiam: non sponsus ejus vel pater dicendus, sed gravissimus dominus vel rapacissimus prædo. Mensas equidem nimiùm sufficientes, nimiùm nitidas præbere, largiendo laudem emere amabat, specie liberalitatis prodigus. Sæpenumerò monitus atque castigatus privatìm atque publicè domini sui, juvenis et laici, sapiente diligentiâ, pergere malebat eâdem pravitatis viâ. Nec enim modum posuit largitioni, donec sedes Metropolitana omni ferè ornamento caruit et thesauro. Sequuntur multotiens largitionem rapinæ. Prætereà molestus infamiæ ejus odor diffundebatur ob alia crimina. Sed à ratione alienum ducimus in vitiis publicandis immorari, quorum nec decens videtur commemoratio, nec notitia utilis. Læsit [l] insuper injuriâ non levi ecclesiam universalem, cujus unicum Primatem, summum in orbe terrarum antistitem, non quâ decuit obedientiâ veneratus est. Nam apostolici mandato sæpiùs ad Romanum concilium accitus, renuit ire. Sanè pigebat Rotomagum, pigebat cunctam Normanniam, archipræsulis, qui, cum honestatis formâ eminentes quosque antecedere deberet, infimarum personarum testimonio accusante confutabatur, universorum despectu degradandus censebatur.

Princeps igitur animadvertens jam non monitis agi oportere in causâ præcipuæ gravitatis, ne ultrà patiendo superni judicis iram irritaret in se, deposuit [m] patruum in publico sanctæ synodi, apostolici vicario, cunctisque Normanniæ episcopis, juxtà canonum authoritatem, sententiam

Deponitur ab archiepiscopatu. A.D. 1055.

O 2

[l] *Læsit insuper injuriâ non levi ecclesiam universalem, cujus unicum primatem, summum in orbe terrarum antistitem, non, quâ decuit, obedientiâ veneratus est. Nam apostolici mandato sæpiùs ad Romanum Concilium accitus, renuit ire.* Here again we see that an Archbishop of Roan had several times refused to go to Rome in obedience to the summons of the Pope, and had nevertheless continued to exercise his archi-episcopal function, without any diminution of his authority, though he is said to have given scandal to the Christian church by such disobedient conduct. This is another proof that the Pope's authority over the bishops of the Christian church was not yet so thoroughly established as it became afterwards.

[m] *Deposuit patruum in publico sanctæ synodi; apostolici vicario, cunctisque Normanniæ episcopis, juxtà canonum auctoritatem, sententiam dantibus unanimi consensu.* Here we see that duke William, though a layman, is said to have joined with the Pope's Legate and

Maurilius ipsi à Gulielmo substituitur.

sententiam dantibus unanimi consensu. Maurilium [a] verò cathedræ liberatæ providit, ex Italiâ, ubi suprà cæteros abbates emicuit eximius, reductum: dignissimum summo omnium archipræsulatu merito generis, personæ, virtutum, doctrinæ.

Gerbertus fit abbas Cœnobii sancti Guandregisili.

Hujus parem quendam, et in anachoretici rigoris commilitio sedulum contubernalem, Gerbertum, cunctæ sanctitatis conscientiâ et famâ juxtà beatum, aliquot post annos cœnobio sancti Guandregisili [o] præfecit, ordinem dilapsum restituere intendens per abbatem spiritualem. Ambo hi in ætate florentissimâ divinitatem, et quam divinitas largitur, beatitudinem, speculati, alio multóque perspicatiori mentis acumine quàm Plato, nudâ professione impedimenta rerum temporalium evasêre, despicantes mundanæ philosophiæ, vehementi applicatione à se amata, Gymnasia, patrii soli dulcem arrisum, opibus ac generositate claram parentelam, spem sublimium provectuum. Sic animo victore expediti nunc sub jugo cœnobiorum, nunc in eremi luctâ, æmulis Machabæorum decertabant sudoribus; pro interminabili et liberalitate et quiete, omnem extremitatem, nullam prælationem, in exilio mundi prætereuntis ambientes.

Cura Gulielmi in eligendis episcopis.

Sublimavit idem princeps quamplures ecclesias, providè trutinatâ ordinatione præsulum atque abbatum: sed præcipuè Lexoviensem, Baiocensem, Abrincensem. Statuit enim summè idoneos pontifices, Hugonem Lexovii,

and all the bishops of Normandy in deposing Malger from his archbishoprick. This again shews that the Pope had not yet acquired such a high degree of power as he afterwards assumed and exercised over other bishops. But he was making hasty strides towards it.

[a] *Maurilium verò cathedræ liberatæ providit.* Here we see that duke William appointed *Maurilius* to be the new archbishop of Roan by his own authority without any election of the clergy, just as he had made Lanfrank abbot of the monastery of Caen without any election of the monks. This was a great degree of power over the affairs of the church, which the Popes had not yet usurped from the temporal princes. And duke William was very tenacious of it, and held it and exercised it during his whole life, and in England as well as in Normany. The same thing appears also from the following passage of our author, a little lower down, to wit, *Sublimavit idem Princeps quamplures ecclesias, providè trutinatâ ordinatione Præsulum et abbatum; sed præcipuè Lexoviensem, Baiocensem, Abrincensem.*

[o] That is, the monastery, or abbey, of *Fontenelle*, or *Saint Vandrille*, in Normandy, about 6 leagues, or 18 miles, from *Roan*; which was founded by Saint *Vandrille*, (in Latin called *Vandregesilus*, or *Wandregesilus*, or *Guandregisilus*,) in the seventh century. This *Vandrille* was a person of very high rank, being the son of a duke named *Valchise* and the princess *Dode*, who was the sister of *Anchise*, the grandfather of Charles Martel.

Lexovii, proprium fratrem Odonem Bajocarum, Ioannem Abrincarum. Quorum in electione penès judicium ejus probitas ipsorum valuit, non altitudo natalium proximorum ipsi. Ioannes Radulphi Comitis filius, jampridem laicus ordine, eruditus literis; Clero, imò rectoribus Cleri, admirandus innotuerat vitâ religiosâ. Non illius desideria specie sacerdotalis gradûs honorem, sed illum vota præsulum ambierunt collegam sibi consecrandum. Odonem ab annis puerilibus optimorum numero consona præconia optimorum inseruerunt. Fertur hic in longinquas regiones celeberrimâ famâ; sed ipsius liberalissimi atque humillimi multa et industria et bonitas amplius meretur.

Joannes Abrincensis episcopus;

Odo Baiocensis;

Hugonem, quem propiore familiaritate conspectavimus, dictatu longiusculo aliis indicare neutiquam gravamur; quoniam ejus cognitionem aliis non dubitamus profuturam. Is Richardi I. nepos è filio Guillelmo, Aucensi Comite, non minùs bono quam generoso, juvenis à Principe Pontificatûs in apicem provectus, spirituali mox canitie senibus maturior enitebat. Nequaquam ille ob antiquum stemma notabatur fastuosus, nec ob altiorem gradum, sive florentem ætatem, animo aut elatus, aut per lubricas voluptates vagus. Librabat equidem strenuâ sollicitudine grave munus, cautè gestandum onus. Propriæ conversationis directioni attentè vigilabat, jugi curâ speculabatur pascendo gregi: sic manifestans quàm acutè præspiceret interno lumine, quòd sacrum ministerium acceperit, regimen ecclesiasticum, non dominatum vel honorem. Terris, thesauro, pretiosorum ornamentorum decore sanctam sponsam ditavit. Convenustavit eam ædium quoque ejus tanto cultu, ut ambigeret inspector, meliúsne nova consurgerent aut vetusta repararentur. Verùm in semetipso dicavit ei dotem auro et electro cariorem, omníque lapide sive gemmâ splendidiorem. Venerantur ac diligunt reverentissimum præsulem monasteria, synodi, curiæ; ut prudentem, ita eloquentem; ut justum, ita discretum. Qui nec pecuniæ unquam faveat aut gratiæ, sive in judicio, sive in consilio sententiam dicens. Ipse profectò, cùm deponeretur archipræsul Malgerius, vox justitiæ sonora fuit, constantèr permanens in parte Dei, propter Deum damnans filium patrui [p]. Exhibet se blandum ac severum decentissimâ

Hugo, Lexoviensis Episcopus.

[p] Richard II. duke of Normandy, and William, earl of Eu, *(Comes Aucensis)* were brothers, being, both of them, sons of Richard I. duke of Normandy. Malger was the son of Richard II. and Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, *(Episcopus Lexoviensis)* was the son of William, earl of Eu. Therefore Richard II. was uncle to this Hugh, and arch-bishop Malger was the son of his uncle.

centissimâ in alterutrum permutatione; nullius hominis, omnis vitii, clemens persecutor, pius inimicus. Subjectis fidelissimè consulit, comparandus prudentèr diligentibus patribus, qui juvenum filiorum non tàm vota cogitant quàm commoda. Favet congratulans, et auxiliatur cælici regis quolibet in ordine militibus[q]: in veneratione militum et amore regem ipsum colens. Sic semper humanus vivit, sic abstemius, ut indesinentèr afferat homini cuique, sæpiùs tamen non redituro[r], prandia sua, Deo jejunia sua. Hilarem se et communione gratum minimè vilescentem, mensæ abundanti et lautæ non denegat: gustat imperio naturæ, non epulatur. Pascunt eum delitiæ, quibus animæ esurientes æterna[s] pasci desiderant, quas Paraclitus cælestis dulcore infundit suavissimo: excubiæ orationibus vacantes, divinorum officiorum studiosa concelebratio, sacræ bibliothecæ cultus persamiliaris, denique sancti cujúsque operis indefessus amor. His, inquam, præcipuè delectatur, his avidè pascitur, optimus dominici ovilis pastor Hugo. In adversis eventibus constantiâ, in secundis modestiâ parilem laudem consequitur, nullius cupidus. Linguas amantes alienam famam lædere adeò sensit abominandas, ut aurem suam pravitatis earum nunquam testem adhibere velit. Altitudinem suam admirandæ humilitatis privilegio sublimat, continentiam et virtutes reliquas, item quascunque pias operationes, eâ tutissimâ atque saluberrimâ custode, muniens. Mysticum namque illud rationale pectoris Aaron ornamentum spiritualitèr ejus adornat interiora: patrum sanctitatem, quorum ei nomina inscribi præcipiuntur, jugitèr commonens. Ne vero suprà modi limitem digrediamur, dum per honestissimæ vitæ templa jucundâ raptamur consideratione, ad principis Guillelmi gesta reverti placet.

Magna fama et splendor Guilielmi.

Hispaniæ reges duo germani[t], auditâ ejus magnitudine, natam ejus in matrimonium cupientissimè petierunt, suum et regnum et posteritatem hâc

[q] That is, he favours the monks, who are here called *the soldiers of the heavenly king*.

[r] Forte legendum foret, *reddituro*.

[s] That is *Souls that hunger after things eternal.*

[t] *Hispaniæ reges duo germani.* That is, two brothers that were kings of some parts of Spain. For Spain was at this time divided into several small kingdoms and other principalities, of which some were in the possession of the Saracens, or Moors, who professed the Mahometan religion, and others in the possession of the Christians.

The

hæc magnificaturi affinitate. Nam et lis valdè inimica inter ipsos propter eam orta est minimè degenerem, sed omninò dignam tali parente, sic moribus ornatam, sic in amore Christi studiosam, ut reginis ac sanctimonialibus exemplo esse posset puella non velata. Admirabatur, laudabat, ac venerabatur eum suprà nomina regum * imperii Romani majestas, cujus olim gloriosissimus moderator Henricus, Conradi

The two kings here spoken of, who sought duke William's daughter in marriage, were, doubtless, kings of two of the Christian kingdoms; but of what particular kingdoms, or what were the names of these kings, our author does not inform us. But it seems probable from a passage in William of Malmesbury's history of these times, that one of these kings was *Alphonso*, king of Gallicia. For in his 3d book, page 111, line 43, this author tells us, that duke William's fifth daughter was betrothed, or promised, by her father, to this *Alphonso*; but that the lady, being of a pious and devout disposition, begged leave to decline the marriage and continue in the single state, and obtained her father's permission so to do; in consequence of which the marriage did not take place, and she died a virgin. And he adds, that after her death it was found that both her knees were become callous by the frequency of her kneeling to say her prayers. *Alterius, quæ Aldefonso, Gallicia regi, per nuncios jurata, virgineam mortem impetravit à domino. Repertus in defunctæ genibus callus crebrarum ejus orationum index fuit.*

Though William of Malmesbury here says that the princess betrothed to king Alphonso was duke William's *fifth* daughter, yet, from what our author says upon the subject in the text, it seems more probable that it was his eldest daughter *Cæcilia*, who perhaps at this time, in the year 1065, or 1066, was his only daughter. For he speaks of her as a young woman that was advanced beyond her childhood, being of such excellent conduct and manners as to be a pattern to queens and nuns;—*sic moribus ornatam, sic in amore Christi studiosam, ut reginis et sanctimonialibus exemplo esse posset puella non velata.* This description can hardly suit a girl that was less than twelve years of age, which is the greatest age that can be ascribed to the duke's eldest daughter at this time, because the duke's marriage had taken place only thirteen years before, to wit, in the year 1053; and therefore I cannot suppose the author meant it of any but the eldest daughter. Further the author says *natam ejus*, as if there was at this time but one daughter, and not *natam ejus primogenitam*, or *secundam*, or *tertiam*, &c. or *unam ex ejus filiabus*, as he probably would have done, if the duke had at that time had more than one daughter. Further the duke's eldest daughter *Cæcilia* did lead a single life and became abbess of *Caen* in Normandy; which agrees with Malmesbury's account of the piety and celibacy of the lady who had been promised to king Alphonso. So that, upon the whole, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was the duke's eldest daughter *Cæcilia* that these two brother kings of some parts of Spain sought for at this time in marriage.

* By this expression it appears that the Emperours of Germany were in this age considered as superiour in rank to kings.

radi Imperatoris Augusti filius, cum ipso etiam tum puero, veluti cum nominatissimo rege, amicitiam junxit ac societatem. Ejus enim adhuc pueri nomen clarissimum per gentes ferebatur. Sed de magnitudine viri differam. Optabat hunc vicinum et amicum nobilis et ampla, multisque regibus dominans, Constantinopolis; quo propugnatore sperneret gravem potentiam Babylonis. Jam in Normanniam nemo confinium quicquam audebat. Ut seditionum, sic externi belli procella omnis defremuit. Franciæ, Burgundiæ, item ulteriùs remotarum provinciarum Præsules atque Comites Normanniæ domini curiam frequentabant: alii ut consilia, alii ut beneficia acciperent, plerique solâ gratiâ gloriaturi. Portus et refugium aptè nominabatur ejus benignitas, admittens et relevans plurimos. Homines advenæ cernentes apud nos equites hâc, illâc, pergere inermes, et quodque iter cuique vianti tutum patere, hujuscemodi beatitudinem quotiens exoptavêre suis regionibus! hanc pacem, hanc dignitatem Guillelmi virtus patriæ peperit. Justè itaque patria pro ipso in valetudine dubiâ aliquando decumbente lacrymas profudit atque preces, quales defuncto vitam valerent impetrare: orans tardissimè moriturum, cujus in obitu præmaturo turbinem, quo priùs vexabatur, denuò timebat oriturum. Nec enim prolem tum relinqueret, ad gubernandum ætate idoneam. Creditur, et dignissimè quidem, piæ devotionis arbitrum supernum strenuo majestatis suæ clienti sospitatem præstitisse, et quietissimum otium, omni hoste protrito: ut meritus ad altiora evehi, regno [w] prærepto mox faciliùs potiretur, securus de statu principatûs.

Normannia pace fruitur internâ et externâ.

Verus namque rumor insperatò venit, Anglicam terram Rege Edwardo orbatam esse, et ejus coronâ Heraldum ornatum. Nec sustinuit vesanus Anglus, quid electio publica statueret consulere [x]; sed in die lugubri

Mors Edwardi, regis Angliæ; 5to die Januarii, A.D. 1066. Heraldus ei succedit.

[w] *Regno prærepto.* That is, which had been seized, or usurped, by Harold, immediately upon the death of king Edward, before duke William had had an opportunity of putting in his claim to it.

[x] *Nec sustinuit vesanus Anglus quid electio publica statueret consulere.* By this passage, as well as by numberless others in the writers of these old times, it appears that, upon the death of a king of England, his successor did not, in those times, instantaneously, and of course, become king in his stead, as is the case at present and for some centuries past; but he was not considered as king, or called by that title, till he had been elected,

lugubri, quo optimus ille humatus est, cùm gens universa plangeret, perjurus regium solium cum plausu occupavit, quibusdam iniquis faventibus. Ordinatus est non sanctâ consecratione Stigandi, justo zelo Apostolici et anathemate ministerio sacerdotum privati. Dux Guillelmus, habitâ cûm suis consultatione, armis injuriam ulcisci, armis hæreditatem reposcere decrevit: tametsi complures majorum id ingeniosè dissuaderent, ut rem nimìs arduam, Normanniæ viribus longe majorem. Habuit in consiliis eâ tempestate Normannia, (præter episcopos et abbates) laïci ordinis præstantissimos viros, quorum in collegio splendidiora quædam ejus lumina atque ornamenta emicuêre, Rodbertus Moritoliensis Comes, Rodbertus Aucensis Comes, Lexoviensis Episcopi Hugonis (de cujus vitâ suprà scripsimus,) frater, Ebroicensis Comes

Guilelmus parat Angliam invadere.

P Richardus

elected, or appointed, to be so in a publick meeting of the great men of the kingdom, or in what we should now call the Parliament of the Nation. And the author here blames Harold for seizing the crown without such a publick election. Yet it appears from the author's words that even in this case there was some kind of election, or appointment, of Harold to the office of king, since it is said that he took possession of the crown *with applause, by the favour of some partizans who had no regard for justice*; *regium solium cum plausu occupavit, quibusdam iniquis faventibus*. So that the author's objection to Harold's conduct in taking possession of the crown, seems to have been, that the persons who met together and chose Harold to the office of king, in lieu of king Edward, were *only a few* of the great men of England, to wit, those who happened to be at London at the time of Edward's death, and of whom some, perhaps, had been privately sent for by Harold before Edward's death during his last sicknes (which begun about Christ-mas day, or the 25th of December, 1065, and continued eleven days,) in order to support his views upon the succession, instead of being a full and free assembly of all the great men of England to whom the right of electing a new king belonged, or of as many of them as should have chosen to attend on the occasion, collected together after a regular and general summons, with a sufficient time allowed them to repair to the place of election. The account given of king Edward's death and Harold's succession to the crown by *Ingulphus*, abbot of Crowland, another writer of the time, agrees pretty well with this of our author, except that Ingulphus says that the office of crowning him was performed by *Aldred*, arch-bishop of York, whereas our author says it was performed by *Stigand*, archbishop of Canterbury. The words of Ingulphus are as follows. *Rex enim Edwardus circà Natale Domini ad mortem ægrotabat, et ecclesiam Westmonasterii dedicari in festo Sacrosanctorum* Innocentium *faciebat. Cùmque indies morbus ingravesceret, in vigiliâ* Epiphaniæ *Domini defunctus est, et* Westmonasterii *tumulatus, anno regni sui vigesimo quarto ferè completo. In crastino verò regii funeris, Comes* Haroldus *contrà suum statum et jusjurandum contemptor præstitæ fidei, ac nequitèr, oblitus sui sacramenti, throno regio se intrusit, per archi-episcopum Eboracæ,* Aldredum, *solennitèr coronatus: et regnavit mensibus novem.*

Richardus, Rodberti Archiepiscopi filius, Rogerus de Bellomonte, Rogerus de Monte Gomerici, Guillelmus filius Osberni, Hugo vice comes. Horum ingeniis atque industriâ conservari posset incolumis: nec adeò senatoribus ducentis indigeret freta his Romana Respublica, si, quanta apud veteres, nunc polleret. In omni tamen deliberatione prudentiæ principis à cunctis concessum fuisse comperimus, ac si mente divinâ, "quid agendum foret, aut vitandum," prænosceret. *Piè agentibus Deus dedit sapientiam,* ait quidam peritus divinorum. Ille autem ab infantiâ piè operabatur. Quantum verò jubere libuit, tantum, nisi necessitas obsisteret, paruêre cuncti. Quàm igitur prudenti ipsius dispositione naves fierent; armis, viris, commeatu, aliisque rebus, quæ bello sunt usui, instruerentur; qualitèr totius Normanniæ studia ferverent; prolixum est per singula enarrare. Neque minùs providè disposuit, qui Normanniam se absente gubernarent ac tutarentur. Convenit etiàm externus miles in auxilium copiosus, quos ex parte notissima ducis liberalitas, verùm omnes justæ causæ fiducia contraxit. Rapinâ omni interdictâ, stipendio ipsius millia militum quinquaginta alebantur, dum ventorum incommoditas ad Portum Divæ [y] detinebat morâ menstruâ: Ea illius temperantia fuit ac prudentia. Militibus et hospitibus abundè sumptus ministrabatur, nemini rapere quippiam concedebatur. Provincialium tutò armenta vel greges pascebantur seu per campestria, seu per tesqua. Segetes falcem cultoris intactæ expectabant, quas nec attrivit superba equitum effusio, nec demessuit pabulator. Homo imbecillis, aut inermis, equo cantans quâ libuit vectabatur; turmas militum cernens, non exhorrescens.

Exercitum colligit quinquaginta hominum millia continentem.

Tempore eodem sedebat in cathedrâ sancti Petri Romæ Papa Alexander, dignissimus cui obediret, quémque consuleret ecclesia universa. Responsa etenim edebat justa salutariaque. Is præsul Luciensis, cùm altiorem gradum nullatenùs appeteret, violento plurimorum consensu, quorum apud Romanos tunc præcellebat authoritas, ingenti concilio assentiente,

Alexandri Papæ suffragium obtinet,

[y] *Portum Divæ.* That is, the mouth of the river *Dive*, which runs into the sea a few miles to the east of the greater river *Orne*, upon which the city of Caen is situated. The name of this river is not set down in the map of Normandy given in *Bleau's Atlas*, though the river itself is put down there. In consequence of this omission of the name of the *Dive* in that map, (which is a pretty full one) I made the conjecture mentioned in page 65, note *w*, concerning the situation of this river. But I have since found both the river itself and its name in *De Lisle's* maps.

aſſentiente, in eo locatus eſt primatu, quo præſulum orbis terræ caput exiſteret atque magiſter. Allectionem hanc ſanctitate meruerat atque doctrinâ. Per eadem poſt ad ortum ſolis et occaſum effulgebat. Neque ſui curſûs limitem ſol immutabiliùs naturâ, quàm per veritatis ille directum tendebat vitâ: quodquod ubiquaque per mundum potuit, iniquum corrigens, nulli concedens. Hujus apoſtolici favorem petens dux, intimato negotio quod agitabat, vexillum accepit ejus benignitate, velut ſuffragium ſancti Petri: quo primò confidentiùs ac tutiùs invaderet adverſarium.

Et ab eo vexillum accipit.

Et Romanorum Imperatori Henrico, Henrici Imperatoris filio, nepoti Imperatoris Chounradi, noviter junctus fuit in amicitiâ, cujus edicto in quemlibet hoſtem Germania ei, ſi poſtularet, veniret adjutrix. Rex quoque Danorum Suenus fidem legationibus ei ſpopondit, ſed inimicis ejus amicum exhibebat ſe fidelem, ſicut in ſequentibus, legendo ipſius detrimenta, ſpectabis.

Heraldus intereà promptus ad decernendum prælio ſive terreſtri, ſive navali, plerumque cum immani exercitu ad littus marinum opperiens, callidè ſubornatos tranſmiſit exploratores. Quorum deprehenſo uni, cauſâmque ſui adventûs quâ præceptum eſt ſpecie obtegere conato, Dux animi ſui magnitudinem prodidit his verbis. "Non indiget, "inquit, Heraldus auri ſui vel argenti jacturâ tuam aliorúmque fidem "atque ſolertiam emere, qui ſubdolè ſpeculatum nos veniatis. Quid "conſulatur, quid apparetur apud nos, certior eum quàm velit, et "opinione ejus citior, index, quippe mea præſentia, docebit. Hoc ex "me refer illi mandatum, nec ullam adverſitatem ex nobis ei ſuſcipiendam eſſe, quominùs reliquam ætatem ſecurus agat, niſi intrà annuum ſpatium, ubi tutiorem locum ſuis pedibus ſperat, me conſpexerit. Stupentes verò grande promiſſum primores Normannorum, multi diffidentiam ſuam non reticent. Amplificant oratione, quam deſperatio dictavit, opes Heraldi, ſuas diminuunt. Theſauris illum abundare, quibus partis ſuæ duces et reges præpotentes conducantur: claſſem habere plurimam, homines in miniſteriis nauticis peritiſſimos, qui ſæpiùs pericula et prælia maritima ſint experti: terrâ illius, uti divitiis, ita militis copiâ, hanc multipliciter ſuperari. Quis enim juxtà præſtitutum naves perfici, aut perfectis remiges inveniri, annuo ſpatio

Heraldus in Normanniam mittit exploratores.

Magnanimitas Gulielmi.

Diffidentia primorum Normannorum.

 poſſe

posse speraret? Quis novâ hac expeditione pulcherrimum statum patriæ in omnem redigi miseriam non timeret? Quis Romani Imperatoris opes eâ vinci difficultate non affirmaret?

Gulielmus eos ad bonam spem exhortatur.

Erexit autem diffidentes dux hac elocutione. "Innotuit nobis, "ait, Heraldi sapientia: terrorem nobis ingerit, sed spem auget. Sua "quidem inutiliter expendet, aurum dissipans, non consolidans hono-"rem. Non eo animi viget robore, quo vel minimum quid meorum "polliceri audeat. At arbitrio meo pariter quæ mea sunt, quæque "dicuntur illius, promittentur atque dabuntur. Hostem haud dubiè "superabit, qui non minùs quæ hostis possidet quàm propria largiri "valet. Navigio, quo sufficiente citiùs gaudebimus, non præpedie-"mur. Sint illi experti, quæ nos cum felicitate majore experiamur. "Virtute meliùs quàm numero militum bella geruntur. Præterea, "ne rapinam amittat, ille pugnabit; nos quæ dono accepimus, bene-"ficiis comparavimus, requirimus. Quæ partis nostræ prima fiducia "periculum omne depellens, lætissimum triumphum nobis, summum "decus, præclarissimum nomen dabit." Etenim constabat viro catholico ac sapienti, quòd omnipotentia Dei, nihil volens iniquum, justam causam cadere non fineret; præsertìm consideranti sese, qui non tantum ditionem suam et gloriam augere, quantum ritus Christianos partibus in illis corrigere intendit. Jam tota classis providentissimè exornata ab ostio Divæ viciníque portubus, ubi Nothum, quo transmitterent, diutiùs expectavêre, Zephyri flatu in stationem sancti Galerici delata est. Ibi quoque precibus, donis, votis, cælesti suffragio se commisit optimè confidens Princeps, quem neque mora sive contrarietas venti, neque terribilia naufragia, neque pavida fuga multorum, qui fidem spoponderant, frangere prævalent. Quin et consilio adversitatibus obvius, submersorum interitus, quantum poterat, occultavit, latentiùs tumulando; commeatum indies augendo, inopiam lenivit. Ad hoc hortamine diverso retraxit exterritos, animavit paventes. Sacris supplicationibus adeò decertavit, ut corpus etiam acceptissimi Deo confessoris Gualerici contrà præpedientem [*], et pro secundo vento, extrà Basilicam deferret: concurrente in eadem humilitatis arma concione profecturorum cum ipso.

Classis Normannica ventis adversis in portu Divæ detinetur.

Deinde in portu Sancti Walerici.

Spirante

[*] Scilicet, *ventum*.

Spirante dein aurâ expectatâ, voces cum manibus in cælum gratificantes, ac simul tumultus invicem incitans tollitur; terra quàm properantissimè deseritur, dubium iter quàm cupientissimè initur. Eo namque celeritatis motu impelluntur, ut cùm armigerum hic, socium inclamet ille, plerique immemores clientum, aut sociorum, aut rerum necessariarum, id solùm, ne relinquantur, cogitant, ac festinant. Increpat tamen atque urget in puppes ardens vehementia ducis, si quos ullatenùs moram nectere notat. Verùm ne priùs luce littus, quò intendunt, attingentes, iniquâ et minus notâ statione periclitentur; dat præconis voce edictum, ut cùm in altum sint deductæ, paululum noctis conquiescant non longè à suâ rates cunctæ in anchoris fluitantes, donec in ejus mali summo lampade conspectâ, extemplò buccinæ clangorem cursûs accipiant signum. Memorat antiqua Græcia Atridem Agamemnona fraternos thalamos ultum ivisse mille navibus: protestamur nos Guillelmum diadema regium requisisse pluribus. Xerxem fabulatur illa Seston et Abidon ponto disjunctas urbes navium ponte conjunxisse: Guillelmum nos reverâ propagamus, uno clavo suæ potestatis Normannici soli et Anglici amplitudinem copulavisse. Guillelmum, qui, à nullo unquam superatus, patriam inclytis ornavit trophæis, clarissimis locupletavit triumphis, superiore hostis manu devicto Xerxi, et sine classe æquandum, ac fortitudine anteponendum censemus.

Tandem mutato vento vela faciunt.

Classis pluribus quàm mille navibus constabat.

Solutis noctu post quietem navibus, vehens Ducem retrò ceteras agillimè reliquit, ardentiùs ad victoriam properantis imperio suæ velocitatis parilitate quasi obtemperans. Jussus mane remex mali ab alto "num quæ veniant consequæ" speculari, præter pelagus et aëra prospectui suo aliud nihil comparere indicat. Confestim anchorâ jactâ, ne metus atque mœror comitem turbam confunderet, abundans prandium, nec Baccho pigmentato carens, animosissimus Dux, acsi in cœnaculo domestico, memorabili cum hilaritate accepit; cunctos actutùm affore promittens, Deo, cujus eos tutelæ credidit, adducente. Non indignum duceret Mantuanus Poëtarum Princeps laudibus Æneæ Trojani, qui priscæ Romæ, ut parens, gloria fuit, securitatem atque intentionem hujus mensæ inserere. Inquisitus denuò speculator, naves quatuor advenire, tertiò tantas exclamat, ut arborum veliferarum uberrima densitas nemoris præstet similitudinem. Quo proinde spes Ducis gaudio sit mutata, quàm ex intimo corde divinam glorificaverit pietatem, conjiciendum

Normanni in Angliam felicitèr perveniunt.

jiciendum cuivis relinquimus. Penevesellum prospero flatu provectus, liberè navibus egreditur, pugnâ nullâ obstante. Equidem Heraldus in Eboracensem Pagum recesserat, cum fratre suo Tostillo, et Heraldo, Noricorum Rege, dimicaturus. Nec mirêre quòd germanus permotus injuriis, invasi honoris æmulus, arma externa adduxit in Heraldum, quem germana [a] quoque, illi moribus absimillima, cùm armis non valeret, votis impugnabat et consilio, luxuriâ fœdum, truculentum homicidam, divite rapinâ superbum [b], adversarium æqui et boni. Voluit autem virilis prudentiæ femina, intelligens honesta quælibet, ac vitâ colens, Guillelmum Anglis dominari, quem Edwardi Regis, mariti sui, adoptio, filii loco, sibi succedere statuit; sapientem, justum, fortem.

[a] That is, *Egitha*, the queen dowager of king Edward. The historians of these times all agree in representing this queen Egitha as a woman of uncommon merit. Ingulphus speaks of her in the words following. *Cui [scilicet, Edwardo regi] data est in uxorem filia Godwini Comitis, puella pulcherrima, litteris apprimè erudita, moribus autem et caterâ vitâ virgo castissima, et humilitate sanctissima, nomine* Egitha; *in nullo patris, aut fratrum, barbariem sapiens, sed mitis et modesta, fidelis et honesta, et nulli unquam infesta; unde de illâ dicebatur illud Elegiacum,*

Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.

Vidi ego illam multotiens, cum patrem meum in regis curiâ morantem inviserem; et sæpiùs mihi de scholis venienti de litteris ac versu meo opponebat cum occurrerem, et libentissimè de grammaticâ soliditate ad logicam levitatem, quâ callebat, declinans, cum argumentorum subtili ligamine me conclusisset, semper, tribus, aut quatuor, nummis per ancillulam numeratis, ad regium penu transmisit, et refectum dimisit.

[b] That is, *proud of the great prize he had got possession of, to wit, the crown, or kingdom, of England.*

BELLUM

BELLUM
INTER
GUILLELMUM DUCEM,
ET
HERALDUM
REGEM ANGLORUM.

GAUDENTES arrepto littore Normanni primâ munitione Penevesellum, alterâ Hastingas occupavêre; quæ sibi receptaculo, navibus propugnaculo forent. Marius, aut Magnus Pompeius, uterque eximius, calliditate atque industriâ meritus triumphum; hic adducto Romam in vinculis Jugurthâ, ille coacto Mithridate ad venenum, sic in hostium fines delatus formidaret agens militem universum, se in periculum seorsìm ab agmine cum legione segnitèr daret. Fuit illorum, et est Ducum consuetudinis, dirigere, non ire exploratores; magìs ad vitam sibi, quàm ut exercitui providentiam suam, conservarent. Guillelmus verò cum viginti quinque, non amplius, militum comitatu promptus ipse loca et incolas exploravit. Inde revertens, ob asperitatem tramitis, pedes, re non absque risu gestâ, quanquam lector fortè rideat, seriæ laudi materiam dedit; gestans in humero sociatam suæ loricam satellitis, dum nominatissimum vi corporis ut animi, Osberni filium Guillelmum ferreo fasce levavit.

Gulielmus ipse cum paucis militibus explorat loca.

Dives quidam finium illorum inquilinus, natione Normannus, Rotbertus, filius Guimaræ nobilis mulieris, Hastingas Duci, domino suo atque consanguineo, nuntium destinavit, his verbis: "Præliatus cum fra-

" tre

" tre proprio Rex Heraldus, et cum Rege Noricorum, (quo fortiorem " sub cælo nullum vivere opinio fuit,) pugnâ unâ ambos occidit, ingentes " eorum exercitus delevit. Animatus eo successu festinus redit in te, " numerosissimum populum ducens ac robustissimum: adversùs quem " non ampliùs tuos quàm totidem despectabiles canes æstimo valere. " Prudens vir computaris, domi militiæque cuncta hactenus prudentèr " egisti. Nunc tibi consule, provide, labora, ne per temeritatem in " discrimen, unde non evadas, temet ipse præcipites. Suadeo intrà mu- " nitiones mane, manu ad præsens confligere noli.

Confidentia Guilielmi.

Dux contrà nuntio; " Pro mandato, inquit, quo mihi dominus " tuus vult esse cautum, quanquam sine contumeliâ suadere decuerit, " gratias ipsi, et hæc refer. Non me tutarer valli aut mœnium latebris, " sed confligerem quamprimum cum Heraldo; nec diffiderem fortitu- " dine meorum cum suis eum contritum iri, voluntate divinâ non re- " sistente, tametsi decem sola millia virorum haberem, quales ad sexa- " ginta millia adduxi.

Exercitus ejus sexaginta millia virorum continebat.

Legatus venit ab Heraldo.

Quadam verò die, dum custodiam navium viseret Dux, indicatum est fortè spatianti prope navalia, Monachum Heraldi legatum adesse. Ipse protinùs illum convenit ingeniosâ hac elocutione: " Proximus, in- " fit, ego sum Guillelmi Comitis Normannorum, ac Dapifer. Eum " alloquendi nisi per me copiam habere non poteris: quod affers, mihi " narra. Libens ille cognoscet idem per me, quia neminem suorum " cariorem habet me. Post opportunè, uti voles, meâ operâ, coràm lo- " quutum venies." Legatione perceptâ, patefaciente monacho, sine cunctatione Dux legatum hospitio recipi, et officiosâ humanitate cu- rari præcepit. Ipse interim secum et cum suis quid mandatis respon- deret deliberabat.

In crastino discumbens in medio Primatum suorum, cucullato advo- cato dixit: " Ego sum Guillelmus, Dei gratiâ, Normannorum Princeps. " Quæ mihi hesterno die retulisti, in horum nunc præsentiâ refer." Le- gatus ita elocutus est: " Hæc tibi mandat Rex Heraldus. Terram ejus " ingressus es, quâ fiduciâ, quâ temeritate, nescit. Meminit quidem " quod Rex Edwardus te Anglici regni hæredem fore pridem decreverit, " et quòd ipse in Normanniâ de hac successione securitatem tibi firma- " verit

Verba legati.

" verit. Novit autem jure ſuum eſſe regnum idem, ejuſdem Regis, do-
" mini ſui, dono in extremis illius ſibi conceſſum. Etenim ab eo tempore,
" quo beatus Auguſtinus in hanc venit regionem, communem gentis
" hujus fuiſſe conſuetudinem, donationem quam in ultimo fine ſuo quis
" fecerit, eam ratam haberi. Quapropter de terrâ juſtè ſuâ cum tuis
" te regredi poſtulat. Alioquin amicitiam, et cuncta pacta per ipſum
" in Normanniâ tibi firmata, ſolvet, penès te omninò relinquens ea."

Auditis Heraldi mandatis, Dux Monachum inquiſivit, num legatum ſuum ad Heraldum cum ſalute perducere vellet. Ille ſalutis ejus, ut propriæ, curam ſe habiturum ſpopondit. Dux illicò verbis his Monachum Fiſcannenſem quendam inſtruxit, quæ citiùs Heraldo deferret.

Reſponſum Gulielmi.

" Non temerè, neque injuſtè, ſed conſultò et æquitatis ductu in hanc
" terram tranſvectus ſum; cujus me hæredem, ut Heraldus ipſe fa-
" tetur, ſtatuit dominus meus et conſanguineus Rex Edwardus, ob
" maximos honores et plurima beneficia quæ illi atque fratri ſuo, nec-
" non hominibus eorum, ego et majores mei impendimus; et quoniam
" omnium, qui genus ſuum attingerent, me credebat excellentiſſimum,
" qui optimè valerem vel ei, quamdiu viveret, ſubvenire, vel, poſteaquàm
" decederet, regnum gubernare. Sanè neque id abſque ſuorum Opti-
" matum conſenſu, verùm [c] conſilio Stigandi Archiepiſcopi, Godwini

Q " Comitis

[c] *Conſilio Stigandi Archiepiſcopi, Godwini Comitis, Sigardi Comitis, qui etiàm jurejurando ſuis manibus confirmaverunt, quòd poſt Edwardi deceſſum me reciperent dominum, &c.*

In this paſſage we are told that duke William declared that he had been appointed by king Edward the Confeſſor to ſucceed him as king of England, in the life-time of *Godwin*, earl of Kent, *Leofric*, earl of Leiceſter, and *Siward*, earl of Northumberland, and with the conſent of thoſe great earls, and that thoſe great earls took an oath to duke William, with the ſolemn ceremony of putting their hands between his, which was uſed in performing homage, that, after the death of king Edward, they would receive him for their king. Now, if this were true, it would be a very conſiderable argument in ſupport of the juſtice of duke William's claim to the crown of England. But there is reaſon to think it is abſolutely falſe. For Ingulphus, another contemporary writer, (and who was private ſecretary to duke William in Normandy before his invaſion of England, and who was afterwards made abbot of Crowland by him, and therefore was ſufficiently diſpoſed to judge favourably of his actions, though not ſo entirely bent on juſtifying every part of his conduct as our preſent author, William of Poictiers,) informs us, that earl Godwin died in the year

"Comitis, Leurici Comitis, Sigardi Comitis, qui etiàm jurejurando suis
" manibus

year 1053, that is, 13 years before the conquest of England by duke William, and that earl Siward died in the year 1056, or ten years before the conquest, and that earl Leofric died in the yeer 1057, or nine years before the conquest. If therefore it were true that these three great English earls had consented to king Edward's appointment of duke William for his successor, it must have been at least thirteen years before the conquest, that is, in, or before, the year 1053. And, if they took an oath to duke William in his presence, and with the ceremony used in doing homage, of putting their hands between his, that they would, after the death of king Edward, receive him for their king, (as duke William asserted in the message to Harold mentioned in the text,) it must have been in the year 1051, or fifteen years before the conquest, when duke William made a visit to his relation, Edward, the Confessor, in England, and was most hospitably and magnificently entertained by him. For this was the only time that duke William had ever been in England before his invasion of it in the year 1066. But Ingulphus expresly declares, that in that visit to king Edward there was no mention made, on either side, of duke William's succeeding him in the possession of the crown of England. The account given of this visit by Ingulphus is in the words following.

Hoc in tempore [scilicet, anno Domini 1051] illustrissimus ac gloriosissimus Normannorum Comes, Wilhelmus, cum multo militum comitatu in Angliam ad regem Edwardum venit. Quem rex honorificè suscipiens, et aliquandiù secum retinens, ad civitates et castella regia circumduxit, et, condignam humanitatem exhibens, tandem multis donatum muneribus ad propria dimisit. De successione autem regni spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. See Gale's Ingulphus, page 65.

If it should be observed that it was very possible that Edward the Confessor might, on this occasion, have promised duke William to appoint him his successor to the crown of England, without its being generally known and without the knowledge of Ingulphus, who was at that time a young man of little note, of about 17 or 18 years of age; yet, at least, it must be allowed that such a promise cannot have been given in the manner related in the text, that is, with the consent of the three great earls, Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, and with an oath given by them to duke William with the ceremony attending the performance of homage, that they would receive him, after the death of Edward, as their king. For such a transaction must have been generally known. We must therefore conclude that no such consent of those three great earls was ever given to an appointment of this kind, and, most probably, that no such promise was made even in private by king Edward to duke William *at this time*, or in the year 1051, notwithstanding what was asserted by duke William in his message to king Harold mentioned in our author's text.

But Ingulphus gives us further information upon this subject, which has a great appearance of being true. For he tells us that in the year 1057, that is six years after this visit of duke William, king Edward sent for his nephew and name-sake, prince Edward, (the son of king Edward's elder brother, the brave *Edmund* Ironside,) to England from Hungary (where he had been bred,) in order to make him his successor

" manibus confirmaverunt, quòd poſt Edwardi deceſſum me recipe-
Q 2 " rent

ceſſor on the throne of England: but that that prince fell ſick and died in the ſame year 1057, ſoon after his arrival in England. This is related in the words following.

Anno autem Domini 1057, *Edwardus etiàm, patruelis regis Edwardi, vocatus de Hungariâ, ubi Angliam attigit, infirmatus obiit; ſpéſque regii ſanguinis deinceps deficere coepit.* See Gale's Ingulphus, page 66.

Now this ſending for prince Edward from Hungary is a tranſaction of ſuch a publick and notorious kind that it cannot well be ſuppoſed to be falſe; and, if true, it ſeems inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition that king Edward had, at that time, formed a deſign of making the duke of Normandy his ſucceſſor.

This prince Edward left three children, a ſon and two daughters. The daughters were Margaret and Chriſtian, of whom the former married Malcolm, king of Scotland, and the latter died unmarried. The ſon was named *Edgar Atheling*, or prince Edgar, and for eight years after the death of his father, prince Edward, was conſidered, both by his great-uncle, king Edward, and by the people of England, as the perſon who was to ſucceed to the crown of England after king Edward's death. But in the year 1065, (which was the laſt year of his life,) king Edward was induced by the critical circumſtances of the kingdom, to depart from this plan, and to entertain new thoughts concerning the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. For he obſerved that Harold and Toſti and the other ſons of the late earl Godwin were ſo active and powerful in the kingdom, and at the ſame time ſo ambitious, and that prince Edgar, on the contrary, was ſo weak and unfit for the arduous buſineſs of government, that he became apprehenſive that, if he ſhould appoint the latter to be his ſucceſſor, he would be unable to maintain his authority againſt the former, and the kingdom would thereby be thrown into great confuſion, and become a ſcene of contention and civil war. With a view to prevent this miſchief, he reſolved to ſet aſide his great-nephew, prince Edgar, and appoint for his ſucceſſor his next neareſt male relation William, duke of Normandy, for whom he had a great affection as well as eſteem, and from whoſe anceſtors he had, in his youth, received the greateſt obligations. And he probably truſted that duke William, (who was then in the height of his glory, and was conſidered as the braveſt and wiſeſt and moſt ſucceſsful prince of his time,) would be able to keep the ſons of earl Godwin in due obedience and preſerve the peace of the kingdom. Having formed this reſolution, king Edward in the year 1065, finding his infirmities increaſe upon him, and that he had not long to live, reſolved to carry it into immediate execution, and for that purpoſe ſent over Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Normandy to acquaint duke William with his intention. The words of Ingulphus are as follows.

Anno eodem [*ſcilicet.* 1065] *rex Edwardus, ſenio jam gravatus, cernens Clitonis Edwardi, nuper defuncti, filium Edgarum regio ſolio minùs idoneum tàm corde quam corpore, Godwiniique Comitis multam malámque ſobolem quotidiè ſuper terram creſcere, ad cognatum ſuum, Wilhelmum, Comitem Normanniæ, animum appoſuit, et eum ſibi ſuccedere in regnum Angliæ voce ſtabili ſancivit. Wilhelmus enim Comes tunc in omni prælio ſuperior, triumphator contrà regem Franciæ ac omnes Comites Normanniæ contiguos, publicè perſonabat, invictus* in

" rent dominum, nec ullatenùs peterent in vitâ illius patriam hanc ullo
" impedimento contrà me occupari. Obsides [d] mihi dedit Godwini filium
" ac

in armorum exercitio, judex justissimus in causarum judicio, religiosissimúsque ac devotissimus in divino servitio. Hinc rex Edwardus Robertum, archiepiscopum Cantuariæ, legatum ad eum à latere suo direxit, illúmque designatum sui regni successorem, tàm debito cognationis quàm merito virtutis, sui archipræsulis relatu insinuavit. See Gale's Ingulphus, page 68.

From what has been here stated we may conclude that duke William was not appointed by king Edward to be his successor to the crown of England till the last year of king Edward's life, or the year 1065. Nor does it appear that even then the nomination of him was in any degree confirmed by the consent of any considerable number of the great men of England, or was at all agreeable to the body of the people there, but rather the contrary; as is observed above in the latter part of note *g*, page 78.

[d] *Obsides mihi dedit Godwini filium et nepotem.* By this passage it appears that duke William in his message to Harold by this Norman monk, (in which he set forth his claim to the crown of England by virtue of king Edward's appointment,) asserted that king Edward had put a son and a grand-son of earl Godwin into his hands as pledges to him for the peaceable acquiescence of that powerful family in his intended exaltation to the crown of England upon king Edward's death. But this assertion cannot be wholly true, since it has appeared in the preceeding note from what is there cited from Ingulphus, that king Edward, most probably, entertained no design of appointing the duke of Normandy his successor till the last year of his life, or the year 1065, when he sent Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, to inform the duke of his intention in his favour. But it is neverthelefs agreed by most of the historians in this period, that a son and grandson of earl Godwin, namely, *Ulnoth*, or *Wilnoth*, his son, and *Hacun*, the son of his eldest son *Swane*, had, many years before the conquest, been delivered to duke William, and kept by him in Normandy in an honourable kind of custody, or as state prisoners, till the year 1065, when Harold was in Normandy and entered into a solemn engagement with duke William to assist him in taking possession of the crown of England. When Harold had entered into this engagement, the duke was so well pleased with him that he released *Hacun*, his nephew, from his confinement, and permitted him to return to England with Harold. But the purpose for which these two descendants of earl Godwin had been put into duke William's hands, had probably no relation to his succession to the crown of England, but solely regarded the preservation of the publick peace in England, against the machinations and disobedience of earl Godwin and his family, during king Edward's reign. For in the year 1051, a violent quarrel had happened between king Edward and earl Godwin concerning a riot at Dover that had been begun by the attendants of *Eustace*, earl of Boulogne in France, upon his return from a visit to king Edward, whose sister *Goda* he had married. This quarrel between king Edward and earl Godwin had been carried so far that armies had been raised on both sides, but without coming to an action. At last Godwin and his sons found it necessary to quit the kingdom, and their earldoms were given to other persons. But the next year they returned

" ac nepotem. Poſtremò Heraldum ipſum in Normanniam tranſmiſit,
" ut

returned again with ſo many ſhips and troops, and found ſo many adherents in the kingdom, that king Edward was obliged to pardon them and to reſtore them to their great employments; but not without earl Godwin's ſurrendering one of his ſons and one of his grandſons into king Edward's hands to be kept by him in ſafe cuſtody as hoſtages for the future fidelity and obedience of earl Godwin and his other ſons. Theſe hoſtages were, (as has been already obſerved,) *Ulnoth*, or *Wilnoth*, one of earl Godwin's ſons, and *Hacun*, the ſon of his eldeſt ſon, *Swane*. And they were immediately ſent by king Edward into Normandy to his friend and relation, duke William, to be by him detained in ſafe cuſtody on this account. But their confinement had no relation to duke William's ſucceſſion to the crown of England, which had not then been thought of. Of this quarrel of king Edward and earl Godwin, and their ſubſequent reconciliation, we have the following ſhort account in the Chronicle of Mailros, page 157.

Anno 1051. —— *ortâ ſeditione inter regem et comitem Godwinum, pro eo quod* [*rex*] *tradere noluit morti, ſororium ſuum, comitem Bononienſem, cujus milites ſtolidè hoſpitia quærentes apud Dover, ubi applicuerat, plures è civibus peremerunt; qui et ipſe ad caſtrum Dover cum ſuis confugerat: Tandem Godwinum cum rege placitare volentem, (poſtquam bis ſuper regem exercitum duxerat, et ſecundò dilapſus fuerat ab eo,) ſubterfugientem diem conſtitutum, cum quinque filiis rex exlegavit.* . . . . . . *Anno* 1052 *rex Edwardus et comes Godwinus et filii ſui ad invicem reconciliati ſunt, receptis priſtinis dignitatibus ſuis. Et Normanni ferè omnes ab Angliâ exlegantur. Rodbertus, Dorobernenſis archiepiſcopus, cum ſuis evadens vix, receſſit ab Angliâ.*

And the author of Roger Hoveden's annals, in the firſt part of his work, (page 449 of Sir Henry Saville's edition,) ſpeaks of the occaſion of king Edward's ſending earl Godwin's ſon and grandſon above-mentioned to Normandy, as hoſtages for the future obedience of earl Godwin and his other ſons, in the words following.

Orto inter regem Edwardum et comitem Godwinum gravi (ut ſuprà dictum eſt) diſſidio, exul ab Angliâ cum ſuis comes propellitur. Cui poſtmodùm gratiam regis requirenti, ut ei repatriare liceret nullo modo rex concordare voluit, niſi primò, quibus ſibi ſecuritas pararetur, obſides haberet. Quâ de cauſâ Ulnothus, *filius ipſius Godwini, et* Hacun, *filius Swane, filii ejus, obſides dantur, ac in Normanniam Willielmo Baſtardo, comiti, (filio Roberti, filii Ricardi, fratris matris ſuæ,) cuſtodiendi deſtinantur.*

The author of this part of Hoveden's hiſtory muſt have lived within fifty or ſixty years of the conqueſt, becauſe, in ſpeaking of the battle of Haſtings, he ſays there were ſome Frenchmen ſtill alive who had been preſent at that battle. *De quo prælio teſtantur adhuc Franci qui interfuerunt, &c.* page 449, line 10th from the bottom. His teſtimony therefore upon this ſubject is to be reſpected, though that of Ingulphus would have been ſtill more ſatisfactory. But he, unfortunately, ſays nothing about it.

From theſe and other teſtimonies to the ſame purpoſe in other old writers, we may, I think, conclude that *Wilnoth* and *Hacun*, the ſon and grandſon of earl Godwin, had been delivered into the hands of king Edward about the year 1052, and by him ſent to the duke of Normandy, to be kept in ſafe cuſtody, as hoſtages of the
fidelity

" ut quod pater ejus atque cæteri supranominati hîc mihi juravêre " absenti, is ibi præsens juraret præsenti [e]; Qui dum pergeret ad me, " in

fidelity and obedience of earl Godwin and his other sons to king Edward during his life, and not, (as is asserted by duke William in the text,) as hostages for their acquiescence in the succession of the duke of Normandy to the crown of England after king Edward's death; king Edward having, at the time of their being so delivered up, and for many years after, no intention of appointing that duke for his successor.

As to the great quarrel between king Edward and earl Godwin in the year 1051 concerning the riot committed at Dover by the attendants of *Eustace*, earl of Boulogne, the fullest accounts that I have seen of it are in William of Malmesbury's history, pages 81 and 82, and in Roger Hoveden's Annals, pages 441 and 442.

[e]. *Ut quod pater ejus atque cæteri supranominati hic mihi juravêre absenti, is ibi præsens juraret præsenti.*

It seems difficult to reconcile this passage, in which duke William says " that earl " Godwin, (Harold's father,) and the other great men of England, had sworn fide- " lity to him *in his absence*," with what is said three lines before concerning their having sworn this *with their hands*, or with the ceremony used in performing homage, *jurejurando suis manibus confirmaverunt*; since that seems to imply that he was present at the time they swore, and that they put their hands between his at the time of swearing; unless we suppose that king Edward, or some other great friend of the duke of Normandy, acted as the proxy, or representative, of the duke on this occasion, and received their oaths, and held their hands between his own, instead of the duke, and in the manner the duke would have done if he had been present. But it is the less material to find a method of reconciling these two passages, because the main fact asserted in them both, to wit, " that earl Godwin and those other great men of England, ever " gave any consent to the measure of settling the succession to the crown of England " on duke William, or took an oath for this purpose either in his absence or his pre- " sence," is, most probably, not true; for the reasons mentioned above in note *c*, page 113.

But there is another thing asserted in the present passage, which deserves to be inquired into, to wit, " that earl Harold was sent by king Edward the Confessor into " Normandy in the year 1065 on purpose to confirm to duke William the assurances " that the king had given him that he should succeed him on the throne of England, " and to swear that he himself would assist him in taking possession of the Crown after " king Edward's death agreeably to the said appointment." Now I am inclined to believe that this assertion of duke William is false as well as the two former assertions which have been considered in the two preceeding notes, namely, that concerning the king's *old appointment* of him for his successor, with the consent of earls *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, *thirteen*, *or fourteen*, *or fifteen*, *years before the conquest*, and that concerning the delivery of *Wilnoth* and *Hacun*, (earl Godwin's son and grandson,) into his hands *as hostages for their peaceable acquiescence in the intended measure of his succession upon King Edward's death.* But it must be confessed that the reasons for thinking this third assertion

" in periculum captionis incidit, unde meâ eum prudentiâ ac fortitu-
" dine

assertion to be false are not quite so strong and satisfactory as the reasons for disbelieving the other two. They are, however, strong enough, and are as follows.

In the first place, it seems very improbable that earl Harold, who in the year 1065 was the greatest subject in England, and who managed all public affairs, under king Edward, with uncommon ability and success, (having but two years before, to wit, in the year 1063, been employed by him to make war upon the Welch, and reduce them to terms of obedience and dependance on the crown of England, in which service he had gained great honour and been compleatly successful; and having still more recently been employed to pacify the troubles in Northumberland occasioned by his brother Toste's tyrannical government over the people there, and having gained great honour likewise, and been compleatly successful, in that expedition;) and being, in short, the great support of king Edward's government, and upon good terms with him at least, if not high in his favour in consequence of all these great services;—and who had likewise always been, both in his father earl Godwin's time and since, a great supporter of that party in England which was jealous of the favour shewn by king Edward to the Normans, and had, in the year 1052, compelled many of the king's Norman favourites to fly the kingdom;—I say, it seems very improbable that this earl Harold should undertake the office of ambassador from king Edward to the duke of Normandy to assure him of the continuation of king Edward's kind intention in his favour with respect to the succession to the crown of England, and to promise him, under the sanction of an oath, that he himself would, after king Edward's death, support his claim to the crown in consequence of this appointment, and use all the power he was master of to facilitate his taking possession of it. This would have been a great act of self-denial, if we consider the very reasonable hopes he might entertain of succeeding to the crown himself by a free election of the great men of the kingdom, (as the crown was at that time indisputably elective,) in case they should judge it to be expedient to pass over *Edgar Atheling*, who was the nearest prince of the royal family of England, but was generally thought deficient in the talents necessary for government. Surely, if Edgar's claim of blood was to be neglected, Harold might very well expect that he should be the man upon whom the general voice of the people would fall to succeed to the crown in lieu of him. And therefore he would hardly chuse to be instrumental in settling the crown upon another person, and *that* too a foreigner and the sovereign of that very people of whom the English had for many years been so jealous, and against whom he and his family had fomented and encouraged their jealousy and opposition with so much zeal and success. This is so improbable that it can hardly be made credible by any testimony. But in the second place, we must observe that the testimonies of the contemporary historians upon this subject are not uniform, nor, excepting the present author, (who is evidently highly partial to duke William, and seems resolved to justify all his actions at all events,) very strong in support of this assertion. For Ingulphus, though he tells us, " that Harold did come into Normandy, and swear to " assist duke William to take possession of the crown of England," yet he does not say that he came into Normandy *on purpose to do this*; which it is probable he would have

" dine eripui. Se mihi per manus suas dedit, suâ manu securitatem
" mihi

have said, if that had been known to be the truth, as this would have been a circumstance in favour of duke William's conduct, which he every where seems willing to justify as far as truth and justice will allow him.

What he says upon this subject is in these few words. *Ad hoc Haroldus, major domûs regiæ, veniens in Normanniam, "se Wilhelmo, Comiti, post regis obitum, regnum " Angliæ conservaturum," non tantum juravit, sed etiàm se ducturum filiam Wilhelmi comitis in uxorem datâ fide spopondit; et super hæc magnificè muneratus ad propria revenit.* The words are simply *veniens in Normanniam*, not *missus à rege Edwardo in Normanniam*, as they, most probably, would have been, if Ingulphus had thought that Harold had been sent by king Edward into Normandy expresly for the purpose of doing what he did there in favour of duke William's succession.

But other writers of almost as great antiquity as Ingulphus, go further than Ingulphus in giving us reason to suppose that Harold did not go into Normandy to confirm to the duke king Edward's intentions in his favour, and to promise to assist him to take possession of the crown of England upon king Edward's death, but for quite different purposes. I mean the author of the first part of Roger de Hoveden's Annals, and William of Malmesbury. Their accounts of this matter are as follows.

Roger Hoveden says that in the year 1065, after earl Godwin had been dead a great number of years, Harold, who was at that time earl of Wessex and Kent and in great favour with king Edward on account of the great services he had done him, requested the king to consent that *Wilnoth*, the brother of Harold, and *Hacun* his nephew, (who had been sent into Normandy many years before, and detained there in custody by duke William as hostages for the obedience of earl Godwin and his other sons to king Edward,) should be set at liberty, and that he might be permitted to go to Normandy to acquaint the duke with the king's said consent to their enlargement, and to solicit the duke to set them at liberty in consequence of the said consent, and lastly, to bring them back with him to England, their native country; the original reason for keeping them in confinement being then at an end by the death of earl Godwin, the firm establishment of king Edward's authority, and the little probability there then was that either Harold, or any of the other sons of earl Godwin, should ever again resist it. The king was alarmed at this request on account of the advantage which he apprehended his relation, the duke of Normandy, (whose ambition and cunning he was well acquainted with) would endeavour to derive from the circumstance of having the person of so great a man as Harold in his power, notwithstanding he would have come into it under the sacred character of an ambassador. For king Edward well knew that duke William had a view to succeed to the crown of England, (which according to this author, the king did not intend he should) and he suspected that, when the duke found he had the person of Harold in his power, he would force him, under the terrour of imprisonment, to make him a promise that he would assist him in his intended views on that succession to the utmost of his power, and thus that England might either become subject to a foreign yoke, or be turned into a scene of contention, blood, and misery. The king therefore objected to Harold's request, and
advised

" mihi de regno Anglico firmavit. Præstò ego sum ad agendum cau-
R " sam

advised him to drop his purpose, representing to him the dangers and mischiefs that, he apprehended, would ensue from a prosecution of it: but said at the same time, " that, if Harold, notwithstanding these reasons, persisted in his desire of going upon " this embassy into Normandy, he would not absolutely refuse him his consent." Harold did persist in his desire, and accordingly went on board a ship with proper attendants, and set sail for the coast of Normandy; but, in his voyage thither, he was taken in a violent storm, and driven on the coast of Picardy into the territories of the earl of Ponthieu. Here he and his companions, and the whole ship's crew, were made prisoners by the earl of Ponthieu, according to a barbarous custom that prevailed in that country with respect to persons ship-wrecked on their coast. In this distress he privately hired a messenger to go into Normandy to let duke William know the misfortune that had happened to him. And the duke, as soon as he heared of it, sent messengers to the earl of Ponthieu to require him " to set earl Harold and all his " attendants immediately at liberty, without making any claim, or demand, upon " them whatsoever, unless he chose to forfeit the continuance of his, the duke or " Normandy's, friendship." The earl of Ponthieu refused at first to set Harold at liberty according to the duke of Normandy's requisition; upon which the duke sent him a second message to acquaint him, " that, if he did not instantly set Harold " at liberty, he, the duke of Normandy, would immediately march with an army into " the earldom of Ponthieu, and set him free by force of arms, and oblige the earl of " Ponthieu to restore all the property of every kind that he had found in the posses- " sion of earl Harold and his attendants, even to the uttermost farthing." This second message produced its effect. For the earl of Ponthieu immediately set Harold and all his attendants at liberty, and sent them to the duke of Normandy, who received and entertained them with great hospitality and magnificence. Harold now informed the duke of the design upon which he had set out from England in his last voyage, namely, " that he was come from king Edward to desire in that king's name, " that *Wilnoth*, his brother, and *Hacun*, his nephew, (whom the duke had in his " custody) might be set at liberty." The duke made answer, " that this negociation " would be attended with success, unless Harold himself prevented it." This answer was somewhat obscure, and the duke said nothing to explain it for some days, but in the mean time shewed Harold every mark of honour and friendship that was in his power, in the hope that he should thereby create a disposition in Harold to favour the views the duke privately entertained concerning the succession to the crown of England, as soon as the duke should think proper to disclose them to him. At last, after some days the duke opened himself to Harold, and told him, " that many years ago, when " king Edward was a young man and lived in Normandy, and he himself, the duke " of Normandy, was likewise extreamly young, king Edward had promised him, "' that, if ever he became king of England, he would make him, the duke of Nor- "' mandy, his successor.' And now," he added, " if you will promise to assist me " in obtaining this succession; — and will keep Dover Castle, with the well of water " that is in it, for my use, and will deliver it up to me upon my landing in England " to take possession of the crown; — and will, as a proof of your sincerity in these " promises

" ſam contrà illum in judicio, ſive placet illi juxtà jus Normannorum,
" ſive

" promiſes, ſend me over in a ſhort time hence that we will agree upon together, " your ſiſter, to be married to one of my moſt eminent ſubjects here in Normandy, " whom you ſhall approve of for that purpoſe ; — and will likewiſe promiſe to marry " my daughter ; — I will, upon theſe conditions, immediately releaſe your nephew " *Hacun* from his confinement, and permit you to take him with you to England, " and will in like manner releaſe your brother *Wilnoth* from his confinement, and " deliver him ſafe into your hands, as ſoon as I ſhall have arrived in England and " taken poſſeſſion of the crown. And, when I am firmly ſeated on the throne of " that kingdom by means of the aſſiſtance you will have given me, I promiſe you that " I will beſtow every favour upon you that you can reaſonably deſire."

Harold, upon hearing this propoſal, was deeply ſenſible of the danger of his ſituation, and ſaw no way of providing for his ſafety but by agreeing to every part of it. And the duke upon this, in order to bind Harold the more ſtrongly to the performance of theſe ſeveral engagements, produced ſome relicks of eminent ſaints that were preſerved in Normandy, and held in the higheſt veneration, and required Harold to ſwear by thoſe ſacred relicks that he would faithfully perform every thing he had promiſed on this occaſion : which Harold accordingly did, and then was permitted to return to England with his nephew *Hacun*. When he was returned to England, king Edward aſked him the particulars of his adventures and negociation ; and, when Harold had related them to him, he broke out, with great emotion and concern, into theſe words : " Did I not tell you that I knew what ſort of a perſon duke William " was, and how he would act on this occaſion, and that the voyage you were ſo bent " upon making, was likely to be the occaſion of great miſchiefs to this kingdom ? I " now foreſee that this adventure will be productive of terrible calamities to this poor " nation : and I only pray God that he may, in his infinite goodneſs, delay the mo- " ment of their breaking out till I ſhall no longer be alive to ſee them." In a ſhort time after this king Edward died, but firſt appointed Harold to be his ſucceſſor, who did accordingly ſucceed him. This is the account of Harold's journey to Normandy given by Roger de Hoveden. The paſſage in the original is as follows.

Ut autem ſciatur origo cauſæ, quarè Willielmus Angliam bello petiit, brevitèr, quæ paulò ante geſta ſunt, repetantur. Orto inter regem Edwardum et comitem Godwinum gravi (ut ſuprà dictum eſt) diſſidio, exul ab Angliâ cum ſuis comes propellitur. Cui poſtmodùm gratiam regis requirenti, ut ei repatriare liceret, nullo modo rex concordare voluit, niſi primo, quibus ſibi ſecuritas pararetur, obſides haberet. Quâ de cauſâ, Wilnothus, filius ipſius Godwini, et Hacun, filius Swani filii ejus, obſides dantur, ac in Normanniam, Willielmo Baſtardo comiti, (filio Roberti, filii Richardi fratris matris ſuæ) cuſtodiendi deſtinantur. Elapſo dehinc tempore, cum jam Godwinus comes eſſet mortuus, Haroldus, filius ejus, petiit à rege ire Normanniam, et fratrem ſuum, atque nepotem, qui obſides ibidem tenebantur, liberare, et liberos ſecum patriam reducere. Cui rex, "Non hoc, inquit, fiet per me. Veruntamen, ne videar te velle impedire, permitto, ut eas quocunque vis, et experiaris quod poſſis; præſentio tamen te ad nihil aliud tendere, niſi in detrimentum totius Anglici regni, et opprobrium tui. Nec enim ita novi comitem mentis expertem, ut eos aliquatenùs velit concedere tibi, ſi non præſcierit in hoc
magnum

" sive potiùs Anglorum. Si secundùm æquitatis veritatem decreverint

magnum proficuum sui." *Ascendit itaque Haroldus navem, quæ tempestate validâ ejecta, cum omnibus quæ ferebat, in Pontinum fluvium, qui Maja vocatur, à Domino terræ illius pro ritu loci captivitati illius addicitur. Constrictus ergò Haroldus, quemlibet ex vulgo promissâ mercede illectum, clàm ad comitem Normanniæ dirigit, exponere quid illi contigerit. Hoc ille audito, protinùs per nuncios festinatè mandavit domino Pontini Haroldum cum suis, ab omni calumniâ liberum sibi quantocius mitti, si pristinâ illius amicitiâ à modo, sicut hucusque, vellet potiri. Sed, cum ille hominem dimittere noluit, iterùm à Willielmo in mandato accepit, se necessariò Haroldum missurum; alioquin sciret certissimum Willielmum Normanniæ comitem armatum, pro eo abducendo cum suis usque ad novissimum quadrantem quantociùs Pontinum aditurum. Talibus ille minis exterritus, mittit virum cum sociis; qui à Willielmo multùm honorificè suscipitur: et audito, cur patriâ exierit, "benè quidem rem processuram, si in ipso non remaneret," Willielmus respondit. Tenuit ergo virum aliquot diebus circà se, satisque humanum ac familiarem se illi exhibuit, ut hujusmodi re animam ejus in suos conatus alliceret: cui tandem aperuit, quæ in mente habuit. Dicebat itaque regem Edwardum, quando secum juvene olim juvenis in Normanniâ demoraretur, sibi, interpositâ fide suâ, pollicitum fuisse, quod, si rex Angliæ foret, jus regni in illum jure hæreditario post se transferret; et subdens ait, "Tu quoque, si mihi te in " hoc ipso adminiculaturum spoponderis, et insuper castellum Dofris, cum puteo aquæ, ad opus " meum te facturum, sororémque tuam, quam uni de principibus meis dederis in uxorem, te ad " me tempore, quo nobis conveniet, destinaturum, nec non filiam meam in conjugem accepturum, " promiseris, tunc et modò nepotem tuum, et, cum in Angliam venero regnaturus, fratrem tuum " incolumem recipies: in quo regno si tuo favore confirmatus fuero, spondeo quod omne quod " à me rationabilitèr tibi postulaveris, obtinebis." Sensit Haroldus periculum undique, nec intellexit, quâ evaderet, nisi in omnibus Willielmi adquiesceret voluntati. Adquievit itaque. At ille, ut omnia rata forent, perlatis sanctorum reliquiis, ad hoc Heraldum perduxit, quatenùs super illas jurejurando testaretur "se cuncta, quæ convenerant inter eos, opere completurum." His itaque gestis Haroldus, recepto nepote, reversus est in patriam. Ubi verò quid acciderit, quid egerit, regi percunctanti narravit, "nonne dixi tibi, me Willielmum nôsse, et in itinere " tuo plurima mala huic regno contingere posse? Magnas in hoc facto tuo calamitates præsentio " genti nostræ venturas, quas concedat mihi, quæso, pietas superna, ne meis diebus veniant!" In brevi post hæc obiit rex Eadwardus, et, juxtà quod ipse ante mortem statuerat, in regnum ei successit Haroldus.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 449.

This account of the purpose of Harold's journey into Normandy is much less improbable than the account given of it by our author William of Poictiers, but yet it is far from being probable. For, surely, it was (as king Edward, in the foregoing passage of Hoveden, is said to have represented it) a very imprudent thing for Harold, in the high station he then held in England, to put his person into the power of the ambitious and politick duke of Normandy without some very urgent occasion; which this negotiation about the enlargement of his brother and nephew, (who were detained in custody by duke William as king Edward's hostages for the fidelity and obedience of the rest of the family to king Edward) can hardly be thought to have been, because such a negociation might just as well have been carried on by some other person of much inferiour rank and consequence to earl Harold, as by earl Harold himself. I am

" Normanni aut Angli, quòd ille regnum hoc jure debeat possidere,
" cum.

am therefore inclined to adopt the account of this matter given by William of Malmesbury, which represents this journey of Harold into Normandy as an event that was by no means owing to any premeditated plan, or design, but was the effect of mere necessity and distress in consequence of an unexpected storm at sea as he was taking his pleasure in a fishing-vessel on the south coast of England near one of his country-seats called *Boseham*. By this unfortunate storm, says William of Malmesbury, he was driven on the coast of Picardy in the territories of *Guy*, earl of *Ponthieu*, (which are contiguous to Normandy) and, according to a barbarous custom that prevails in that country with respect to persons ship-wrecked on their coast, was immediately surrounded by the people of the country, and, together with all his attendants, made prisoners by them, and loaded with chains. In this distressed condition earl Harold resolved to apply to the duke of Normandy to procure his deliverance; and, for that purpose, privately dispatched a messenger to him to acquaint him with the misfortune he had fallen into. And, that the duke might be the more willing to interpose with the earl of Ponthieu in his favour, he informed the duke, by means of this messenger, that, at the time of his being ship-wrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, he was going to Normandy as an ambassador from king Edward to the duke, to confirm to him the assurances that king Edward had already given him, of his intention of appointing him his successor to the crown of England, and to settle with the duke the measures necessary for carrying this intention into execution. The duke, upon receiving this intelligence, immediately sent to the earl of Ponthieu to require him to set Harold and all his attendants at liberty; which the earl of Ponthieu accordingly did, and himself conducted earl Harold into Normandy, where duke William entertained him with great hospitality and magnificence, and received from him those assurances of fidelity and assistance in his views upon the succession to the crown of England, which are mentioned, I think, by all the old historians. The words of William of Malmesbury on this subject are as follows.

Rex itaque, defuncto cognato [scilicet, Edwardo, patris Edgari Atheling] quia spes prioris erat soluta suffragii, Willielmo, comiti Normanniæ, successionem Angliæ dedit. Erat ille hoc munere dignus, præstans animi juvenis, et qui in supremum fastigium alacri labore excreverat; prætereà proximè consanguineus, filius Roberti filii Richardi Secundi, quem fratrem fuisse Emmæ matris Edwardi, non semel est quod diximus. Ferunt quidam ipsum Haroldum à rege in hoc Normanniam missum; alii secretioris consilii conscii invitum venti violentiâ illuc actum, quo se tueretur invenisse commentum; quod, quia propius vero videtur, exponam. Haroldus in prædium juris sui Boseam venerat: ibi ut animum oblectaret suum, piscatorium conscendit navigium; et interìm quidem longiusculo ludo in altum proceditur; sed subitò adversâ tempestate coortâ, ipse cum sodalibus in Pontivum pagum compellitur. Homines regionis illius, pro more gentis insito, repente ex omni parte convolavêre. Inermes ab armatis, pauci à pluribus (quod facile fuit) oppressi, manus manicis, pedes compedibus præbuêre. Haroldus astuto pectore volvens casûs remedium, hominem promissis ingentibus sollicitatum, ad Willielmum misit; " missum se à rege Normanniam, ut quod minores nuntii balbutierant, ipse " potissimùm suâ confirmaret præsentiâ; in vinculis à Guidone Pontivi comite detineri, quo minùs mandata

" cum pace possideat. Si verò mihi justitiæ debito reddendum esse
" consentienti,

" *mandata exequatur ; barbarum et effrænatum morem regionis esse, ut qui evaserant in mari*
" *naufragium, in terrâ invenirent periculum ; convenire tanti nominis viro, ne impunitum di-*
" *mittat ; quod fidem ejus appellantibus vincula injecta nonnihil de majestate ipsius diminuerint ;*
" *si pecuniis exuenda captivitas esset, libens daret Willielmo comiti, non semiviro Gwidoni." Ita Haroldus Willielmo mandante liberatus, et ab ipso Gwidone Normanniam ductus est. Comes eum magnâ dignatione, gentilitio ornatu in cibis et vestibus coluit ; et, ut notiorem faceret, simul et virtutem experiretur, Britannicâ expeditione, quam tunc forte susceperat, secum habuit. Ibi Haroldus et ingenio et manu probatus, Normannum in sui amorem convertit ; atque, ut se magis commendaret, ultrò illi tunc quidem castellum Dorobernia, quod ad jus suum pertineret, et post mortem Edwardi regnum Anglicum sacramento firmavit. Quarè et filiæ adhuc impubis desponsione, et totius patrimonii amplitudine donatus, familiarium partium habebatur.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 93.

Lord Lyttelton, the very learned and accurate, as well as elegant, writer of the History of King Henry II. has adopted the principal parts of this opinion of William of Malmesbury concerning the journey of earl Harold into Normandy in the year 1065, namely, that it was not undertaken designedly, but was the consequence of a sudden storm at sea, by which earl Harold, as he was sailing in the English Channel on a party of pleasure, was driven on the coast of Picardy, and obliged to land in the territory of the earl of Ponthieu, where he and his companions were immediately surrounded by the people of the country, and carried to prison, and detained in custody by the command, or under the authority, of that earl, until, upon making his misfortune known to the duke of Normandy, that prince interposed with the earl of Ponthieu for his deliverance, and obtained it. But his lordship does not seem to agree with the same historian in thinking that earl Harold, when he dispatched a messenger from his place of captivity in Ponthieu to sollicit the duke of Normandy's assistance, made the false pretence above-mentioned, of his having been sent from England by king Edward as an ambassador to the duke of Normandy to confirm to him the intention of king Edward in his favour with respect to his succession to the crown of England. Lord Lyttelton seems rather to suppose, that earl Harold on this occasion did nothing more that implore the duke's assistance, (which, from the duke's great power and reputation, and the contiguity of his territories to the earldom of Ponthieu, was most likely to prove effectual,) and that no mention was made of the succession to the crown of England till Harold's arrival in Normandy, when the duke sollicited his assistance in carrying that intention of king Edward into execution, and Harold (being then in the duke's power, and not daring to refuse him) complied with the duke's request, and promised, and even swore, to promote his succession, in the manner related by all the historians of the time.

This opinion of Lord Lyttelton is the most favourable of the three opinions that have been here mentioned, to earl Harold's reputation, as it exempts him from all imputation of blame of every kind, either perfidy or folly, until the very moment of his being in the power of the duke of Normandy, when the constraint and terrour he was under formed some excuse (though, certainly, not a compleat one) for his compliance with the duke's sollicitations and for the engagements he entered into, against
his

" consensenti, mihi dimitrtat. At si men conditiohanc repudiaverit,
" non duco justum ut homines mei vel sui concidant præliando, quo-
" rum in lite nostrâ culpa nulla est. Ecce paratus ego sum capite
" meo contrà caput illius asserere, quòd mihi potiùs quàm illi jure
" cedat regnum Anglicum."

Hanc verborum Ducis diligentèr compertam sententiam magis quàm dictatum nostrum in oculos plurimorum venire volumus, quia plurimorum perpetuo favore eum desideramus laudari. Pulchrè colligetur et ex eâ, quòd verè prudens, justus, pius, ac fortis extiterit. Rationum namque copiâ, sicut liquet attento, quas infirmare nec valeret eloquentiæ Romanæ maximus author Tullius, Heraldi rationem destruxit. Denique judicium, quod jura gentium definirent, accipere præstò fuit: Anglos inimicos mori ob litem suam noluit; singulari certamine proprio capite causam determinare voluit. Ut ergò mandata eadem Heraldo appropinquanti per monachum sunt relata, stupore expalluit, atque diù ut elinguis obticuit. Rogitanti autem responsum legato semèl et iterùm, primò respondit: " Pergimus continentèr;" secundò, " pergimus ad pretium.[f]" Instabat legatus ut aliud responderetur, repetens " non interitum exercituum, sed singulare certamen Normanno Duci placere." Nam vir strenuus et bonus justum aliquid ac lætum renuntiare, nec multos occumbere volebat; Heraldi caput, pro quo minor fortitudo, æquitas nulla staret, casurum confidens. Tum levato Heraldus in cælum vultu, ait: "Dominus inter me et Guillelmum hodiè quod justum est decernat." Regnandi siquidem cupidine cæcatus, simul ob trepidationem oblitus injuriæ, conscientiam in ruinam sui rectum judicem optavit.

Intereà

his inclination and judgement, to promote the duke's views of succeeding to the crown of England. And, I think upon the whole matter, this opinion of lord Lyttelton (which is the most favourable to Harold's character) seems likewise most agreeable to probability. But of this every reader must judge for himself, now that the materials are fairly laid before him.

[f] Forte legendum foret, *ad prælium.*

Ambo exercitus sese ad prœliandum parant.

Intereà exploratum directi Ducis jussu probatissimi equites, hostem adesse citi nunciant. Accelerabat enim eo magis Rex furibundus, quòd propinqua castris Normannorum vastari audierat. Nocturno etiàm incursu aut repentino minùs cautos opprimere cogitabat. Et ne perfugio abirent, classe armatâ ad septingentas naves in mari opposuerat insidias. Dux properè quotquot in castris inventi sunt, (pleraque enim sociorum pars eo die pabulatum ierat) omnes jubet armari. Ipse mysterio Missæ quàm maximâ cum devotione assistens, corporis ac sanguinis Dominici communicatione suum et corpus et animam munivit. Appendit etiàm humili collo suo reliquias, quarum favorem Heraldus abalienaverat sibi, violatâ fide quam super eas jurando sanxerat. Aderant comitati è Normanniâ duo Pontifices; Odo Baiocensis, et Goisfredus Constantinus [g]; unà multus Clerus, et Monachi nonnulli. Id Collegium precibus pugnare disponitur. Terreret alium loricæ, dum vestiretur, sinistra conversio. Hanc conversionem risit ille ut casum, non, ut mali prodigium, expavit.

Exhortationem, quâ pro tempore brevitèr militum virtuti plurimum alacritatis addidit, egregiam fuisse non dubitamus; etsi nobis non ex totâ dignitate suâ relatam. "Commonuit Normannos, quòd in mul-" tis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper extiterint. "Commonuit omnes patriæ suæ, nobilium gestorum, magníque no-" minis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quâ virtute polleant, quem "gerant animum. Jam non id agi, quis regnans vivat, sed quis pe-" riculum imminens cum vitâ evadat. Si more virorum pugnent, "victoriam, decus, divitias habituros. Alioquin aut ociùs trucidari, "aut captos ludibrio fore hostibus crudelissimis. Ad hoc ignominiâ "sempiternâ infamatum iri. Ad effugium nullam viam patere; cùm "hinc arma, et inimica ignotáque regio obsistant, illinc pontus et "arma. Non decere viros multitudine terreri. Sæpenumerò Anglos "hostili ferro dejectos cecidisse, plerumque superatos in hostis venisse "deditionem, nunquam gloriâ militiæ laudatos [h]. Imperitos bellandi "strenuâ

[g] That is, *Odo*, bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Godfrey*, bishop of *Constance*, or *Coûtances*, near the western coast of Normandy.

[h] *Nunquam gloriâ militiæ laudatos.* These words, I imagine, mean, "that the English were not famous for military discipline," and not "that they were not a brave people." For they had never been thought to be deficient in courage.

Ordinatio aciei Normannicæ.

" ſtrenuâ virtute paucorum facilè poſſe conteri. Præſertim cùm juſtæ " cauſæ præſidium cæleſte non deſit. Audeant modò, nequaquam ce- " dant; triumpho citiùs gaviſuros fore."

Hâc autem commodiſſimâ ordinatione progreditur, vexillo prævio quod Apoſtolicus tranſmiſerat. Pedites in fronte locavit, ſagittis armatos et baliſtis[i], item pedites in ordine ſecundo firmiores et loricatos; ultimo turmas equitum, quorum ipſe fuit in medio cum firmiſſimo robore, unde in omnem partem conſuleret manu et voce. Scribens Heraldi agmen illud veterum aliquis, in ejus tranſitu flumina epotata, ſilvas in planum redactas fuiſſe memoraret. Maximæ enim ex omnibus undique regionibus copiæ Anglorum convenerant. Studium pars Heraldo, cuncti patriæ præſtabant, quam contrà extraneos, tametſi non juſtè, defenſare volebant. Copioſa quoque auxilia miſerat eis cognata terra Danorum. Non tamen audentes cum Guillelmo ex æquo confligere, plus eum quàm Regem Noricorum extimentes, locum editiorem præoccupavêre, montem ſilvæ, per quam advenêre, vicinum. Protinùs, equorum ope relictâ, cuncti pedites conſtitêre denſiùs conglobati. Dux cum ſuis neque loci territus aſperitate, ardua clivi ſenſim aſcendit. Terribilis clangor lituorum pugnæ ſigna cecinit utrinque; Normannorum alacris audacia pugnæ principium dedit. Talitèr cùm oratores in judicio litem agunt de rapinâ, prior ferit dictione qui crimen intendit. Pedites itaque Normanni propiùs accedentes provocant Anglos, miſſilibus in eos vulnera dirigunt atque necem. Illi contrà fortitèr, quo quiſque valet ingenio, reſiſtunt. Jactant cuſpides ac diverſorum generum tela, ſæviſſimas quaſque ſecures, et lignis impoſita ſaxa[k]. Iis, veluti mole letiferâ, ſtatìm noſtros obrui putares. Subveniunt equites, et qui poſteriores fuêre fiunt primi. Pudet eminùs pugnare, gladiis rem gerere audent. Altiſſimus clamor, hinc Normannicus, illinc barbaricus, armorum ſonitu et gemitu morientium ſuperatur. Sic aliquandiu ſummâ vi certatur ab utriſque. Angli nimiùm adjuvantur ſuperioris loci opportunitate, quem ſine procurſu tenent, et maximè conferti: atque

Magnum prælium apud Haſtingas.

[i] *Baliſtis.* This word probably means *Croſs-bows.*

[k] *Lignis impoſita ſaxa.* This probably means, "that the Engliſh rolled down large and heavy ſtones on the heads of the Normans from high ſcaffolds of wood, which were erected for the purpoſe; and that by theſe great ſtones the Norman infantry were much annoyed, and ſeemed, as it were, to be overwhelmed, as they were endeavouring to aſcend the hill on the top of which the Engliſh army was poſted." This is the manner in which this paſſage ſeems to have been underſtood by Lord Lyttelton.

ingenti quoque numerositate suâ[l] atque validissimâ corpulentiâ : prætereà pugnæ instrumentis, quæ facilè per scuta vel alia tegmina viam [m] inveniunt. Fortissimè itaque sustinent vel propellunt ausos in se districtum ensibus impetum facere. Vulnerant et eos, qui eminùs in se jacula conjiciunt. Ecce igitur hac sævitiâ perterriti avertuntur pedites paritèr atque equites Britanni, et quotquot auxiliares erant in sinistro cornu: cedit ferè cuncta Ducis acies; quod cum pace dictum sit Normannorum invictissimæ nationis. Romanæ majestatis exercitus, copias regum continens, vincere solitus terrâ maríque, fugit aliquando, cùm ducem suum sciret aut crederet occisum. Credidêre Normanni Ducem ac Dominum suum cecidisse. Non ergò nimìs pudendâ fugâ cessêre; minimè verò dolendâ, cum plurimum juverit.

S Princeps

[l] *Ingenti quoque numerositate suâ.* Here we see that the English army is represented as being much more numerous than the Norman, which consisted of between fifty and sixty thousand men. So that one would suppose, from this passage and others that follow in this author's account of this great battle, that the English army must have consisted of 120, or 130, thousand men. But Ingulphus represents them as being a much smaller body of men, and, one would imagine from his manner of expressing himself, less numerous than the Normans. His account is in these words.

Dum ergò Haroldus hâc victoriâ contrà Noricos gloriaretur, Normannos in Australi parte regni solidam terram cepisse, indies per novos nuncios narratur. Rex, lætus hesternâ victoriâ, simili cum fortunâ somniat succedere futura. Prævolat igitur universos, exercet stimulos; nec de toto exercitu, præter paucissimos, eum aliquis concomitatur. Perveniens igitur citiùs Hastyngas, collectâ illic popularium aliquali turbâ, confectâque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimìs et tenerâ, exercitum non expectat; sed, fatis urgentibus, contrà Comitem in crastino dimicat, et fortissimè totâ die usque ad vesperum invictus perdurans, ac sæpiùs more gregarii militis manu ad manum congrediens cum adversariis, robustissiméque digladians à dextris et à sinistris, corruit tandem in diei crepusculo, in quodam, ubi suos collegerat, monticulo eminùs sagittatus. Cecidit ibi Rex Haroldus, Comites etiàm sui, et fratres Gurtha *et* Lefwinus, *ac reliquus ejus exercitus nobilium Angliæ universus.* See Gale's Ingulphus, page 69.

From this account it should seem that king Harold's army consisted principally of the militia, or country people, of the county of Sussex, *(collectâ illic popularium aliquali turbâ)* with, perhaps, some addition from the adjoining counties of Surrey and Kent.

[m] *Pugnæ instrumentis, quæ facilè per scuta, vel alia tegmina, viam inveniunt.* These weapons, with which the English cut through the defensive armour of the Normans, were battle-axes, called by William of Malmesbury *bipennes.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 101, line 5.

Princeps namque prospiciens multam partem adversæ stationis prosiluisse, et insequi terga suorum; fugientibus occurrit et obstitit, verberans aut minans hastâ. Nudato insuper capite detractâque galeâ exclamans; "Me, inquit, circumspicite. Vivo, et vincam, opitulante "Deo. Quæ vobis dementia fugam suadet? quæ via patebit ad effugiendum? Quos ut pecora mactare potestis, depellunt vos et occidunt. Victoriam deseritis, ac perpetuum honorem: in exitium curritis, ac perpetuum opprobium. Abeundo, mortem nullus vestrûm "evadet." His dictis, receperunt animos. Primus ipse procurrit fulminans ense, stravit adversam gentem, quæ sibi, regi suo, rebellans commeruit mortem. Exardentes Normanni, & circumvenientes aliquot millia insecuta se, momento deleverunt ea, ut ne quidem unus superesset. Ita confirmati vehementiùs, immanitatem exercitûs invaserunt: qui, maximum detrimentum passus, non videbatur minor. Angli confidentèr totis viribus oppugnabant, id maximè laborantes, ne quem aditum irrumpere volentibus aperirent. Ob nimiam densitatem eorum labi vix potuerunt interemti. Patuerunt tamen in eos viæ incisæ per diversas partes fortissimorum militum ferro. Institerunt eis Cenomanici, Francigenæ, Britanni, Aquitani, sed cum præcipuâ virtute Normanni [a].

Tyro quidam Normannus Robertus, Rogerii de Bellomonte filius, Hugonis de Mellento Comitis ex Adelinâ sorore nepos et hæres, prælium illo die primùm experiens egit quod æternandum esset laude: cum legione, quam in dextro cornu duxit, irruens ac sternens magnâ cum audaciâ. Non est nostræ facultatis, nec permittit intentio nostra, singulorum fortia facta pro merito narrare. Copiâ dicendi valentissimus, qui bellum illud suis oculis didicerit, difficillimè singula quæque persequeretur.

[a] *Institerunt eis Cenomanici, Francigenæ, Britanni, Aquitani, sed cum præcipuâ virtute Normanni.* Here we see the different nations of which the Norman army was chiefly composed. They were the inhabitants of the country called *La Maine*, of which the city of *Mans* is the Capital; the inhabitants of *the Isle of France*, or country round the city of Paris; the inhabitants of the western province of France called *Britany*; the inhabitants of the South-western province of France called *Guienne*; and the Normans. It is probable from other authorities that there were also some troops from *Anjou* and *Poitou*, and likewise from *Flanders*, in the Norman army. But I do not recollect any testimony that there were any troops in it from *Champagne*, or *Burgundy*, or *Dauphiny*, or *Provence*, or *Languedoc*.

persequeretur. At hoc nos illò properamus, ut, finitâ Guillelmi Comitis laude, Guillelmi Regis gloriam scribamus °.

Animadvertentes Normanni, sociaque turba, non absque nimio sui incommodo hostem tantum simul resistentem superari posse: terga dederunt, fugam ex industriâ simulantes. Meminerunt quàm optatæ rei paulò antè fuga dederit occasionem. Barbaris cum spe victoriæ ingens lætitia exorta est. Sese cohortantes exultante clamore nostros maledictis increpabant, et minabantur cunctos illicò ruituros esse. Ausi sunt, ut superiùs, aliquot millia quasi volante cursu, quos fugere putabant, urgere. Normanni repentè regirati equis interceptos et inclusos undique mactaverunt, nullum relinquentes. Bis eo dolo simili eventu usi, reliquos majori cum alacritate aggressi sunt: aciem adhuc horrendam, et quam difficillimum erat circumvenire. Fit deinde insoliti generis pugna, quam altera pars incursibus et diversis motibus agit, altera, velut humo affixa, tolerat. Languent Angli, et quasi reatum ipso defectu confitentes, vindictam patiuntur. Sagittant, feriunt, perfodiunt Normanni: mortui plus, dum cadunt, quàm vivi, moveri videntur. Levitèr sauciatos non permittit evadere, sed comprimendo necat, sociorum densitas. Ita felicitas pro Guillelmo triumpho maturando cucurrit.

Normanni victores evadunt.

S 2 Interfuerunt

° *Ut finitâ Guillelmi* Comitis *laude, Guillelmi* Regis *gloriam Scribamus.* Here we see the title of *Comes* pointedly opposed to that of *Rex*: from which we may collect that, at the time of the Conquest of England, the title by which duke William governed Normandy was that of *Comes Normanniæ*, or *Earl*, or *Count*, of Normandy, and not that of *Dux Normanniæ*, or *Duke* of Normandy; though in the course of this history, and particularly in the account of this very battle of Hastings, our author occasionally calls him *Dux*. But that is only in the sense of the *General*, or *Leader*, or *Commander*, of the Normans, in the same manner as in some passages he also calls him *Princeps*, or their *Prince*.

But in another generation the sovereigns of Normandy seem to have been generally styled it's *dukes*. For I do not recollect that king Henry the 1st, the youngest son of William the Conqueror, when he had defeated his eldest brother Robert and taken him prisoner at the battle of *Tinchebray*, in the year 1106, and made himself sovereign of Normandy, is ever called *Comes Normanniæ*, or by any other title, relative to Normandy, than *Dux Normanniæ*.

Interfuerunt huic prælio Eustachius Boloniæ Comes, Guillelmus Richardi Ebroicensis Comitis filius, Goisfredus Rotronis Moritoniæ Comitis filius, Guillelmus Osberni filius, Haimerius Toarcensis Præses, Gualterus Giffardus, Hugo de Monteforti, Rodolphus de Toneiâ, Hugo de Grentmaisnil, Guillelmus de Guarrennâ, aliique quamplures militaris præstantiæ famâ celebratissimi, et quorum nomina historiarum voluminibus inter bellicosissimos commendari deceat. Guillelmus verò, Dux eorum, adeò præstabat eis fortitudine, quemadmodùm prudentiâ, ut antiquis ducibus Græcorum sive Romanorum, qui maximè scriptis laudantur, aliis meritò sit præferendus, aliis comparandus. Nobilitèr duxit ille cohibens fugam, dans animos, periculi socius; sæpiùs clamans ut venirent, quam jubens ire. Unde liquidò intelligitur, virtutem illi præviam paritèr fecisse militibus iter et audaciam. Cor amisit absque vulnere pars hostium non modica, prospiciens hunc admirandum ac terribilem equitem. Equi tres ceciderunt sub eo confossi. Ter ille desiluit intrepidus, nec diù mors vectoris inulta remansit. Hic velocitas ejus, hic robur ejus videri potuit corporis et animi. Scuta, galeas, loricas, irato mucrone et moram dedignante penetravit; clypeo suo nonnullos collisit. Mirantes eum peditem sui milites, plerique confecti vulneribus, corde sunt redintegrati. Et nonnulli, quos jam sanguis ac vires deficiunt, scutis innixi virilitèr depugnant, aliqui voce et nutibus, cùm aliud non valent, socios instigant; ne timidè Ducem sequantur, ne victoriam è manibus dimittant. Auxilio ipse multis atque saluti fuit.

Fortitudo admiranda Gulielmi.

Cum Heraldo, tali qualem poëmata dicunt Hectorem vel Turnum, non minùs auderet Guillelmus congredi singulari certamine, quàm Achilles cum Hectore, vel Æneas cum Turno. Tydeus adversùm insidiatos quinquagintà rupis petivit opem; Guillelmus par, haud inferior loco, solus non extimuit mille. Scriptor Thebäidos vel Æneïdos, qui libris in ipsis poëticâ lege de magnis majora canunt, ex actibus hujus viri æquè magnum, plus dignum considerent[o] opus vera canendo. Profectò, si quantum dignitas materiæ suppeditaret carminibus ediscererent[p] condecentibus, inter divos ipsorum stili venustate

[o] Forte legendum foret, *conficerent.*

[p] Forte *edissererent.*

nustate transferrent eum. Nostra[r] verò tenuis prosa, titulatura ipsius humillimè regnantibus[s] pietatem in cultu veri Dei, qui solus ab æterno in finem seculorum et ultrà Deus est; prælium, quo tàm fortitèr quàm justè vicit, veraci termino brevíque concludat.

Jam inclinato die[t] haud dubiè intellexit exercitus Anglorum, se stare contrà Normannos diutiùs non valere. Noverunt se diminutos interitu multarum legionum, Regem ipsum et fratres ejus, regníque Primates nonnullos occubuisse: quotquot reliqui sunt propè viribus exhaustos: subsidium quod expectent, nullum relictum. Viderunt Normannos non multum decrevisse peremptorum casu, et, quasi virium incrementa pugnando sumerent, acriùs quàm in principio imminere: Ducis eam sævitiam, quæ nulli contrà stanti parceret; eam fortitudinem, quæ nisi victrix non quiesceret. In fugam itaque conversi quantociùs abierunt, alii raptis equis, nonnulli pedites; pars per vias, plerique per avia. Jacuerunt in sanguine qui niterentur,

Fuga Anglorum.

[r] *Nostra verò tenuis prosa, &c.* The meaning of this sentence I take to be this. *The antient Poets, who were Heathens and believers in many gods, would, in speaking of this great hero, duke William, have given him a place among their Gods. But my humbler prose history, which aims at giving a true account of his exemplary piety in the worship of the true God, (who alone is God from all eternity to all eternity, and in obedience to whose supreme will and commands this worthy Prince always reigned with the utmost humility,) must avoid all such undue exaltation of him, and conclude the account of this great battle, (in which both justice and fortune were in his side,) in terms that are strictly agreeable to the truth, and without dwelling longer than is necessary even upon those actions of prowess and wise conduct which he really did perform in it.*

[s] Forte *regnantis.*

[t] *Jam inclinato die.* By this passage it appears that the battle had continued from about nine o'clock in the morning, or the third hour before mid-day, till about sunset, or a little after, that is, till between six and seven o'clock in the afternoon, before the English army began to fly. This agrees with all the other accounts of this battle, and therefore may be depended on: and it proves that the English maintained their ground with great bravery. Their losing the battle at last seems to have been owing, in a great measure, to the death of *Harold* and his two brothers, *Gurth* and *Lefwin*, towards the close of the day: though by their want of horse to oppose to the very numerous and well-disciplined cavalry of the Normans, they had had three large bodies of men, who had quitted their post to pursue the Normans, when they fled or seemed to fly before them, cut to pieces. This battle was fought on the 14th day of October, A. D. 1066, fifteen days after the Norman army had landed in England, which was on Michaelmas-day, or the 29th of September. See Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonicum*, page 172.

rentur, aut surgerent non valentes profugere. Valentes fecit aliquos salutem valdè cupiens animus. Multi silvestribus in abditis remanserunt cadavera, plures obfuerunt sequentibus per itinera collapsi. Normanni, licèt ignari regionis, avidè insequebantur, cædentes rea terga, imponentes manum ultimam secundo negotio. A mortuis etiàm equorum ungulæ supplicia sumpsêre, dum cursus fieret super jacentes. Rediit tamen fugientibus confidentia, nactis ad renovandum certamen maximam opportunitatem, prærupti vallis et frequentium fossarum. Gens equidem illa naturâ semper in ferrum prompta fuit, descendens ab antiquâ Saxonum origine ferocissimorum hominum. Propulsi non fuissent, nisi fortissimâ vi urgente. Regem Noricorum, magno exercitu fretum et bellicoso, quàm facilè nuper vicerunt.

Angli mox prælium instaurant.

Cernens autem felicium signorum ductor cohortes inopinatò collectas, quamvis novitèr advenire subsidium putaret, non flexit iter neque substitit, terribilior cum parte hastæ quàm grandia spicula vibrantes, Eustachium Comitem cum militibus quinquagintà aversum, et receptui signa canere volentem, ne abiret virili voce compellavit. Ille contrà familiaritèr in aurem Ducis reditum suasit, proximam ei, si pergeret, mortem prædicens. Hæc inter verba percussus Eustachius inter scapulas ictu sonoro, cujus gravitatem statìm sanguis demonstrabat naribus et ore, quasi moribundus evasit ope comitum. Dux formidinem omninò dedignans aut dedecus, invadens protrivit adversarios. In eo congressu Normannorum aliqui nobiliores ceciderunt, adversitate loci virtute eorum impeditâ. Sic victoriâ consummatâ, ad aream belli regressus, reperit stragem, quam non absque miseratione conspexit, tametsi factam in impios; tametsi tyrannum occidere sit pulchrum, famâ gloriosum, beneficio gratum. Latè solum operuit sordidatus in cruore flos Anglicæ nobilitatis atque juventutis. Propiùs Regem fratres ejus duo reperti sunt. Ipse, carens omni decore, quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra Ducis delatus, qui tumulandum eum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, non matri [u] pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus

Sed iterùm a Normannis superantur.

Heraldus et ejus fratres duo inter mortuos reperiuntur.

[u] *Matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti.* The quantity of gold which Harold's mother is here related to have offered to the victorious duke of Normandy

dus offerenti. Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem littoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit. Nos tibi, Heralde, non insultamus, sed cum pio victore, tuam ruinam lachymato, miseramur et plangimus te. Vicisti digno te proventu, ad meritum tuum, et in cruore jacuisti, et in littoreo tumulo jaces, et posthumæ generationi tam Anglorum quàm Normannorum abominabilis eris. Corruere solent qui summam in mundo potestatem summam beatitudinem putant: et, ut maximè beati sint, rapiunt eam, raptam vi bellicâ retinere nituntur. Atqui tu fraterno sanguine maduisti, ne fratris magnitudo te faceret minùs potentem. Ruisti dein furiosus in alterum conflictum, ut, adjutus patriæ parricidio, regale decus non amitteres. Traxit igitur te clades contracta per te. Ecce non fulges in coronâ, quam perfidè invasisti; non resides in solio, quod superbè ascendisti. Arguunt extrema tua, quàm rectè sublimatus fueris Edwardi dono in ipsius fine[w]. Regum terror Cometa, post initium altitudinis tuæ coruscans, exitium tibi vaticinatus fuit.

Apostrophe auctoris ad Heraldum.

Verum

mandy for her son's dead body may be reasonably estimated at about 11000 guineas. For every guinea weighs 5 penny weights and 9 grains, or 129 grains; and a pound of Avoirdupois weight contains 7000 grains, though a pound of Troy weight contains only 5760 grains. Therefore every pound of gold, Avoirdupois, is equal in weight to ($\frac{7000}{129}$, or) 54.263 guineas. Therefore, if we suppose king Harold (who is said to have been a tall and stout man,) to have weighed 200 pounds Avoirdupois, the quantity of gold which would have been equal in weight to his dead body must have been sufficient to have made 200 times 54.263 guineas, or 10,852.600 guineas, or somewhat less than 11000 guineas. This quantity of gold does not seem to have been too large to have been offered by the king's mother for a favour she must have so ardently desired.

[w] *Arguunt extrema tua quàm rectè sublimatus fueris Edwardi dono in ipsius fine.* It is not easy to determine the meaning of this sentence. For it may either be understood as a denial of Harold's assertion that king Edward the confessor had, in his last moments, appointed him his successor to the crown of England; or it may mean, that, though the confessor had really so appointed him, such appointment was not rightly, or validly, made, on account of the prior and more solemn appointment which (according to this author,)

Verum omissâ næniâ, felicitatem quam eadem stella portendit, disseramus. Argivorum Rex Agamemnon habens in auxilio multos Duces

author,) king Edward had before made of the duke of Normandy for his successor, with the consent of *Stigand*, archbishop of Canterbury, earl *Godwin*, earl *Leofric*, and earl *Siward*, and the other great men of England. The words seem best to bear the latter interpretation; and then they will contain an admission of the fact asserted by Harold, "that he had been appointed by king Edward, in his last moments, to be his successor "on the throne of England." This fact, we have already seen in note * page 118, is positively asserted by the author of the First Part of Roger Hoveden's Annals, who lived within the distance of one generation from the conquest. And William of Malmesbury (who flourished in the reign of king Henry I.) says, that the English in his time all affirmed that Harold had been appointed by king Edward to succeed him; though he does not himself seem to be satisfied that he was so. See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 93, line 55, et seq. And *Ordericus Vitalis*, (who also flourished in the reign of king Henry I.) affirms the same fact, and mentions the particular circumstances that attended it. For he tells us that Harold, after he had been in Normandy in the last year of king Edward's life, or the year 1065, and had there sworn to assist duke William in taking possession of the crown of England in pursuance of king Edward's appointment in his favour, and had returned from Normandy to England a little before king Edward's death, imposed upon king Edward in his last moments by telling him that the duke of Normandy had consented to make over to him, earl Harold, the right, or claim, he had to the crown of England by king Edward's appointment, upon condition that he, Harold, would marry one of the duke's daughters; which he had engaged to do. This, Ordericus says, seemed strange to king Edward: but nevertheless, in the weak state of mind and body in which he then was, he gave credit to it, and confirmed the agreement that, he was told, the duke had entered into with Harold, by appointing Harold to succeed him on the throne. The words of Ordericus are as follows. *In patriam suam ut regressus est, pro cupiditate regni Domino suo fidem mentitus est. Nam regem Edwardum, qui, morbo ingravescente, jam morti proximus erat, circumvenit, eique transfretationis suæ, et profectionis in Normanniam, ac legationis seriem retulit: Deinde fraudulentis assertionibus adjecit, "quod Willelmus Normanniæ sibi filiam suam "in conjugium dederit, et totius Anglici regni jus, utpote genero suo, concesserit." Quod audiens ægrotus Princeps miratus est; tamen credidit, et concessit quod vafer tyrannus commentatus est.* See Du Chesne's *Scriptores Normannici*, page 492.

Eadmerus also (who lived in the time of William Rufus, and was chaplain to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury,) expressly says, that king Edward the confessor, before his death, did appoint Harold to succeed him. His words are as follows. *In brevi post hæc obit Edwardus. Juxtà quod ille ante mortem statuerat, in regnum ei successit Haraldus.* See Selden's *Eadmerus*, page 5.

And Ralph Higden (who lived in the reign of king Richard II. and compiled a history of England called *Polychronicon*, from the writings of older historians,) tells us that *Marianus*, (an old author that lived not long after the time of the conquest,) asserts also that king Edward did appoint Harold his successor. The words of Higden are as follows. *Tradit tamen Marianus, quod rex Edwardus ante obitum suum designaverit*

Duces atque Reges, unicam urbem Priami dolo vix evertit obsidionis anno decimo. Quæ fuerint ejus militum ingenia, quæ virtus, carmina testantur. Item Roma sic adulta opibus, ut orbi terrarum vellet præsidere, urbes aliquot devicit singulas pluribus annis. Subegit autem urbes Anglorum cunctas Dux Guillelmus copiis Normanniæ uno die ab horâ tertiâ in vesperum, non multo extrinsecùs adjutorio. Si tuerentur eas mœnia Trojana, brevi talis viri manus et consilium exscinderent Pergama. Posset illicò victor sedem Regiam adire, imponere sibi diadema, terræ divitias in prædam suis militibus tribuere, quósque potentes, alios jugulare, alios in exilium ejicere. Sed moderatiùs ire placuit, atque clementiùs dominari. Consuevit namque pridem adolescens temperantiâ decorare triumphos. Par fuisset, Anglorum, qui sese per injuriam tantam pessundederunt in mortem, carnes gulâ vulturis lupíque devorari, ossibus insepultis campos fore sepultos. Cæterùm illi crudele visum est tale supplicium. Volentibus ad humandum eos colligere liberam concessit potestatem. Humatis autem suis, dispositáque custodiâ [x] Hastingas cum strenuo præfecto, Romanærium accedens,

Clementia et moderatio Gulielmi.

Permittit ut Angli sepeliantur.
Proficiscitur ad Romanærium;

T

assignaverit Haraldum regem futurum; quem Proceres mox in regem erexerunt. See Gale's collection of antient historians, vol. iii, page 284.

And lastly the Saxon Chronicle, (which is generally esteemed a history of great authority,) expresly says, "that king Edward the Confessor did appoint earl Harold "to be his successor on the throne of England, and that all the people did immedi- "ately elect him to be so, agreeably to the said appointment; and that he was con- "secrated to the kingly office, or crowned as king, on the day of the Epiphany, or "the 6th day of January, A.D. 1066, which was the day on which Edward the "Confessor was buried." The words of bishop Gibson's Latin translation of the passage in which these things are related, are as follows. *Annus* M.LXVI. *Hoc anno consecratum fuit istud monasterium [quod est] apud West-mynster, in festo Innocentium. Hoc item anno decessit Eadwardus, Rex, in Epiphaniæ vigiliâ, et sepultus est die Epiphaniæ, in consecratâ recenter Ecclesiâ [nempe] in Westmonasterio. Tunc Haroldus comes capessit regnum, sicut rex ei concesserat, omnésque ad ideum eligebant; et consecratus est in festo Epiphaniæ.* See Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonicum*, pages 171, 172.

These are the principal testimonies that I have met with in the old historians concerning this appointment of Harold by king Edward to succeed him on the throne of England. And from them I think there is reason to conclude, that Harold did, by some means or other, really prevail on king Edward, in his last hours, to make such an appointment of him. But the thing is not quite certain.

These appointments of their successors, made by dying kings and princes, did not, as I imagine, convey a clear right of succession to the persons so appointed, but were only considered as powerful recommendations to the great men of the country to whom the right of electing the successors belonged: and the elections were often made according to them; as *Marianus* says in the passage above-cited, that Harold was raised, or elected, to the throne by the great men of England, in conformity to this nomination of king Edward; *quem Proceres mox in regem erexerunt.*

[x] Id est, *apud* Hastingas.

accedens, quam placuit pœnam exegit pro clade suorum, quos illuc errore appulsos fera gens adorta prælio cum utriúsque partis maximo detrimento fuderat [y].

et inde ad Doverum.

Hinc Doveram contendit, ubi populum innumerabilem congregatum acceperat; quòd locus ille inexpugnabilis videbatur. At ejus propinquitate Angli perculsi, neque naturæ vel operis munimento, neque multitudini virorum confidunt. Situm est id castellum in rupe mari contiguâ, quæ naturalitèr acuta undique ad hoc ferramentis elaboratè incisa, in speciem muri directissimâ altitudine, quantum sagittæ jactus permetiri potest, consurgit, quo in latere undâ marinâ alluitur. Cùm tamen Castellani supplices deditionem pararent, armigeri exercitûs nostri prædæ cupidine ignem injecerunt. Flamma levitate suâ volitans pleráque corripuit. Dux nolens incommoda eorum, qui secum deditionalitèr agere cœperant, pretium dedit restituendarum ædium, aliáque amissa recompensavit. Severiùs animadverti præcepisset in auctores incendii, ni vilitas et numerositas ipsorum occultavisset eos. Recepto castro, quæ minùs erant per dies octo addidit firmamenta. Milites illic recentibus carnibus et aquâ utentes, multi profluvio ventris extincti sunt, plurimi in extremum vitæ debilitati discrimen. Adversa tamen et hæc fortitudinem Ducis non fregerunt. Custodiam inibi quoque relinquens, et dysenteriâ languentes; ad perdomandum quos devicit proficiscitur. Occurrunt [z] ultrò Cantuarii haud procul à Doverâ, jurant

Et custodes illius castri in deditionem recipit.

Et a Cantuariis fidelitatem accipit.

[y] *Cum utriúsque patris maximo detrimento fuderat.* By this passage it appears that the battle of Hastings was not the first battle that had been fought between the English and the Normans, but that a body of Norman troops, that had landed on the coast of Kent near *Romney*, had been attacked by the people of the country, and been overcome and destroyed by them after an obstinate resistance.

[z] *Occurrunt ultrò Cantuarii haud procul à Doverâ, jurant fidelitatem, dant obsides.* By this passage we see that the people of Kent came down to meet duke William at a small distance from Dover, and submitted to him, and swore allegiance to him, and gave him hostages for their fidelity and obedience. And in the next sentence we are told that the citizens of Canterbury, the capital of Kent, to save their city from being destroyed by the Normans, submitted to the duke in the same manner, and thereby obtained his leave for it to stand: for that I take to be the meaning of the expression, *maturavit impetrare statum obediendo.*

In these passages there is not the least hint of any terms, or conditions, made by the people of Kent with the Conquerour for the preservation of their ancient laws and privileges, as is related by some other, but less ancient, historians. And therefore it is almost certain that that story is a mere fiction. Indeed it is considered as such by the most eminent and judicious of our historians and antiquaries. Those who wish

jurant fidelitatem, dant obsides. Contremuit etiàm potens Metropolis[a] metu, et, ne funditùs caderet ullatenùs resistendo, maturavit impetrare statum obediendo. Veniens postero die ad [b] Fractam Turrim castra metatus est, quo in loco gravissimâ sui corporis valetudine animos familiarium pari conturbavit ægritudine. Volens autem publicum bonum, ne exercitus egestate rerum necessariarum laboraret, noluit indulgere sibi moras ibi agendo. Quanquam fuerit commune proficuum, ac valdè optandum, optimum Ducem ad sanitatem convalere.

Angli apud Londoniam congregati Edgarum Adelinum in regem eligunt.

Intereà Stigandus Cantuariensis Archipræsul, qui, sicut excellebat opibus atque dignitate, ita consultis plurimum apud Anglos poterat, cum filiis Algardi aliisque præpotentibus prælium minatur. Regem statuerant Edgarum Adelinum, ex Edwardi Regis nobilitate, annis puerum[c]. Erat videlicet eorum voti summa, non habere dominum quem

T 2 non

wish to read the story, fabulous as it is, will find it in Speed's History of Great-Britain, page 426, and in Tyrrel's History of England, Vol. ii. pages 7 and 8.

[a] Scilicet, Cantuariensis, Anglicè *Canterbury*.

[b] *Ad fractam turrim*. This place, called *the Broken Tower*, seems to have been somewhere near Canterbury. But both Dr. Brady and Mr. Tyrrel (two very copious and exact historians,) confess that they do not know the particular situation of it. As the author says that duke William came to it a day after the submission of the people of Canterbury, it seems likely that it was situated somewhere near *Sittingbourn*, or between *Sittingbourn* and *Rochester*.

[c] *Regem Statuerant Edgarum Adelinum, ex Edwardi regis nobilitate, annis puerum.* In this passage the author expressly says that *Stigand*, archbishop of Canterbury, with the sons of *Algar*, that is, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, and other very powerful men amongst the English who were collected together in the city of London, after the defeat at Hastings and the death of Harold, resolved to give battle to the Normans a second time, and chose *Edgar Atheling* for their king in Harold's stead. If this account is true, (and I see no good reason to doubt it,) the two great earls Edwin and Morcar joined with their countrymen in making this election of Edgar, instead of endeavouring to procure one of themselves to be chosen in opposition to him, and thereby creating dissensions amongst the people at London, as is asserted by some other writers. Thus, for example, William of Malmesbury relates the proceedings of the English at London in the words following.

Sensim ergo Willelmus (ut triumphatorem decebat,) cum exercitu suo, non hostili, sed regali, modo progrediens, urbem regni maximam, Londoniam, petit. Moxque cum gratulatione cives omnes effusi obviàm vadunt. Prorupit omnibus portis unda salutantium, auctoribus magnatibus, præcipuè Stigando, Archiepiscopo Cantuarensi, et Aldredo, Eboracensi. Nam præcedentibus diebus Edwinus *et* Morchardus, *amplæ spei fratres, apud Londoniam audito interitûs Haroldi nuntio, urbanos sollicitaverunt ut alterutrum in regnum sublevarent: Quod frustrà conati Northanimbriam discesserant, ex suo conjectantes ingenio, nunquam illùc Willelmum esse venturum. Cæteri proceres Edgarum eligerent, si episcopos assertores haberent. Sed proximo urgente periculo, et domesticæ litis dissidio, nec illud quidem effectum. Ita Angli, qui* in

non habuêre compatriotam[d]. Verùm, qui dominari debuit eis, intrepidè

in unam co-euntes sententiam, potuissent patriæ reformare ruinam, dum nullum ex suis volebant, induxerunt alienum. Tum ille haud dubiè Rex conclamatus, die natalis Domini coronatus est ab Aldredo *Archiepiscopo. Cavebat enim id munus à* Stigando *suscipere, quòd esset is Archi-episcopus non legitimè.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 102. In this account it is said that Edgar Atheling was not actually chosen king by the people at London, but only that the people intended to chuse him so if the bishops would have consented to it. But, as our author, William of Poictiers, was living at the time, and was chaplain to duke William, and present with him in England during this whole expedition, his account of this matter seems to merit the preference above Malmesbury's. We may therefore conclude that Edgar Atheling was really elected king of England by the people at London after Harold's death, and that Edwin and Morcar concurred in the election. But he most probably was not crowned, on account of the hurry and confusion that must have prevailed amongst the people after the great defeat at Hastings and when the Norman army was daily making advances in the country.

Further, the Saxon Chronicle says, that on the festival of *All Saints*, or on the first day of November, (when duke William with his army was, probably, at *Dover*,) *Leofric*, abbot of *Peterborough*, died; and that the Monks of that convent thereupon chose their provost, [or prior, as I suppose,] (whose name was *Brand*, and who was a very good and wise man,) to be their abbot in his stead, and sent him up to *Edgar Atheling* to have his election confirmed by him, the people of the country supposing that Edgar was to be their king: And that Edgar did confirm his election. The Latin of bishop Gibson's translation is in these words. *Elegerunt enim Monachi in Abbatem* Brandum *Præpositum, propterea quòd esset vir admodùm bonus, valdéque sapiens; et miserunt eum ad Ædgarum Clitonem (Hujus enim terræ incolæ arbitrabantur eum Regem fore;) et Clito id ei humanitèr concessit.* See Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonicum*, page 173.

Now this approbation, or allowance, of the election of *Brand* to be Abbot of Peterborough by *Edgar Atheling* was an act of royal authority. It seems therefore to confirm the account here given by our author, William of Poictiers, that, after the death of Harold, Edgar Atheling was really elected king of England.

This fact of Edgar Atheling's being elected king after the death of Harold is mentioned again in a very positive manner by our author in the beginning of the following paragraph, in these words; *Adveniens eodem [scilicet, apud Wallingford] Stigandus, Pontifex Metropolitanus, manibus ei sese dedit, fidem sacramento confirmavit, abrogans* Adelinum, *quem levitèr elegerat.* There seems therefore no reason to doubt it.

[d] *Erat videlicet eorum Voti summa "non habere dominum quem non habuêre compatriotam."* Here we have an express declaration that the English were unwilling to have the duke of Normandy, or any other foreigner, for their king. The same thing had been testified by our author in a former passage in the beginning of his account of the battle of Hastings, where, speaking of the English army, he says that only a part of them were personally attached to king Harold, but that all of them were zealous on that occasion to do service to their country by defending it, though unjustly, against foreigners,

pidè approperans, ubi frequentiorem audivit eorum conventum, non longè

foreigners. *Studium pars Heraldo, cuncti Patriæ præstabant, quam contrà extraneos, tametsi non justè, defensare volebant.* From these passages we may conclude, almost with certainty, that no consent of the *optimates*, or great men, of England had ever been obtained by king Edward the Confessor to his appointment of his cousin, the duke of Normandy, for his successor, if ever he made such an appointment. And, if such a consent of the great men of England to king Edward's appointment of duke William had ever been obtained, it would at least be clear from these passages of our author that the said consent and approbation of duke William for their king, did not continue in the minds of the English at the time of his invading England: and therefore, according to the true principles of liberty and justice, he could not be said to have a compleatly good title to the Crown, even if such previous consent of the great men of England to his nomination by king Edward had been obtainted; since all just government, of what kind soever, is founded on the consent of the people and can exist no longer that that consent continues. But, as we have before observed, there is no reason to suppose that any such consent of the great men of England had ever been given to any appointment by king Edward of the duke of Normandy for his successor. And I am even inclined to think that king Edward never went so far as to make a publick nomination, or appointment, of that duke for his successor, though he might perhaps wish that he should succeed him, and might entertain a design of appointing him to do so when he should be able to make such an appointment conveniently and effectually; and he might likewise, perhaps, have dispatched some private messenger, (but not earl Harold, nor yet Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to the most probable accounts, had died in Normandy about the year 1053;) into Normandy, to inform duke William of his intentions in his favour, and to concert with him the means of carrying them into execution. But, from the dislike which the English nation expressed to the prospect of being governed by a foreigner, and from the great power of earl Harold in the latter years of the reign of king Edward (arising from his great abilities and high reputation, and the important services he had lately done the publick in reducing the Welch nation to submission, and in pacifying the troubles in Northumberland, or the North of England, occasioned by the oppressive government of his brother Tosti;) it seems probable that king Edward concluded that his making the appointment he had intended of the duke of Normandy for his successor, would not be prudent, or expedient, or meet with the concurrence, or acquiescence, of the nation, and therefore that he never made it, but, on the contrary, was, by some means or other, prevailed upon in his last moments to appoint earl Harold for his successor, as the most probable method of preserving the peace of the nation.

Upon the whole matter therefore the invasion and possession of the kingdom of England by the duke of Normandy must be allowed to have been a real *conquest* of England in the common sense of the word, or a *subjugation* of it by force against the will of almost all the inhabitants, and not simply an *acquisition*, or *purchase*, of it by virtue of king Edward's appointment. or bequest, as some respectable authors are inclined to consider it: though, to facilitate the success of his attempt, he thought fit to give it that colour and appearance.

longè à Lundoniâ consedit. Præterluit eam urbem fluvius Tamesis, peregrinas è portu marino divitias advectans. Cùm solos cives habeat, copioso ac præstantiâ militari famoso incolatu abundat. Tum verò confluxerat ad ipsam hospes turba propugnatorum, quam, licet ambitu nimìs ampla, non facilè capiebat. Præmissi illò equites Normanni quingenti, egressam contrà se aciem refugere intrà mœnia impigrè compellunt, terga cædentes. Multæ stragi addunt incendium, cremantes quicquid ædificiorum citrà flumen invenêre, ut malo duplici superba ferocia contundatur. Dux progrediens dein quoquoversùm placuit, transmeato flumine Tamesi, vado simul atque ponte ad oppidum Guarengefort * pervenit [e].

* Walengford

Sed mox sese Guielmo submittunt.

Adveniens eodem Stigandus, Pontifex Metropolitanus, manibus ei sese dedit, fidem sacramento confirmavit, abrogans Adelinum quem levitèr

[e] *Ad oppidum* Wallingford *pervenit*. Here we see that duke William crossed the river *Thames* somewhere near *Wallingford* in Berkshire, which is about 12 miles North of Reading, and between 50 and 60 miles from London. It is probable that this was the nearest part of the river at which he found a bridge: for, as no resistance was made to him after he had passed by what is now called *Southwark*, or the part of Surrey that is directly over-against the city of London, but he was permitted to march unmolested *quoquoversùm placuit*, which ever way he pleased, it is natural to suppose that he would have crossed the river Thames at the first bridge he had come to, in order to be at liberty to lay siege to London, upon the reduction of which the whole success of his expedition depended. At the place where he did cross the Thames, our author says he crossed it partly by means of a ford, or place where the water was shallow, and partly by means of a bridge, *vado simul atque ponte:* the cavalry might probably cross it at the ford, and the foot-soldiers go over the bridge.

At this town of Wallingford Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, came to the duke of Normandy, and made his submission, and swore allegiance to him, renouncing Edgar Atheling, whom he had lately, with too much haste and rashness, caused to be elected king upon Harold's death. From Wallingford the victorious duke proceeded with his army on the North side of the Thames towards London; and, when he came within sight of that great city, (which we may suppose to have been when he came to the place now called *Hammersmith*, or perhaps to the place now called *Kensington*,) he was met by the principal magistrates and citizens of London, who made their submissions to him (as the people of Canterbury had done before,) and delivered into his hands such and so many persons as he thought proper to require of them, as hostages for the continuance of their obedience. And with this submission of the Londoners ended all the resistance made to the duke in England before his coronation: So that his whole expedition from his landing near *Pevensey* in Sussex to his being crowned king of England at *London*, took up less than three months, his landing having taken place on the 29th of September, A. D. 1066, and his coronation on the Christmas-day following, or the 25th of December.

levitèr elegerat. Hinc procedenti, ſtatìm ut Lundonia conſpectui patebat, obviàm exeunt Principes civitatis; ſeſe cunctámque civitatem in obſequium illius (quemadmodùm ante Cantuarii) tradunt, obſides, quos et quot imperat, adducunt. Orant poſt hæc, ut coronam ſumat, unà Pontifices, atque cæteri Summates. "Se quidem ſolitos eſſe Regi ſer-"vire, Regem dominum habere velle." Conſulens ille comitatos è Normanniâ, quorum non minùs prudentiam quàm fidem ſpectatam habebat, patefecit eis quid maximè ſibi diſſuaderet quod Angli orabant[f]: "Res adhuc turbidas eſſe;—rebellare nonnullos;—ſe potiùs regni quietem "quàm coronam cupere. Præterea, ſi Deus ipſi hunc concedit honorem, "ſecum velle conjugem ſuam coronari. Denique non oportere nimiùm "properari, dum in altum culmen aſcenditur." Profectò non illi dominabatur regnandi libido; ſanctum eſſe intellexerat, ſanctéque diligebat conjugii pignus. Familiares contrà ſuaſêre, ut totius exercitûs unanimi deſiderio optari ſciebant: Quanquam rationes ejus apprimè laudabiles dignoſcerent, ex arcano uberrimæ ſapientiæ manantes.

Aderat huic conſilio Haimerius Aquitanus, Præſes Toarcenſis, linguâ non ignobilior quàm dextrâ. Is demirans, et urbanè extollens modeſtiam inquirentem animos militum, num vellent dominum ſuum Regem fieri: "Ad diſceptationem, inquit, hujuſmodi milites nunquam "aut raro acciti ſunt. Non eſt diù trahendum noſtrâ deliberatione, "quod deſideramus fieri quàm ociſſimè. At prudentiſſimi et optimi "viri nequaquam ita cuperent in alto hujus Monarchiæ illum locari, "niſi præcipuè idoneum pervidérent, licet ipſorum commoda et "honores per exaltationem ejus augeri volentes." Ipſe iterùm omnia ſecum perpendens, adquievit tot petentibus tótque ſuadentibus: Præſertìm ſperans, ubi regnare cœperit, rebellem quemque minùs auſurum in

[f] *Patefecit eis quid maximè ſibi diſſuaderet quod Angli orabant.* The difficulties which duke William is here repreſented to have made about accepting the crown of England now that it was offered to him by the Engliſh, ſeem to be very ſtrange and unaccountable; ſince the whole object of his expenſive, bloody, hazardous, and unjuſt expedition was to get poſſeſſion of it. Perhaps his pretended ſcruples were mentioned only for the ſake of having them anſwered and procuring an unanimous concurrence of the Normans with the Engliſh in the meaſure of his exaltation. For it is utterly impoſſible to ſuppoſe that he was really averſe to it.

in se, faciliùs conterendum esse. Præmisit ergò Lundoniam, qui munitionem in ipsâ construerent urbe[g], et pleráque competentia regiæ magnificentiæ præpararent: moraturus interim per vicina. Adversitas omnis procul fuit, adeò ut venatui et avium ludo, si fortè libuit, securè vacaret.

Eligitur rex Anglorum.

Die ordinationi decreto elocutus ad Anglos condecenti sermone Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, æquitatem valdè amans, ævo maturus, sapiens, bonus, eloquens; "an consentirent eum sibi Dominum coronari," inquisivit. Protestati sunt hilarem consensum universi minimè hæsitantes, ac si cælitùs unâ mente datâ unâque voce. Anglorum voluntati quàm facillimè Normanni consonuerunt: sermocinato ad eos ac sententiam percunctato Constantini [h] Præsule. Ceterùm, qui circà monasterium in armis et equis præsidio dispositi fuerunt, ignotæ [i] nimio strepitu acceptorem

[g] *Præmisit ergò Lundoniam qui munitionem in ipsâ construerent urbe.* Perhaps this was the first beginning of the tower of London. *Tamen quære.*

[h] Scilicet, *pagi.*

[i] *Ignotæ nimio strepitu accepto, rem sinistram arbitrati, propè civitati imprudentiâ flammam injecerunt.* In this passage the word *linguæ* seems to have been omitted after the word *ignotæ*; the meaning of the passage being, "that the body of Norman horse that
"was drawn up round Westminster Abbey to protect the duke of Normandy and all
"the persons assembled in the Abbey at the sacred ceremony of the coronation, from
"tumults and violence, hearing the very loud acclamations made by the English that
"were in the Abbey when they gave their answer to the question proposed to them by
"the archbishop of York, "'whether they would have duke William for their king,'"
"and not understanding the English language, in which those acclamations were
"made, imagined that some disturbance had happened amongst the English in the
"Abbey, that tended to prevent the coronation of their duke, and thereupon, in a
"fit of resentment for this supposed violation of the promise which the English had
"made to receive him for their king, begun to set fire to the houses in the neighbour-
"hood." This is undoubtedly the meaning of the passage, as will be evident from the following account of this accident, which is given by Ordericus Vitalis, and which is fuller and more circumstantial than this of our author.

Intereà instigante Sathanâ, qui bonis omnibus contrarius est, importuna res utrique populo, et portentum futuræ calamitatis ex improviso exortum est. Nam, dum Adelredus Præsul alloqueretur Anglos, et Goisfredus Constantiniensis Normannos, an concederent Guillermum regnare super se: et universi consensum hilarem protestarentur unâ voce, non unius linguæ locutione: armati milites, qui extrinsecùs erant pro suorum tuitione, mox ut vociferationem in Ecclesiâ

to rem ſiniſtram arbitrati, propè civitati imprudentiâ flammam injecerunt. Sic electum conſecravit idem Archiepiſcopus æquè ſanctâ vitâ carus et inviolatâ famâ, impoſuit ei regium diadema, ipſúmque Regio ſolio, favente multorum præſentiâ Præſulum et Abbatum, in Baſilicâ ſancti Petri Apoſtoli, quæ Regis Edwardi ſepulchro gaudebat, in ſacroſanctâ ſolemnitate Dominici Natalis, milleſimo, ſexageſimo, ſexto, Incarnationis Dominicæ anno. Repudiavit enim conſecrari à Stigando Cantuarienſi, quem per Apoſtolici juſtum zelum anathemate reprobatum didicerat. Nec minùs inſignia Regum decuerunt perſonam ejus, quàm ad regimen idoneæ extiterunt virtutes ejus. Cujus liberi atque nepotes juſtâ ſucceſſione præſidebunt Anglicæ terræ, quam et hereditariâ delegatione ſacramentis Anglorum firmatâ, et jure belli ipſe poſſedit: coronatus tali eorundem conſenſu, vel potiùs appetitu ejuſdem gentis Primatum. Et, ſi ratio ſanguinis poſcitur, pernotum eſt quàm proximâ conſanguinitate Regem Edwardum attigerit filius Ducis Rodberti, cujus amita Richardi Secundi ſoror, filia primi, Emma, genitrix fuit Edwardi.

Et coronatur.

Poſt celebratam ordinationem, non (ut ſolitum eſt, poſt honorum augmenta, fieri,) remiſſiùs laudabilia gerere cœpit, ſed novo admirandóque ardore ad honeſtos et ingentes actus accenditur digniſſimus Rex: quod nomen, poſito Ducis nomine, libens acceptat ſtilus noſter [k]. Secularibus namque ac divinis operam impendebat ſtrenuam utriſque; ad ſervitium tamen Regis omnium Regum cor propenſius habebat:

Pietas et prudentia Gulielmi regis.

U Quippe

Eccleſiâ populi, et ignotæ linguæ ſtrepitum audierunt, rem ſiniſtram arbitrati flammam ædibus imprudentèr injecerunt. Currente feſtinantèr per domos incendio, plebs quæ in Eccleſiâ lætabatur perturbata et multitudo virorum ac mulierum diverſæ dignitatis et qualitatis, infortunio perurgente, celeritèr baſilicam egreſſa eſt. Soli Præſules et pauci Clerici cum Monachis nimium trepidantes ante aram perſtiterunt, et officium conſecrationis ſuper Regem vehementèr trementem vix peregerunt: aliique penè omnes ad ignem nimis furentem cucurrerunt, quidam ut vim foci virilitèr occurrent, et plures ut in tantâ perturbatione ſibi prædas diriperent. Angli factionem tam inſperatæ rei dimetientes nimìs irati ſunt; et poſteà Normannos ſemper ſuſpectos habuerunt, et, infidos ſibi dijudicantes, ultionis tempus de eis optaverunt.

[k] *Quod nomen, poſito* Ducis *nomine, libens acceptat ſtylus noſter.* From this paſſage it ſeems p obable that about the time o: the conqueſt, and a little before, duke William was often called *duke of Normandy* as well as by the more antient title of *Count*, or *Earl*, *of Normandy*. And in the courſe of another generation the title of *Count*, or *Earl*, of Normandy ſeems to have gone quite out of uſe, and that of *Duke*, to have been generally adopted in its ſtead. See above, page 131, note *o*.

Quippe cui suos provectus reputabat, contrà quem potentiâ aut vitâ neminem mortalium potiri diù posse sciebat: à quo gloriam interminabilem, ubi temporalem finiret, expectabat. In hujus ergò Imperatoris quasi tributum largè erogavit, quod Heraldi Regis ærarium avarè inclusit. Terræ illi suâ fertilitate opimæ uberiorem opulentiam comportare soliti sunt negotiatores gazâ advectitiâ [l]. Maximi numero, genere, artificio thesauri compositi fuerant, aut custodiendi ad vanum gaudium avaritiæ, aut luxu Anglico turpitèr consumendi. Quorum partem ad ministros confecti belli magnificè erogavit, plurima ac pretiosissima egenis et Monasteriis diversarum provinciarum distribuit. Id munificentiæ studium adjuvit non modicus census, quem undique civitates et locupletes quique obtulerant novitio Domino. Romanæ Ecclesiæ sancti Petri pecuniam in auro atque argento ampliorem quàm dictu credibile sit; ornamenta quæ Bizantium perchara haberet [m], in manum Alexandri Papæ transmisit. Memorabile quoque vexillum Heraldi, hominis armati imaginem intextam habens ex auro purissimo: quo spolio pro munere ejusdem Apostolici benignitate sibi misso par redderet: simul et triumphum de tyranno Romæ ulteriúsque optatum pulchrè indicaret. Quanti famulorum Christi cœtus tum læti gratiarum hymnos canebant pro victore, anteà fautores illius precum armaturâ, summatìm recitamus. Mille Ecclesiis Franciæ, Aquitaniæ, Burgundiæ

Distribuit thesaurum Heraldi.

Mittit Romam vexillum Heraldi.

[l] *Opulentiam comportare soliti sunt negotiatores gazâ advectitiâ.* One would suppose from this passage that the English at this time were possessed of a very considerable foreign trade. The sums of money found by the conqueror, in king Harold's treasury, and those received by him from his new subjects as voluntary presents from the cities and richer part of the inhabitants of England immediately after his coronation, in order to gain his favour, seem by our author's account to have been very great: and the ornaments and other presents he made to several of the Norman monasteries were surprizingly rich and magnificent; such as crosses of considerable size, *admodùm grandes*, made of solid gold, and adorned with gems, or precious stones, and cups, or other vessels, made of gold plate, and king Harold's standard, or banner, with the figure of an armed man, as large as the life, worked in it with gold thread, which he sent as a present to Pope *Alexander*, who had favoured his invasion of England, and presented him with a consecrated banner. These things seem to prove that England abounded more in trade and wealth at this time than is generally thought.

[m] *Quæ Byzantium perchara haberet.* The city of *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*, is here spoken of, (as well as in some other passages of our author) as the richest and most splendid city then in the world.

Burgundiæ, nec non Arverniæ, aliarúmque regionum perpetuò celebre erit Guillelmi Regis memoriale. Beneficii magnitudo ſemper vivens mori benefactoris memoriam non patietur. Aliæ Cruces aureas admodùm grandes inſignitèr gemmatas, pleræque libras auri vel ex eodem metallo vaſa, nonnullæ pallia vel pretioſum aliud quid accepêre. Splendidè adornaret Metropolitanam Baſilicam, quod minimum in his donis Cœnobiolum aliquod lætificavit. Ducibus atque Regibus hæc, et ſcripta in hoc Libello complura innoteſcere velim, ad exemplum, aut incitamentum. Munera quidem gratiſſima Normanniæ advenerunt à ſuo dulci nato, pio patre, feſtinante affectu miſſa, cùm ſævitia temporis atque maris, intrante Januario, eſſet acerrima. Nuntium verò eventûs, cujus expectatione intenta fuit et anxia, millies cariorem accepit. Nec enim adeò gratum acciperet quicquid Arabia pulchrum aut ſuave donare poſſet. Nullus unquam illuxit ei dies lætior, quàm cùm certò reſcivit Principem ſuum, auctorem ſui quieti ſtatûs, Regem eſſe. Urbes, caſtella, villæ, Monaſteria, multum pro victore, maximè congratulabuntur pro regnante. Lux quædam inſolitæ ſerenitatis toti provinciæ ſubitò exorta videbatur. Quæ, licet deſtitutam ſe putaret communi patre, dùm ejus præſentiâ careret, ſic tamen abeſſe volebat eum, magìs ut ſummâ potentiâ ipſe uteretur, quàm ut ſibi præſidio foret aut decori ampliùs potens. Tantum namque cupiebat Normannia illius majeſtatem, quàm ille Normanniæ commoda ſive honorem. Profectò dubium erat illum patria, an patriam ille, plus diligeret, qualiter eſt olim dubitatum de Cæſare Auguſto et Populo Romano.

Magnum gaudium apud Normannos ſuper regis victoriâ.

Diligeres, ac maximi haberes eum et tu, Anglica terra, totámque te ejus pedibus læta proſterneres, ſi abeſſet imprudentia atque iniquitas tua, quo meliore conſilio dijudicare poſſes in qualis viri poteſtatem deveneris. Præjudicare noli, dignitatem ejus diligentiùs cognoſce; et, quotquot exegiſti Dominos, parvi habebis cum eo comparatos. Ejus honeſtatis pulchritudo optimo te colore decorabit. Didicit per legatum ſuum valentiſſimus vir Rex Pyrrhus, tales fere, qualis erat ipſe, Romam habere cunctos. Illa civitas, parens Regum orbis, terræ caput et Domina, hunc, qui tibi dominaturus eſt, progenuiſſe, et ipſius manu defenſari, ſapientiâ gubernari, imperio parere, gauderet. Hujus milites Normanni poſſident Apuliam, devicêre Siciliam, propugnant Conſtantinopolim, ingerunt metum Babyloni. Nobiliſſimos tuorum filiorum, ju-

Encomium Guilelmi.

venes ac senes, Chunutus Danus trucidavit nimiâ crudelitate, ut sibi ac liberis suis te subigeret. Hic ne Heraldum vellet occubuisse. Imò voluit patris Godvini potentiam illi ampliare, et natam suam, Imperatoris thalamo dignissimam, in matrimonium, uti fuerat pollicitus, tradere. At, si hæc tibi mecum non conveniunt, profectò sustulit à cervice tuâ superbum crudelémque dominatum Heraldi; abominandum tyrannum, qui te servitute calamitosâ simul et ignominiosâ premeret, interemit. Quod meritum in omni gente gratum habetur atque præclarum. Benefacta verò saluberrimæ dominationis, quâ eris exaltata, in sequentibus aliqua contrà tuam invidiam testabuntur. Vivet, vivet in longum Rex Guillelmus, et in paginis nostris, quas tenui orationis figurâ scribere placet, ut res pulcherrimas dilucidè plures intelligant. Præsertìm cùm præcipui oratores, quibus dicendi graviter copia magna fuit, humili sermone, dum historias scribunt, usi reperiantur.

Pulchra initia ejus regni.

Multa Lundoniæ, posteaquàm coronatus est, prudentèr, justè, clementèrque disposuit, quædam ad ipsius civitatis commoda sive dignitatem, alia quæ genti proficerent universæ, nonnulla quibus Ecclesiis terræ consuleretur. Jura quæcunque dictavit, optimis rationibus dictavit [n]. Judicium rectum nulla persona ab eo nequicquam postulavit. Specie vindicandi reatûs avaritiam plerumque velat regnans iniquitas, supplicio addicit innocentem, ut possessionem addicti rapiat. Ille neminem damnavit, nisi quem non damnare iniquum foret. Nam, uti adversùs libidines alias, ita adversùs avaritiam invictum animum gerebat. Intellexerat esse regiæ majestatis, illustri munificentiâ præstare, nihil, ubi æquitas contradicit, accipere. Suis quoque primatibus dignâ se et gravitate præcepit, et diligentiâ suasit, æquitatem. "Esse jugitèr in oculis
" habendum,

[n] *Jura quæcunque dictavit, optimis rationibus dictavit.* This passage does not seem to relate to the *making laws*, but to the *administration of justice* according to laws already in being, and probably means that king William decided several causes, or law-suits, that were brought before him, with great wisdom and equity; and that he did this himself in his own person, and not by his judges. This seems to be very clearly expressed in the next sentence in these words, *Judicium rectum nulla persona ab eo nequicquam postulavit.* And it is probably from this practice of our kings in these very old times (for it has been long disused,) of administring justice in their own persons, that the style of the court of king's bench in England has been derived, which is said to be held *coràm ipso rege*, or *before the king himself.*

"habendum, cujus vicerint præsidio, æternum Imperatorem. Nimiùm "opprimi victos nequaquam oportere, victoribus professione Christianâ "pares; ne, quos justè subegerint, injuriis ad rebellandum cogerent. Ad "hoc decere, ne quid turpitèr in externis agitando, terræ ubi natus vel "altus est, dedecus infligeret." Milites verò mediæ nobilitatis, atque gregarios, aptissimis edictis coërcuit. Tutæ erant à vi mulieres, quam sæpè amatores inferunt. Etiàm illa delicta, quæ fierent consensu impudicarum, infamiæ prohibendæ gratiâ vetabantur. Potare militem in tabernis non multum concessit, quoniam ebrietas litem, lis homicidium solet generare. Seditiones interdixit, cædem et omnem rapinam; frænans, ut populos armis, ita legibus arma. Judices, qui vulgo militum essent timori, constituti sunt; simul acerbæ pœnæ in eos qui delinquerent decretæ sunt: neque liberiùs Normanni quàm Britanni vel Aquitani agere permittebantur. Scipionem, alióſque priscos Duces proponunt imitandos, qui de disciplinâ militari scriptis docent. Prorsùs æquè aut plus laudanda exempla ab exercitu Guillelmi Regis in promptu est accipere. Sed festinando dicamus alia, ne diù suspendamur à memorando reditu, quem Normannia intenta expectabat. Tributis et cunctis rebus ad regium fiscum reddendis, modum qui non gravaret posuit; latrociniis, invasionibus, maleficiis locum omnem intrà suos terminos denegavit. Portus et quælibet itinera negotiatoribus patere, et nullam injuriam fieri jussit. Pontificium Stigandi, quod noverat non canonicum, minimè probabat: sed Apostolici sententiam expectare melius, quàm properantiùs deponere existimabat. Suadebant et aliæ rationes, ut ad tempus pateretur, atque honorificè haberet illum, cujus inter Anglos auctoritas erat summa.

In sede Metropolitanâ meditabatur * sanctum vitâ, famâ charum, eloquentiâ divini verbi potentem, p qui Suffraganeis Episcopis congruam formam præbere, et ovili Dominico præesse sciret, cunctísque prodesse cuperet studio vigilanti. Item de ordinationibus aliarum Ecclesiarum præcogitabat. Omninò proba ejus in regnando initia fuêre.

Egressus

* The word *locare*, or *ponere*, seems to be wanting here.

p *Scilicet*, *Lanfrancum*.

Rex munitionem construit in Lundoniâ.

Egressus è Lundoniâ, dies aliquot in propinquo loco morabatur Bercingis, dum firmamenta quædam in urbe contrà mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur. Vidit enim in primis necessarium magnoperè Lundonienses coërceri. Ibi veniunt ad obsequium ejus Edvinus et Morcardus maximi ferè omnium Anglorum genere ac potentiâ, Algardi illius nominatissimi filii, deprecantur veniam si quâ in re contrà eum senserant, tradunt se cunctáque sua ejus clementiæ: item alii complures nobiles et opibus ampli.

Edwinus et Morcardus se regi submittunt.

Et comes Coxo.

In his erat Comes Coxo, quem singulari et fortitudine et probitate Regi, post et optimo cuique Normanno placuisse audivimus. Rex eorum sacramenta, ut postulaverunt, libens accepit, liberalitèr eis donavit gratiam suam, reddidit eis cuncta quæ possederant, habebat eos magno honore. Inde progrediens diversas partes regni accessit, ordinando ubique utilia sibi et incolis terræ. Quaqua pergebat, in armis nemo manebat. Iter nullum obstruitur, occurrunt passìm obsequentes aut explicantes. Omnes ille clementibus oculis respexit, clementissimis plebem. Sæpe vultu miserantem animum prodidit, jussit multotiens misericordiam, cùm supplices conspiceret aut egenos, matres animadverteret voce et gestibus precari cum liberis.

Edgarus Adelinus a rege amplis terris donatur.

Adelinum, quem post Heraldi ruinam Angli Regem statuere conati fuerant, amplis terris ditavit, atque in charissimis habuit eum: Quia Regis Edwardi genus contigerat; Ad hoc, ne puerilis ætas nimium doleret non habere honorem, ad quem electus fuerat. Ejusdem liberalitatis dono acceperunt Angli complures, quòd à parentibus vèl prioribus dominis non acceperunt. Custodes in castellis strenuos viros collocavit, ex Galliis traductos, quorum fidei paritèr ac virtuti credebat, cum multitudine peditum et equitum. Ipsis opulenta beneficia distribuit, pro quibus labores ac pericula libentibus animis tolerarent. Nulli tamen Gallo datum est quod Anglo cuiquam injustè fuerit ablatum [q].

Guenta

[q] *Ipsis opulenta beneficia distribuit, pro quibus labores ac pericula libentibus animis tolerarent. Nulli tamen Gallo datum est quod Anglo cuiquam injustè fuerit ablatum.* Here we are expresly told that the conqueror bestowed on his faithful and valiant Norman officers *rich*

Guenta urbs est nobilis atque valens. Cives ac finitimos habet divites, infidos, et audaces. Danos in auxilium citiùs recipere potest. A mari, quod Anglos à Danis separat, millia passuum quotuordecim distat. Hujus quoque urbis intrà mœnia munitionem construxit. Ibidem Guillelmum reliquit Osberni filium, præcipuum in exercitu suo, ut in vice suâ interim toti regno Aquilonem versùs præesset. Hunc ex omnibus Normannis paterno more sibi fidissimum [r] domi bellíque perspexerat,

Rex munitionem construit apud Guentam, seu Winchester.

Gulielmum Osberni filium constituit regni custodem.

rich benefices, that is, (I suppose) *large estates*, or *tracts of land*, to encourage them to undergo dangers and fatigues in his service. And yet our author adds that the king took away nothing from any Englishman *unjustly*, to give it to his Frenchmen. It seems probable therefore that king William confiscated the estates of the English who had fought against him in the battle of Hastings, and that such confiscations were considered by the Nornans as legal and just, on account of what the Normans would call their treason or rebellion against their sovereign. But it seems plain from this whole account of the king's conduct in this first part of his reign, that he did not *at this time* take away the lands of any Englishman that had not been in arms against him; though in the subsequent part of his reign, (of which our author has left us no account,) he dispossessed almost all the English of their lands, though perhaps not without some pretences of their having been disloyal to him.

[r] *Paterno more sibi fidissimum.* This William Fitz-Osborn was the son of *Osborn de Crepon* by a daughter of Rodolph, Count, or Earl, of Jureium in that district of the dutchy of Normandy which is called *Calcinum territorium*, or *Le pais de Caux*. He was related to the dukes, or earls, of Normandy by a descent from *Sprota*, the widow of William *Longæ Spatæ*, or *Longuespée*, or *Long-Sword*, the second duke of Normandy, and mother of Richard the 1st, the third duke of Normandy. This Sprota, after the death of her husband, duke William Long-Sword, married a rich Norman whose name was *Asperling*, and by him had a son named *Rodolph*, and several daughters, who afterwards were married to eminent noblemen in Normandy. This Rodolph, when a very young man, being out on a hunting-party with the servants, or attendants, of his half-brother, duke Richard the 1st, distinguished himself by his great courage and dexterity in killing a very large bear which they met with in the woods, and from which all the rest of the company had fled. This act of prowess recommended him to duke Richard, who thereupon made him a grant of the whole wood in which it had been performed, which was called *Weura*, and likewise of the castle of *Jureium*, of which he was afterwards called the *earl*, or *count*. The valley in which he killed the bear was called for a long time after *Vallis ursonis*, or *Valourson*. This earl Rodolph married *Eremberga*, a beautiful woman born at a place called *Caville* in the *Pais de Caux*; by whom he had two sons, who both took to the church and became bishops in Normandy, namely, *Hugh*, who was bishop of *Bayeux*, and *John*, who was, first, bishop of *Avranches*, and afterwards archbishop of *Roan*. And he likewise had two daughters, of whom one married Osbern de Crepon, and by him had a son who was named *William*, and

ſpexerat, ſimul fortitudine egregium, et conſilio ſive rei domeſticæ, ſive militaris: necnon domino cæleſti multo affectu devotum. Hunc Normannis chariſſimum, Anglis maximo terrori eſſe ſciebat. Hunc præ cæteris familiaribus à pueritiâ utriuſque dilexerat, et exaltaverat in Normanniâ.

Doveram vero et Cantium Odóni fratri committit.

Caſtrum verò Doveram Odoni fratri ſuo commiſit, cum adjacente orâ auſtrali, quæ nomine vetuſto Cantium dicta, Galliam propiùs ſpectat, unde et à minùs feris hominibus incolitur. Conſueverant enim merces cum Belgis mutare. Perhibetur etiàm, atteſtante paginâ vetuſtatis, maritimam hanc regionem à Gallis olim fuiſſe poſſeſſam, quibus eò tranſvectis prædæ ac belli inferendi cauſâ agri fertiles placuêre. Odo ille, Bajocarum Præſul, cognitus fuerat talis, qui optimè negotia ſuſtinere valeret Eccleſiaſtica et ſecularia. Bonitatem ejus et prudentiam primò teſtatur Eccleſia Baiocenſis, quam ipſe multo ſtudio egregiè ordinavit atque ornavit, juvenis adhuc ætate, animi canitie ſenibus præferendus. Dein omni Normanniæ utilis fuit ac decori. In Synodis, ubi de Chriſti culturâ, in diſceptationibus, ubi de ſeculi rebus agebatur, intelligentiâ

Laudes Odonis.

and was afterwards the famous warriour *William Fitz-Oſbern*, of whom our author, William of Poictiers, ſpeaks in this place. This account is taken from the hiſtory of *Willelmus Gemmeticenſis*, Lib. 7, cap. 38. It appears therefore that this William Fitz-Oſbern was the grand-ſon of Rodolph, earl of *Jureium*, and great grandſon of Sprota, the widow of William Long-Sword, the 2nd duke of Normandy. And Robert, Duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, was the grandſon of Richard the 1ſt, duke of Normandy, and great grandſon of the ſame Sprota, widow of duke William Long-Sword. Therefore William Fitz-Oſbern and Robert, duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, being, both of them great-grandſons of the ſame woman, Sprota, were ſecond couſins to each other. This William Fitz-Oſbern had done great ſervice to William the conqueror, while he was only duke of Normandy, and had been made by him the governour of the caſtle of *Breteuil* in Normandy, which duke William had built in the Southern part of Normandy near the river *Hon* (a little South-weſt of the epiſcopal city of Evreux, and a little to the North-weſt of *Tillieres*) as a check to the incurſions of the king of France. And after the conqueſt of England (in effecting which this William Fitz-Oſbern was very inſtrumental,) the conqueror gave him large tracts of land there as a reward for his great ſervices, and made him earl of Hereford. He was killed a few years afterwards, namely, on the 18th day of February in the year 1070, in Flanders in a battle againſt Robert of Frieſland, Earl of Flanders. See Willelmus Gemmeticenſis, Lib. 7, cap. 25.

telligentiâ pariter atque facundiâ enituit. Liberalitate parem non habuit Gallia; ita opinio publica consensit. Nec minùs æquitatis amore meruit laudem. Arma neque movit unquam, neque voluit moveri: valdè tamen timendus armatis. Bellum namque utilissimo consilio, cum necessitas postularet, juvabat, quantum potuit religione salvâ. Regi, (cujus frater erat uterinus, quem tanto amplectebatur amore, ut nec inter arma vellet ab illo separari, à quo magnos acceperat atque sperabat honores,) unicè constantissiméque fidelis fuit. Libentes eidem obsequebantur, ut acceptissimo domino, Normanni atque Britanni. Nec Angli adeò barbari fuerunt, quin facilè intelligerent hunc Præsulem, hunc Præfectum, meritò timendum esse, venerandum quoque, ac diligendum.

Rex in Normanniam redit.

Rex, ita commissâ regni curâ, Pevenesellum se recepit; quem locum in nominandis ponendum censemus, quoniam ipso portu primò littus illud attigit. Stabant naves ad transmittendum paratissimæ, quas verè decuerat albis velis more veterum adornatas esse. Erant enim revecturæ gloriosissimum triumphum, nunciaturæ maximè optatum gaudium. Convenit eodem multus Anglorum equitatus. Ex his abducere secum decreverat, quorum præcipuè fidem suspiciebat ac potentiam, Archipræsulem Stigandum, Adelinum propinquum Regis Edwardi, tres Comites, Edwinum, Morcardum, et Guallevum[*]; simul alios complures altæ

X nobilitatis;

[*] *Tres Comites, Edwinum, Morcardum, et Guallevum.* *Edwin* and *Morcar*, the two first earls here mentioned, were brothers, being the sons of *Algar*, a very warlike and powerful nobleman in the reign of Edward the Confessor, who had been appointed by king Edward, first, to the earldom, or government, of East-Saxony, or Essex, in the year 1053, and afterwards to the earldom of Leicester in the year 1057. He was appointed to the earldom of East-Saxony or Essex, upon the promotion of Harold, (who was afterwards king) from that earldom to the greater earldom of West-Saxony, or Wessex, which became vacant in the year 1053 by the death of Harold's father, earl Godwin. And he was promoted from the earldom of East-Saxony, or Essex, to the earldom of Leicester in the year 1057 upon the death of his father *Leofric*, who had for many years been earl of Leicester, or (as it is sometimes called,) of *Mercia*, with great power and reputation, and had distinguished himself, amongst other things, by founding and richly endowing a famous monastery at Coventry. Earl Algar died two years after this promotion, to wit, in the year 1059, and left three children, namely, two sons, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, the persons mentioned in the text, and a daughter named *Lucia*, who

nobilitatis; ut ipsis auctoribus nihil sub decessum suum novaretur, gens vero

who was afterwards married in the reign of William the Conquerour to *Ivo Taylbois*, or *Talbois*, a powerful Norman much in favour with the Conquerour. See Gale's Ingulphus, pages 66, 69.

Ingulphus does not inform us what earldoms Edwin and Morcar were possessed of at the time of the Norman conquest. But William of Malmesbury tells us that Morcar was made earl of Northumberland some little time before the death of Edward the Confessor, upon the expulsion of Tosti, (an elder brother of earl Harold) by the people of the country in an insurrection occasioned by his repeated acts of oppression and cruelty during a series of near ten years that he had held that government, to which he had been appointed upon the death of the brave earl Siward, which happened in the year 1056. See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 83. The same thing is related also by the author of Roger de Hoveden's Annals, *Pars prior*. See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 446. And this last writer tells us likewise that earl Edwin assisted the people of Northumberland in driving their tyrannical governour Tosti out of the country, but does not say of what province Edwin was earl. But, as he was the son of *Algar*, earl of *Leicester*, or (as it is sometimes called) of *Mercia*, it is probable that he had succeeded his father Algar in that great earldom.

The last earl mentioned in the text, namely, *Guallevus*, is more frequently called *Waldevus*, or *Waltheof*. Ingulphus mentions him with great respect, and tells us that he was the son of Siward, the powerful earl of Northumberland, who died in the year 1056. Earl Siward at the time of his death was possessed of three earldoms, namely, the earldom of York (which probably was the same with that which is also called the earldom of *Northumberland*, and extended from York to Scotland) and the earldoms of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire. The former of these earldoms, namely, that of *York*, or *Northumberland*, was given to Tosti, the son of earl Godwin, and brother of earl Harold, (who was afterwards king) who held it (as has been mentioned) till the year 1065, when the people of the country drove him out of it on account of his cruelty; and then it was given to Morcar, the son of Algar, and grand-son of the great earl Leofric. The other two earldoms that had been possessed by earl Siward, namely, the earldoms of *Northamptonshire* and *Huntingdonshire*, were given, upon earl Siward's death in 1056, to his son *Waltheof*, the person mentioned in the text. And he held them till his death, which happened in the year 1075, when he was beheaded by William the Conquerour upon a supposition of being concerned in a great conspiracy against him. See Gale's Ingulphus, pages 66 and 72. This account of the death of earl Siward, and the disposal of his three earldoms of York, Northamptonshire, and Huntingdonshire in the manner above-mentioned is related by Ingulphus in these words.

Anno Domini M.LVI *strenuus Comes Northumbrorum Siwardus obiit, et sepultus est in claustro monasterii Sanctæ Mariæ extrà muros ejusdem urbis, quod ipse construxerat. Comitatus autem ejus Eboracæ Tosti, fratri Comitis Haroldi, datus est; Northamptoniæ verò et Huntyngdoun Comitatus, cum cæteris terris suis, inclyto Comiti Waldevo, filio et hæredi suo, sunt donati.*

We may therefore conclude that at the time of the Conquest, or the time mentioned in the text, Edwin was earl of *Leicester*, or *Mercia*, Morcar was earl of *York*, or *Northumberland*, and Waltheof was earl of *Northamptonshire* and *Huntingdonshire*.

vero tota minùs ad rebellionem valeret spoliata Principibus. Denique eos potissimùm, veluti obsides, in potestate suâ tali cautelâ tenendos existimabat, quorum auctoritas vel salus propinquis et compatriotis maximi esset. Sic autem fuêre subacti, ut obsequentissimè facerent imperata. Nam et, si petere quid malebat, præcepti vice audierunt. Præsertìm cùm non traherentur ut captivi, sed dominum suum Regem proximi comitarentur, ampliorem ex hoc gratiam atque honorem habituri. Hanc enim ejus animadvertebant humanitatem, unde optima quæque expectanda forent, nihil metuendum crudele vel injurium. At milites repatriantes, quorum in tantis negotiis fideli operâ usus fuerat, largâ manu ad eundem portum donavit, ut opimum fructum victoriæ secum omnes percepisse gauderent. Ita solutis navibus omnium animis lætissimis, in altricem terram provehitur secundo et vento et æstu. Transmissio hæc mare diù pacavit, piratâ omni procul fugato. Felicitatem actorum, quæ qui noverit meritò admiratur, multo magis admirandam celeritas fecit. Siquidem Octobris circitèr Calendas, die, quo memoriam Archangeli Michaëlis Ecclesia concelebrat, terram ad hostilem, dubius quem consequeretur eventum, abiit: mense Martio in sinum patriæ redditus est, meliùs quàm scripta nostra exponant rebus gestis.

Comparatio inter victoriam Gulielmi et invasionem Britanniæ à Julio Cæsare olim factam.

Julius Cæsar bis transvectus in ipsam Britanniam navibus mille, (nam Anglis [t] nomen antiquius est Britanniæ) non æquè magna peregit primâ vice, nec à littore longiùs progredi, nec in littore, tametsi patriâ consuetudine castra munierit, diutiùs morari ausus est. Transiit in extremo æstatis, rediit ante æquinoctium quod propè instabat. Perturbatæ sunt legiones ejus magno metu, cum naves partìm fractæ æstu maritimo aut fluctibus, partìm inutiles ad navigandum essent armamentis amissis. Aliquæ civitates, quoniam in otio agitare quam populum Romanum, cujus tremenda erat per mundum opinio, hostem tolerare mallebant, obsides ei dederunt. Ceterùm, quos in continentem obsides adducere imperavit, præter duas cunctæ neglexerunt; quanquam in Belgio cum immani exercitu hibernare eum noverint. Secundò pedites Romanos et equites ad millia ferè centum transportavit, unà ex civitatibus Galliæ primos quamplures cum eorum

[t] Forte legendum foret, Angliæ.

eorum equitatu. Quid igitur hujus viri, quem scribimus, conferendum laudibus hâc vice patravit? Equitatus Britannorum et Essedarii cladem illi non parvam intulerunt, æquo loco audacissimè cum eo confligentes. Angli verò Guillelmum pavidi in monte opperiebantur. Cæsarem prælio sæpiùs adorti sunt Britanni. Anglos adeò Guillelmus die uno protrivit, ut post secum dimicandi fiduciam nullatenùs reciperent. Cum idem imperator ad flumen Tamisim pervenisset, in fines Cassivellauni, qui contrà se bellum administrabat, exercitum ducens, in adversâ ripâ hostes instructi obstabant. Ægerrimè milites Romani vada transierunt, ex aquâ capite solo extantes. At cùm in eandem regionem Dux Normannorum adventaret, obviàm ei clementiam deprecando processerunt civitates et municipia. Militibus ejus trajectum ultrà flumen ponte, si id collibuisset imperare, sine morâ paravissent. Cæsar, ut agros vastaret igne ac prædâ, equitatum suum effudit, quos latiùs vagari Cassivellaunus prohibebat, ex Essedis pugnare peritos immittendo. Guillelmus autem pacifica jubens incolis, terram quam citiùs evertere posset, incolas cum terrâ sibi conservavit. Defendit Cæsar ab injuriâ Cassivellauni Mandrubatium, et civitatem, cujus imperium reddidit Mandrubatio. Liberavit in perpetuo Guillelmus gentem omnem à tyrannide Heraldi, atque solium obtinuit ipse; unde regionibus, quæ sub multis regibus quondam egerant, unus imperitaret. Romani solùm ex Britanniæ majoribus Cingetorigem ceperunt. Mille ex ipsâ natione illustres in vincula, si placuisset, conjecissent Normanni. Quanta partibus in ipsis Romani gesserunt tempore æstivo, quanta Normanni hiberno! Hyemem ad res bello gerendas minùs quàm æstatem opportunam esse pernotum est. Cæsari satìs fuerat ad laudem vel utilitatem, prælia cum Britannis, uti cum Gallis, imperando facere. Equidem suâ manu rarò pugnavit. Hæc multa ducum antiquorum consuetudo fuit. Attestantur commentarii eloquentiâ ipsius dictati. At dedecus visum est Guillelmo, ac parùm utile, in eo conflictu, quo contrivit Anglos, officia præstare Imperatoris, nisi præstaret officia quoque militis, uti bellis aliis consueverat. In omni enim certamine, ubi præsens aderat, primus aut in primis gladio suo pugnare solitus erat. Si Romani illius, et nostri Principis acta attentiùs perspexeris, illum temerarium atque fortunæ nimìs confidentem; hunc omninò providum hominem, qui magìs optimo consilio quàm casu res benè gesserit, rectè dices. Postremò

tremò Cæsar, civitatibus aliquot in deditionem et obsidibus à Cassivellauno acceptis, nec non aliquanto vectigali, quod in annos singulos Britannia populo Romano penderet, constituto, exercitum difficilè duobus commeatibus in Belgium reportavit; navibus quippe refectis, et minoris quàm adduxerit numeri, ob incommodum, quod ex tempestate acciderat. Tali minimè Guillelmus difficultate angebatur. Pareret ei gens eadem imperanti navigia nova ad numerum et modum quem vellet, insuper metallo precioso decorata, velis purpureis adornata, peritis remigibus, delectis gubernatoribus instructa. En quàm gloriosè revectus est, non trahens, ut Romani, vulgus captivum; sed habens in comitatu et obsequio suo totius Britanniæ Episcoporum Primatem, atque magnos in transmarinis Cœnobiis Abbates, et filios Anglorum tàm stemmatis quàm opum dignitate Reges appellandos. Attulit non aliquantulum vectigal, non rapinas, sed quantum ex ditione trium Galliarum vix colligeretur argentum atque aurum, quod rectissimo jure acceperat; quod ubi honestissimæ rationes postularent, expendere cogitabat. Chari metalli abundantiâ multiplicitèr Gallias terra illa vincit[u]. Ut enim horreum Cereris dicenda videtur frumenti copiâ, sic

[u] *Chari metalli abundantiâ multiplicitèr Gallias terra illa vincit.* If it was true, (as our author here asserts) that England abounded at this time in the precious metals of gold and silver much more than the whole of France, or Gaul, it must have been owing to the more extensive trade carried on by its inhabitants. For it never was known to possess any considerable mines of either of those metals, and more especially of gold. But, according to our author, the trade of England was at this time very considerable, and there were likewise several useful, and even elegant, manufactures established in it. For the women (he tells us in the following page) excelled in fine needle-work, and wrought many rich pieces of tapestry; and the men were skilled in every kind of ingenious handicraft. And several Germans were also settled in England, who were eminently skilled in those arts. And many merchants in England carried on trade with foreign and distant nations, and imported from them very valuable manufactured commodities. *Anglicæ nationis fœminæ multùm acu et auri texturâ; egregiè viri in omni valent artificio. Ad hoc, incolere apud eos Germani solebant talium artium scientissimi. Inferunt et negotiatores, qui longinquas nationes navibus adeunt, doctarum manuum opera.*

This account of the improved state of England at the time of the Conquest differs much from the opinion generally entertained concerning it, and is, probably, much too favourable; as our author, throughout the whole description of duke William's invasion and conquest of England, seems to have been inclined to exaggerate every circumstance he speaks of, in order to raise the character of his hero.

sic ærarium Arabiæ auri copiâ. Mentionem super Julio Cæsare, quæ fortè notetur quasi derogans, omittamus. Fuit itaque eximius Dux lectione doctus Græcorum præcepta militaria, militiâ Romanâ cum laude ab adolescentiâ usus, virtute consecutus urbis Consulatum. Bella multa cum bellicosis gentibus felicitèr atque celeritèr confecit, novissimè Romam, Africæ et Europæ atque Asiæ præsidentem, regnum suum bellando effecit.

Vespasiani filio Tito, qui, dum recta vehementèr amaret, Orbis amor dici meruit, nunquam Italia lætior, quàm Normannia occurrit Guillelmo Regi, Principi suo. Dies erant hiberni, et qui pœnitentiæ quadragesimalis rigori vacant. Ceterùm ubique agebantur tanquam summæ festivi temporis feriæ; sol æstivâ serenitate lucidus videbatur, gratia dierum solitâ longè major. Minorum sive remotiorum locorum incolæ in urbes, aut aliò, ubi facultas conspiciendi Regem daretur, confluebant. Cùm in Metropolim suam Rothomagum introiret, senes, pueri, matronæ, cunctíque cives spectatum processerant: conclamabant salutantes reducem, adeò ut civitas illa universa applaudere putaretur, sicuti Roma quondam Pompeio suo applaudens tripudiavit. Monasteria certabant Monachorum atque Cleri, quodnam in adventu sui charissimi tutoris ampliorem officiositatem impenderent. Nihil relinquebatur, quod in studio talis honorificentiæ agi solitum est. Prætereà, si quid novum adinvenire potuit, addebatur. Quam pietatem ipse confestìm lucro multiplici recompensavit, donans pallia, libras auri, aliáque magna altaribus ac famulis Christi. Nullius unquam Regis aut Imperatoris largitatem in oblationibus majorem comperimus. Itèm, quas Ecclesias non præsentiâ suâ, muneribus visitavit iterùm. Cadomensi Basilicæ (modo speciéque admirabili suis impendiis ad titulum beati Stephani Protomartyris à fundamento, ut ante est memoratum, extructæ,) tum diversa donaria advexit, materiâ artificióque pretiosissima; quæ ad seculi terminum honora permanere valeant. Singula descriptionibus aut nominibus designare spatiosum foret. Voluptuosum est ea perspectare hospitibus maximis, et qui sæpe nobilium Ecclesiarum thesauros viderant. Transiret illac hospes Græcus aut Arabs, voluptate traheretur eâdem. Anglicæ nationis feminæ multum acu et auri texturâ, egregiè viri in omni valent artificio. Ad hoc incolere apud eos Germani

Rex Gulielmus Rotomagum ingreditur.

Munificentia ejus versùs ecclesias et monasteria.

Germani ſolebant talium artium ſcientiſſimi. Inferunt et negotiatores, qui longinquas regiones navibus adeunt, doctarum manuum opera.

Potentes nonnulli ſanctis iniquè largiuntur, plerumque in iiſdem donationibus laudem ſuam in mundo, delicta ſua coràm Deo adaugentes. Spoliant Eccleſias, et rapinis ipſis alias ditant. Rex verò Guillelmus numquam, niſi bonitate, ſinceram famam ſibi comparavit, donans verè ſua; mente ad ſpem interminæ mercedis, non ad gloriam, quæ deperibit, intentus. Abundantes eccleſiæ tranſmarinæ aliqua ei libentes, quæ in Galliam transferret, dederunt: quoniam ea multuplo redemit rebus aliis. Patriam, non minùs regno caram ſibi, (præcipuè cauſâ probæ gentis, quam principibus terrenis fidam, culturæ Chriſti valdè deditam noverat,) in ſtatu quem volebat invenit.

Optimè quidem egerat in gubernaculo domina noſtra Matildis, jam nomine divulgato Regina, etſi nondum coronata. Illius prudentiam viri adjuvêre conſilio utiliſſimi; in quibus locum dignitatis primum tenebat Rogerus de Bellomonte*, Humphridi hominis generoſiſſimi filius, ob

* *Rogerus de Bellomonte.* This *Roger de Bellomonte*, or *de Beaumont*, was the ſon of *Humphrey de Vetulis*, or *de Vielles*, a Norman of diſtinction who had been faithful to duke William in the beginning of his reign, about the year 1036, or thirty years before the Conqueſt, when the duke was a child of eight, or nine, years of age, and many of the grandees of Normandy were unwilling to acknowledge him for their ſovereign on account of his illegitimate birth. Amongſt theſe grandees was *Rogerus Toenites*, or *Roger de Toeſny*, or *Toſny*, a very powerful and haughty nobleman, who held the high office of Standard-bearer of Normandy, and was deſcended from *Malabulcius*, a Daniſh warriour of great valour, that was uncle to Rollo, the firſt duke of Normandy, and had been his aſſociate in the invaſion and conqueſt of that dutchy. This Roger de Toſny, ſoon after the news of the death of Robert, duke of Normandy, (the father of duke William) arrived in Normandy, publickly declared, "that he "thought it beneath him to be the ſubject of the young duke on account of the baſe-"neſs of his birth, and that no baſtard ought to be permitted to rule over him and "the other Normans." And in purſuance of this declaration, he levied an army, in conjunction with *Robert de Grentemaiſnil*, (another powerful nobleman of Normandy) and made war upon ſuch of the neighbouring Norman lords as acknowledged and adhered to the young duke, deſtroying and plundering their lands and houſes. *Humphrey de Vielles* was one of the loyal Norman lords upon whoſe lands theſe ravages were committed. Upon which he immediately raiſed a body of men amongſt his tenants and dependants

ob maturitatem ævi liberior ad negotia quæ domi geruntur; filio adolescenti, (super cujus fortitudine in prælio contrà Heraldum paucis diximus,) officio militari tradito. Verùm "quod finitimi incursionem nullam ausi

dependants, to repel these hostilities and support the authority of the young duke; and sent his son, *Roger de Beaumont*, (then a young warriour in the prime of youth and vigour,) to take the command of them, and lead them out against the enemy, and stop the progress of their incursions. Roger de Tosny and his associates held this opposition to their measures in great contempt, imagining themselves to be much too strong to be resisted by so small a force; and, in that confidence, soon came to an engagement with Roger de Beaumont and his party. But the event was contrary to Tosny's expectations. For Roger de Beaumont obtained a compleat victory over him, in which Roger de Tosny himself, and his two sons *Helbert* and *Elinant*, with many other persons of note, were killed on the spot, and his great associate, Robert de Grentemaisnil, received a mortal wound, of which he died three weeks after, namely, on the 16th day of the following month of June.

After this important service to the young duke, Roger de Beaumont was highly in favour with all the duke's friends, and, in due time, with the duke himself, to whom he always continued faithful. And he distinguished himself also as a patron of religion by building a monastery for monks on his own estate at *Pratelles*; which in those days was esteemed an act of great merit. He also advanced himself by a marriage with a lady of very high birth, namely, *Adelina*, daughter of *Walran*, earl of *Mellent*, by whom he had two sons, named Robert and Henry, of whom Robert became afterwards earl of Mellent, and continued so for more than twenty-seven years, and Henry, the other son, attended William the Conquerour to England, and was advanced by him to the earldom of Warwick. This account of Roger de Beaumont and his family is taken from *Willelmus Gemmeticensis*, Lib. vii. cap. 3.

It appears from this account, (as well as from that of our author in the text) that Roger de Beaumont must have been advanced in years at the time of the Conquest of England, since he had commanded a body of troops against Roger de Tosny no less than 30 years before. He must therefore be supposed to have been between 50 and 60, and, probably, not far from 60 years of age at the time of that great event. He therefore, as our author informs us, was not required to attend the duke of Normandy on his expedition to England, but was left to take care of the government of Normandy in conjunction with, or in aid of, Matilda, the countess, or dutchess, of Normandy, as her principal counsellor, during the duke's absence. But his son Robert attended the duke to England, and distinguished himself, (as we have seen above in page 130) by his extraordinary valour at the head of a body of Normans in the right wing of William's army at the great battle of Hastings. And it is most probable that the other son of Roger de Beaumont, namely, Henry, (who was afterwards made earl of Warwick) was also at the same great battle, though he is not named amongst the few very eminent persons that are enumerated by our author, in his account of that battle in page 130, as having been present at it.

aufi fuerant, cùm terram ferè militibus exhauftam fcirent," regi ipfi, cujus reverfionem verebantur, primò afcribendum arbitramur.

Celebrat feftum Pafchæ apud Fifcannum.

Ad Cœnobium fanctæ Trinitatis Fifcanni Pafcha celebravit dominicum, Redemptorem refurrectionis fuæ fefto reverendiffimè honorans, cum frequentiâ venerabilium et Præfulum et Abbatum. Humilitèr adftans ille choris Ordinum religioforum, ludicra intermittere, concurrere ad divina, militum plebífque turbas coëgit. Regis Francorum vitricus intererat hujus curiæ Rodulphus præpotens Comes [x], multáque nobilitas Franciæ. Curiosè hi cum Normannis cernebant crinigeros alumnos plagæ Aquilonalis: quorum pulchritudini Galliæ Comatæ formofiffimi juvenes inviderent. Nec enim puellari venuftati cedebant. Regis autem regiorúmque fatellitum indumenta fpectantes intexta atque cruftata auro [y], quæque [z] anteà viderant, vilia æftimavêre. Item vafa argentea five aurea admirabantur, quorum de numero vel decore verè narrari poffent incredibilia. His tantùm ex poculis cœnaculum ingens bibebat, aut cornibus bubalinis metallo decoratis eodem circà extremitates utráfque. Denique plurima hujufcemodi, competentia regali munificentiæ, notabant, quæ, reverfi domum, ob novitatem prædicarent. Ceterùm, talibus longè infigniorem, atque plus memorandam, ipfius Regis cognovêre honeftatem. Æftiva illa, et Autumnum, partémque hiemis citrà mare tranfegit, tempus hoc patriæ amori omne donans: quæ neque hâc morâ, neque fuperioris anni expeditione fuas opes attenuatas fuiffe dolebat. Ea illius temperantia fuit, ac prudentia [a]. Militibus et

Franci et Normanni mirantur pulchritudinem Anglorum: Et eorum divitias.

Exercitûs regis fingularis difciplina.

Y

[x] It appears by the following paffage in *Ordericus Vitalis* that this great earl *Rodolphus* was earl of *Mante* upon the river Seine. *Quodam tempore inter fæpe-nominatum Hugonem et Radulphum, Comitem Medantenfem, Philippi, Regis Francorum, vitricum, gravis feditio exorta eft.* See the *Scriptores Normannici*, page 491.

[y] *Regis autem regiorúmque fatellitum indumenta fpectantes intexta atque cruftata auro, &c.* Here we have another remarkable paffage relating to the riches of England in gold-embroidery and in veffels of gold and filver. The king and his principal courtiers were dreffed in cloaths that were richly inwove and made ftiff with gold, *indumenta intexta atque cruftata auro*; and a large company that were entertained at fupper by king William, drank out of none but gold and filver cups, or, at leaft, horn cups that were covered both at top and bottom with gold and filver plate.

[z] Forte legendum foret, *quæcunque.*

[a] *Ea illius temperantia fuit ac prudentia, &c.* It is remarkable that this and the following fix lines, to the end of this paragraph, in which the author defcribes the excellent difcipline kept up by duke William in his army, and the eafe and fecurity of the peafants of Normandy in confequence of it, are copied, word for word, from the defcription

et hospitibus abundè sumptus ministrabatur, nemini rapere quippiam concedebatur. Provincialium tutò armenta vel greges pascebantur, seu per campestria, seu per tesqua: segetes falcem cultoris intactæ expectabant, quas nec attrivit superba equitum effusio, nec demessuit pabulator. Homo imbecillus aut inermis equo cantans quâ libuit vectabatur, turmas militum cernens, non exhorrens.

Intereà Baiocensis Præsul Odo, et Guillelmus Osberni filius, præfecturas in regno, uterque suam, laudabilitèr administrabant: interdum simul agitantes, modò diversi. Si quando necessitudo postulabat, festinam alter alteri ferebat opem. Per amicam, quâ syncerè, voluntatem, concordabant, ampliùs valuit prudens eorum vigilantia. Mutuò sese, Regem æqualitèr, diligebant: affectu ardebant pari ad continendum in pace gentem Christianam; consilio alter alterius æquanimitèr assentiebantur. Æquitate utebantur maximâ, uti Rex præmonuerat, quâ homines efferi et inimici corrigerentur, et benevoli fierent. Item præfecti minores[b], ubi quisque in munitionibus locatus fuerat, strenuè curabant. Verùm Angli, neque beneficio, neque formidine satìs coërceri poterant, ut quietem serenam quàm res novas ac turbidas mallent[c]. Consurgere palàm in arma non confidunt, sed regionatìm de pravis conspirationibus tractant, si quibus forte dolis prævaleant ad nocendum. Ad

Angli res novas moliuntur.

description of them given by the author above in page 106. Such a repetition of exactly the same words to express the same thing is often to be met with in Homer's poems, and sometimes in the orations of Demosthenes.

[b] *Item præfecti minores.* Instead of *item* I am inclined to think we should read *idem*. And then the meaning will be, "That the subordinate Norman governours, "who had the command of single castles and small districts, under the two great "regents of England, William Fitz-Osbern and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, used also "their most careful endeavours (as well as those regents themselves) to attain the "same great object, of reconciling the minds of the English to duke William's "government."

[c] *Verùm Angli, neque beneficio neque formidine satìs co-erceri poterant, ut quietam serenam quam res novas et turbidas mallent.* By this passage, and some others that follow it, we may perceive that the English nation submitted to the government of king William the Conquerour, with great reluctance, notwithstanding the moderation and clemency with which, our author tells us, he acted towards them in this first part of his reign. It is plain therefore that he continued to reign over them by force only, and as over a conquered people. See above, page 140, note *d*.

Ad Danos, vel aliò, unde auxilium aliquod ſperatur, legatos miſſitant. Ultrò in exilium aliqui profugiunt, quo extorres vel à poteſtate Normannorum ſint liberi, vel aucti opibus alienis contrà eos revertantur.

Comes Euſtachius caſtrum Doveræ ſubitò aggreditur.

Regi eâ tempeſtate Euſtachius Comes Boloniæ adverſabatur [d], qui filium de fide ante bellum in Normanniâ obſidem dederat. Ei perſuadent hi maximè qui Cantium inhabitant, uti caſtrum Doveram invadat, ipſis utens adjutoribus. Equidem fore, ſi firmiſſimo loco hoc ſit potitus cum portu marino, ut potentia ejus latiùs diſtendatur: ſicque potentiam Normannorum diminutam iri. Nam quia Normannos odêre, cùm Euſtachio, pridem ſibi inimiciſſimo, concordavêre. Eum bellandi peritum, atque in prælio felicem, experimentis cognoverant. Si erat ſerviendum non compatriotæ, noto ſervire atque vicino ſatius putabant. Accidit, ut occaſio temporis eventum rei quam affectabant promitteret. Abierant ultrà flumen Tamiſim primi munitionis cuſtodes, Præſul Baiocenſis, atque Hugo de Monteſorti, militum parte majori ſecum ductâ. Euſtachius itaque, accepto nuncio Anglorum, cum ſuis ad eos noctis conticinio tranſivit, ut incautè opprimeret Caſtellanos. Claſſem duxit militibus delectis oneratam, relictis equis præter admodùm paucos. Vicinia omnis adfuit armata, auctior numerus ex ulterioribus accederet, ſi morâ biduanâ obſidio traheretur. Ceterùm cuſtodiam invenerunt minùs opinione remiſſam, plus metu ad defenſandum validam. Eripiunt [e] velocitas equi, notitia tramitis, navíſque paratior,

Sed à caſtellanis in fugam vertitur.

Y 2 Nobiliſſimus

[d] *Regi eâ tempeſtate Euſtachius, Comes Boloniæ, adverſabatur.* This attempt of Euſtace, earl of Boulogne in France, to make himſelf maſter of Dover Caſtle, after having but a few months before fought under duke William's banner at the battle of Haſtings, ſeems very ſurprizing, and is a proof of the turbulent and treacherous and unſettled diſpoſitions of the feudal earls and barons in thoſe antient times.

This Euſtace, earl of Boulogne, was, ſoon after this attempt againſt Dover Caſtle, reconciled to king William, and continued in amity with him for a long time after. He was, (according to the account given of him by *Ordericus Vitalis*, Lib. iv. page 508) a perſon of very high birth and great power. For he was a deſcendant of the famous Charlemagne, king of France, and firſt emperour of Germany; and he was the ſovereign of three earldoms, namely, the earldoms of *Boulogne*, *Guiſnes*, and *Teroüenne*. He married *Itta*, the ſiſter of *Godfrey*, duke of Lorraine, and by her had three ſons, namely, *Godfrey*, *Baldwin*, and *Euſtace*, and a daughter, who was married to Henry IV. emperour of Germany.

[e] Supple, *Comitem Euſtachium.*

Nobilissimus autem tiro, nepos ejus, comprehensus est. Angli per diverticula plura eo faciliùs evaserunt; quo minùs commodum erat paucitati Castellanorum insequi per diversa. Jure id Eustachio dedecus atque detrimentum contigit. Equidem si rationes, quæ ejus liti controversantur, depromerem, Regis eum gratiam, atque Regis dono accepta beneficia ex æquo et bono amisisse planè convincerem. Neque sententia erravit dicta consensu Anglorum et Gallorum, quâ de reatu multo convictus est. Sed parcendum sentimus personæ multifariàm illustri, Comiti nominato, qui reconciliatus nunc in proximis Regis honoratur.

Coxo comes perstat esse fidus regi Gulielmo:

Eodem ferè tempore Coxo Comes [f], quem placuisse Normannis diximus, morte occidit immeritâ, et quam deceat propagari. Ut igitur vivat laus ejus, atque per exemplum oriatur in posthumis innocentia defuncti, literis efficere juvat. Prosapiâ ac potentatu Anglus hic juxtà præcelsus, magìs animi singularitate prudentis et omninò honesti excelluit. Hic Regis causam et ipsum favore multo probabat. Sui verò satellites ab ipso diffidebant, factionum deterrimi fautores ac socii. Proinde eum ab officio transvertere tentabant, sæpè monentes, quasi per amicitiam, de privato honore, ut libertatem à proavis traditam defenderet; nunc obsecrantes atque obtestantes tanquam gratiâ rerum publicarum, ut extraneos deserens, optimorum hominum suæ nationis et consanguinitatis voluntatem sequeretur. Sanè diutinâ variâque calliditate hæc suggerebant, et hujusmodi alia. Sed ubi mentem firmitèr in tenore boni fixam talitèr dimovere nequeunt, comprovinciales ad invidiam concitavêre, quam necessariò placaret ab Rege deficiendo. Postremò augescente in dies malevolentiâ ipsorum, cùm ille popularium odia, omnémque injuriam perpeti, quàm integriratem fidei temerare mallet, per

Et idcircò à suis interficitur.

[f] *Coxo Comes.* I do not find either in our author, or in *Ordericus Vitalis*, or in *William of Malmesbury*, or in any other of the old authors who wrote at, or near, the time of the Conquest, of what province, or county, in England, this Coxo was earl. But Mr. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, page 511, says he was earl of that district in the North of England which is now called the county of Northumberland, but which was only a part of the county, or district, or rather province, that is usually called *Northumberland* in the time of Edward the Confessor, and of which the great earl Siward, (the father of Waltheof) had been earl. For that extended from the river Humber to the river Tweed.

per insidias oppressum interfecêre[g]. Ita eximius vir suo casu, quod majestas Domini sui stare deberet, asseruit.

Sanè

[g] *Per insidias oppressum interfecêre.* This murder of the good earl Coxo by his English attendants, or subordinate officers, *satellites*, because he would not join with them in their intended revolt from king William's government, shews a very great aversion to this government even in these first months of it, during which the king had acted with great clemency and moderation towards his new subjects, and therefore is a confirmation of what has been before observed, to wit, that king William's possession and government of England was founded intirely in force, and was therefore truely a subjugation of the people of England, or a *conquest* of England in the common sense of the word, and not merely a purchase, or *acquisition*, of it by virtue of king Edward's appointment, and a victory only over king Harold and his party, as some writers of eminence have been willing to consider it.

Nevertheless, though king William really obtained the crown of England by force, and against the will of the English nation, yet, as he had claimed it by a title that had some appearance of being just and legal according to the customs that prevailed in those times, to wit, by the appointment of king Edward with the concurrence of earl *Siward* and earl *Leofric*, and others of the principal grandees of England, (though, in all probability, no such appointment had ever been made) and, as, when he received the submissions of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, and other great men, and the magistrates of London, and was admitted within the walls of London, he permitted himself to be elected king of England by the English as well as by the Normans, the English who were present at his coronation being asked (as our author tells us above in page 144) by Aldred, archbishop of York (who performed the ceremony of the coronation) " whether they would consent to have him crowned as their king ;" — It seems probable that he accepted the crown upon the same conditions (whatever they were) as the former kings of England, and, particularly, his relation and benefactor, king Edward the Confessor, had been bound by, and that he took the same oath (if any such oath used then to be taken) as king Edward the Confessor had taken at his coronation. But what this oath was, we are not informed either by our author, or by Ingulphus, or by the author of the *Encomium Emmæ.*

Our author has informed us in these two or three last pages of his work, that the subordinate Norman governours, who, upon king William's return to Normandy in the month of March, 1067, were left by him in England in the command of castles and the districts adjoining to them, and who were subject to the authority of the two great regents, or vice-roys, *William Fitz-Osbern* and *Odo*, bishop of Bayeux, behaved with great justice and moderation towards the English nation, as well as those two great regents and the king himself; but that, notwithstanding this good behaviour of the Normans, the people of England were so perverse and ungrateful as to detest their government and endeavour to overturn it. But other writers give a different account of the behaviour of the Normans towards the English at this time, and describe it as very insolent and oppressive. The account given by *Ordericus Vitalis* is as follows.

Intereà

Sanè Pontifices quidam obſequio Regio ſtudebant, maximè Adelred

Intereà Normannico faſtu Angli opprimuntur, et Præſidibus ſuperbis, qui regis monitus ſpernebant, admodùm injuriabantur. Præfecti minores, qui munitiones cuſtodiebant, nobiles et mediocres indigenas injuſtis exactionibus multíſque contumeliis aggravabant. Odo *nimirum Epiſcopus, et Guillelmus Oſberni filius nimiâ cervicoſitate tumebant, et clamores Anglorum rationabilitèr audire, eiſque æquitatis lance ſuffragari deſpiciebant. Nam armigeros ſuos immodicas prædas et inceſtos raptus facientes vi tuebantur; et ſuper eos qui, gravibus contumeliis affecti, querimonias agebant, magìs debacchabantur. Amiſſâ igitur Libertate Angli vehementèr ingemiſcunt, et viciſsìm, qualitèr intolerabile jugam, ſibíque hactenùs inſolitum, excutiant, ſubtilitèr inquirunt.* See *Ordericus Vitalis*, pages 507, 508.

And in the ſame page, 508, Ordericus has the following paſſage to the ſame purpoſe.

Multimodis Normannorum oppreſſionibus Angli ad rebellionem laceſſiti Boloniam legatos miſerunt, et Euſtachio Comiti, ut, cum claſſe diligentèr militibus et armis inſtructâ, ad ſuſcipiendam Doveram acceleraret, mandaverunt. Olim cum eodem inimicitias ingentes habuerant: ſed nunc, (quia ſimultates inter illum et regem inſurrexerant, eúmque bellandi peritum et in prælio felicem experimentis cognoverant) pacem cum illo fecerunt, et munitionem Doveræ contrà regem illi tradere conati ſunt. Euſtachius autem, ſuſcepto Cantiorum veredario, claſſem paratam aſcendit: noctíſque conticinio (ut oppidum ex inſperato præoccuparet) cum ſuis feſtinantèr transfretavit. Milites multos ſecum duxit, ſed equos, præter admodum paucos, reliquit. Vicinia omnis fuit armata, et maximè Cantiorum caterva, quæ toto niſu ſuffragari Euſtachio erat conata. Præſul Bajocenſis, et Hugo de Monteforti, qui primi munitionis cuſtodes erant, ultrà flumen Tameſim abierant, et majorem partem militum ſecum duxerant. Auctior hoſtium numerus ex ulterioribus accederet, ſi biduana obſidio fieret. Sed, cum hoſtes vehementèr impetum facere in oppidum molirentur, cuſtodes ad defenſandum reperti ſunt, et ferventiſſimè, quâ locus poterat impugnari, reſtiterunt. Acerrimè per aliquas horas diei utrinque certatum eſt. Sed, dum Euſtachius diffideret, eruptionémque propugnatorum, quâ turpiùs abigeretur, timeret; receptui ad naves cani ſigna jubet. Denique oppidani confeſtim portas patefecerunt, avidéque et cautè ſequentes noviſſimos ceciderunt. Fugientes verò Bajocenſem Epiſcopum cum agmine copioſo ſubitò ſuperveniſſe rati ſunt; eáque formidine velut amentes per aviæ rupis præcipitium ſe dejecerunt: et tali compendio fœdiùs quàm enſe virorum perierunt. In illâ fugâ diverſis generibus mortis multi periêre. Pleríque abjectis armis, acumine ſaxeo exanimati ſunt, nonnulli telo ſuo ſe ſocióſque ſuos unà labentes necarunt: et multi lethalitèr vulnerati vel colliſi ſpirantes ad mare devoluti ſunt. Plures etiàm, qui ad puppes properè anhelant, dum ſalutis nimiùm cupidi trepidant, ſuáque multitudine naves deprimunt, ſubitò ſubmerſi pereunt. Equites Normanni quantos conſectari poſſunt, comprehendunt vel occidunt. Euſtachium verò eripuit velocitas cornipedis, notitia tramitis, paratiórque navis. Ibi nobiliſſimus tyro nepos ejus captus eſt. Angli per diverticula plura evaſerunt: quia pauci multos inſequi per diverſa Caſtellani nequiverunt.

Non multo poſt Euſtachius Conſul Willermo Regi conciliatus eſt; ejúſque amicitiâ longo tempore poſtmodum perfunctus eſt. Erat enim idem comes magnæ nobilitatis, ex proſapiâ, ſcilicet, Caroli Magni, Francorum ſtrenuiſſimi Regis. Erat quoque magnæ poteſtatis; utpote ſublimis Princeps trium Comitatuum, Bolonienſis, Githnenſis et Tarwanenſis. Generoſam et religioſam, nomine Ittam, habuit uxorem, Godefridi Lotharingiæ Ducis ſororem: quæ peperit

et

Adelred Primas Eboracensis, * * * *. *Reliqua desunt in M. S. Codice.*

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ei tres filios, Godefridum, Baldvinum, et Eustachium : et filiam, quæ nupsit quarto Henrico, Imperatori Alemannorum.

This account of Ordericus Vitalis has a greater appearance of probability than that of our author, who seems to have been induced by his partiality to the Normans to conceal the oppressions which had been committed by them against the English, and which gave occasion to the new discontents of the English and the endeavours they again made, after duke William's coronation, to get rid of the Norman government : against which it is not likely after the great events that had lately happened, to wit, the great defeat and slaughter of their countrymen in the battle of Hastings,—the death of king Harold and his two brothers, Gurth and Lefwin,—the submission of Edgar Atheling, and archbishop Stigand, and the great earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, and the whole English nation, to duke William,—and the election and solemn coronation of duke William for their king,—and the absence of Edgar, Stigand, Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof with king William in Normandy, by which the English were left almost without a leader,—I say, it is not likely, after these great events, (which naturally tended so much to give stability to king William's authority,) that the English would so soon have risen up against the Norman government, and have endeavoured by arms to throw it off, if they had not been driven to a kind of necessity of doing so by great oppression and ill treatment.

F I N I S.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FOREGOING HISTORY

OF

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROUR,

WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM OF POICTIERS,

Arch-Deacon of LISIEUX in *Normandy*.

FROM THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

THE foregoing hiſtory of king William the Conquerour by William of Poictiers, Arch-deacon of Liſieux in Normandy, was continued by its author to the fourth year of that king's reign in England, or the year of our Lord Chriſt, 1070; as we are informed by *Ordericus Vitalis*, who flouriſhed in the next generation, or in the reign of king Henry the firſt. But this latter part of our author's work has never been printed, and is generally ſuppoſed to be loſt; though, perhaps, it may ſtill exiſt in ſome old manuſcript, that has not been attended to by the learned, in the library of ſome old monaſtery in France or Normandy. And, if it does exiſt, it is a pity it ſhould not be produced; as it is probable that it contains a more exact account of the events of the four firſt years of the Conquerour's reign in England then is elſewhere to be found. Ordericus Vitalis informs us that the laſt event related by William of Poictiers is the death of Edwin, Earl of Mercia, who, when he was endeavouring to raiſe a new rebellion againſt

king William on account of the unjuſt impriſonment of his brother, earl Morcar, was betrayed by ſome of his Engliſh attendants, who were moſt in his confidence, into the hands of the Normans, who fell upon him and a ſmall party of his friends and put them all to death. After relating this event, Ordericus Vitalis gives the following account of William of Poictiers and his hiſtory. *Huc uſque* Guillelmus Pictavinus *hiſtoriam ſuam texuit, in quâ Guillelmi geſta, Criſpi Salluſtii ſtylum imitatus, ſubtilitèr et eloquentèr enucleavit. Hic genere Normannus, de vico* Pratellenſi *fuit, ibíque ſororem (quæ in Monaſterio Sancti Leodegarii præerat Sanctimonialibus,) habuit.* Pictavinus *autem dictus eſt, quia* Pictavis *fonte Philoſophico ubertìm imbutus eſt. Reverſus ad ſuos omnibus vicinis et conſodalibus doctior enituit, et* Lexovienſes *Epiſcopos,* Hugonem *et* Giſlebertum, *Archidiaconatûs officio in Eccleſiaſticis rebus adjuvit. In rebus bellicis ante clericatum aſper extitit, et, militaribus armis protectus, terreno Principi militavit; et tanto certiùs referre viſa diſcrimina potuit, quanto periculoſiùs inter arma diris conflictibus interfuit. In ſenectute ſuâ taciturnitati et orationi ſtuduit, et plus in dictando, ſeu verſificando, quàm ſermocinando valuit. Subtiles et concinnos verſus, atque ad recitandum habiles, frequentèr edidit, ſtudióque juniorum, quibus ipſi emendarentur, ſine invidiâ erogavit. Contextionem ejus de Guillelmo et ejus pediſſequis brevitèr in quibuſdam ſecutus; non tamen omnia quæ dixit, nec tam argutè proſequi conatus ſum Amodo, juvante Deo, ea quæ ſuccedenti tempore evenerunt noſtris in viciniis, notabo: indubitantèr ratus, quod, ſicut ego ea quæ à prioribus edita ſunt, libentèr evolvo, ſic juniores, eóſque qui nondum nati ſunt, præſentis temporis eventus ſolertèr inquiſituros exiſtimo.*

From this paſſage we may collect that *Ordericus Vitalis*, in his account of the firſt part of William the Conquerour's reign in England, took moſt of his facts from William of Poictiers's hiſtory, but related them with greater brevity. And, by comparing that part of the hiſtory written by William of Poictiers which has been preſerved to us, (and which has herein above been reprinted,) with the hiſtory of Ordericus Vitalis during the ſame period of time, we may ſatisfy ourſelves that he did ſo in that part of his hiſtory, or that he adopted the accounts of *Pictavienſis* in a great many particulars;

ticulars; though in a few inſtances, he has ventured to differ from him, as, for example, in the account of the behaviour of William Fitz-Oſborn and Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, (the two great regents of England in the year 1067, during king William's abſence in Normandy,) and the ſubordinate Norman Governours of caſtles and ſmall diſtricts of land in England, towards the Engliſh nation, which gave riſe to their new diſcontents and to their invitation to *Euſtachius*, earl of *Boulogne*, to make an attempt on Dover Caſtle. In this, and a few other inſtances, *Ordericus* has differed a little from *Pictavienſis*, and, probably has corrected the partiality of the accounts of *Pictavienſis* in favour of the Normans. But theſe differences are not very frequent: and, where they do happen, they ſeem rather to relate to the *circumſtances* of the facts than to the facts themſelves. We may therefore preſume that he has followed the accounts of *Pictavienſis* in the ſame manner and degree in that part of his hiſtory which anſwers to the remaining part of the hiſtory of *Pictavienſis*, which is loſt. I therefore think that, untill the original of the ſaid remaining part of the hiſtory of *Pictavienſis* himſelf ſhall be recovered, we may conſider that part of the hiſtory of Ordericus Vitalis which relates to the ſame period of time, as containing pretty nearly the ſubſtance of the former and as forming a tolerable ſubſtitute for it. And with that view I ſhall now preſent to my readers ſo much of the ſaid hiſtory of Ordericus as relates to the period of time that elapſed between the time of the Norman invaſion of England in September, A. D. 1066, and the death of Edwin, earl of Mercia, in the year 1070, with which (as we have ſeen in the foregoing paſſage of Ordericus) the hiſtory of *Pictavienſis* ended. This extract of the hiſtory of Ordericus begins in page 499, line 2nd from the bottom, of Du Cheſne's *Scriptores Normannici*, with the words, *Menſe Auguſto Heraldus, Noricorum rex*, and ends in page 521, at the 7th line from the bottom, with the words, *Solertèr inquiſituros exiſtimo*, and is as follows.

EXCERPTA

gentibus festinantèr cum exercitu copioso occurrit. Deinde pugna utrinque acerrima commissa est, in quâ nimius sanguis ex utrâque parte effusus est, et innumerabilis hominum bestiali rabie furentium multitudo trucidata est. Denique instantibus Anglis victoria cessit, et Heraldus Noricorum Rex, cum Tostico, et omnibus copiis suis, occubuit. Locus etiàm belli [b] pertranseuntibus evidentèr patet, ubi magna congeries ossium mortuorum usque hodiè jacet, et indicium ruinæ multiplicis utriusque gentis exhibet.

Et ab Heraldo, rege Angliæ, in magno prælio superantur.

Intereà, dum Angli bello Eboracensi occupati erant, et custodiam maris, ut diximus, nutu Dei reliquerant, classis Normannorum (quæ spatio unius mensis in ostio Divæ vicinisque portubus Notum præstolata est) zephyri flatu in stationem S. Galerici delata est. Ibi multa pro se et pro amicis vota facta sunt: et innumerabiles lacrymæ precésque effusæ sunt. Nam necessarii sodales, seu chari sive propinqui, (qui domi remansuri erant, dum quinquaginta millia militum, cum copiâ peditum [c], per

Gulielmus, dux Normanniæ, cum magno exercitu Angliam invadit prope Penevesellum in Suffexiâ.

as an army, till he was called away in the month of August to repel the invasion of the king of Norway who had landed in the North of England with a great army, it seems almost certain that, if that other invasion in the North of England had not happened, the duke of Normandy would have found it impossible to land his army in Sussex, or, if he had landed it, that it must have been totally defeated by the English, who, after they had been weakened by the loss of great nnmbers of men in the great battle with the king of Norway, maintained an equal fight with the Normans at Hastings during great part of the day, and were at one time very near winning the battle. This expedition therefore of the duke of Normandy ought to be looked upon as a very rash and injudicious attempt, notwithstanding it happened to prove successful.

[b] *Locus etiàm belli.* The word *bellum* here means the *battle* of Stamford bridge with the army of the king of Norway. In the authors of this age the word *bellum* is often used for a *battle* as well as for *a war*, though amongst the classical writers of Latin it is used only in the latter sense.

[c] *Quinquaginta millia militum, cum copiâ peditum.* The meaning seems to be, that the duke of Normandy's army consisted of fifty thousand horsemen, and a body of foot. Yet this quantity of cavalry seems excessively great: and it is difficult to conceive how it was possible to provide ships enough to convey such a body of Horse across the British channel. Perhaps part of the fifty thousand *milites* might be heavy-armed foot, or soldiers armed like knights, or horsemen, but who fought on foot, and the *copia peditum* might be the light-armed foot, such as archers and slingers. The author mentions these two sorts of foot-soldiers afterwards in the description of the battle of Hastings,

per horrendum pelagus ad expugnandam in propriâ ſede incognitam gentem ire certabant) fletibus et ſuſpiriis, multiſque curis metûs et cupiditatis tàm pro ſe quàm pro amicis anxii erant. Tunc ibi Dux Willermus, et omnis exercitus precibus et donis ac votis Deo ſe commendaverunt, et corpus ſancti Galerici Confeſſoris Chriſti pro ſecundo flatu extrà baſilicam detulerunt. Denique, dum proſper ventus multorum votis optatus Deo volente ſubitò ſpiravit, protinùs ardens vehementia Ducis omnes ad puppes convocavit, et navigium viriliter inire imperavit. Normannicus itaque exercitus III. Kal. Octobr. mare transfretavit, nocte quâ memoriam ſancti Michaëlis Archangeli Catholica Eccleſia feſtivè peragit [d]; et nemine reſiſtente littus maris gaudens arripuit. Deinde Peneveſellum et Haſtingas occupavit, electiſque militibus commendavit: quæ ſibi forent receptaculo, et navibus propugnaculo [e].

Heraldus, rex Anglorum, redit ad Lundoniam poſt victoriam ſuper invaſores Norwegienſes, et ſeſe parat ad dimicandum cum Normannis.

Anglicus autem Tyrannus, effuſo fratris et hoſtis ſanguine, lætus intumuit, et, peractâ multiplici ſtrage, victor Lundoniam rediit. Verùm Heraldus (quia proſperitas mundi, ut fumus ante ventum, citò deficit) imminente gravioris tribulationis pondere lætitiam feralis trophæi citò perdidit. Nec de fratricidio diù gaudere vel ſecurus eſſe potuit: quia legatus ei Normannos adeſſe mox nunciavit. Ipſe verò, ut Normannos in Angliam ingreſſos eſſe audivit, iterùm ſe ad agonem præparavit. Erat enim

Haſtings, when he tells us that the duke of Normandy placed the archers and ſlingers in the front, or firſt line, of his army, and the foot ſoldiers that were covered with coats of mail in the ſecond line, and the cavalry in the third line. *Dux Normannorum pedites ſagittis armatos et baliſtis in fronte locavit; item pedites loricatos ſecundo loco conſtituit: in ultimo turmas equitum, &c.* It ſeems, however, certain that the Norman army abounded in horſe, and that the victory they obtained over the Engliſh was chiefly owing to that advantage.

[d] That is, on the evening of the 28th of September.

[e] *Deinde Peneveſellum et Haſtingas occupavit, electiſque militibus commendavit: quæ ſibi forent receptaculo, et navibus propugnaculo.* We ſee by this paſſage that duke William, when he had landed his army near *Pevenſey* in Suſſex, took poſſeſſion of *Pevenſey* and *Haſtings*, and placed ſtrong garriſons in them, that they might ſerve him as places of ſafety to which he might retreat with his army in caſe of any miſchance, and alſo that they *might afford a ſhelter to his ſhips.* It is therefore without any ſufficient ground that ſome later authors have aſſerted that, after he had landed his army, he ordered all his ſhips to be ſet on fire, in order to make it impoſſible for his ſoldiers to eſcape to Normandy in caſe of a defeat, and, from that conſideration, to excite them to fight the more valiantly againſt the Engliſh. See *Speed's hiſtory of Great-Britain*, page 416.

enim multùm audax et probus, corpore fortis et pulcherrimus, eloquentiâ lepidus, et affabilis fautoribus. Porrò, matre suâ Githâ (quæ interitu Tostici, filii sui, valdè erat lugubris) aliísque fidelibus amicis bellum ei dissuadentibus, dixit ei Worth, Comes, frater suus: "Oportet, carissime frater et Domine, ut probitas tua temperetur discretionis moderamine. Nunc ex prælio Northwigenarum fessus venisti, iterúmque festinas contrà Normannos nunc præliari. Quiesce, quæso. Prudentèr tractare tecum velis, quid cum sacramentis Duci Normannorum promiseris. Cave ne perjurium incurras, et pro tanto scelere tu cum viribus nostræ gentis corruas: nostræque progeniei permansurum dedecus exinde fias. Ego liber ab omni sacramento, Guillelmo Comiti nihil debeo. Audactèr igitur contrà illum pro natali solo certare paratus sum. Tu autem, frater mi, quovis in pace quiesce, et eventum belli præstolare; ne clara libertas Anglorum corruat in tuâ pernicie."

Novum exercitum contrahit, et cum eo in Suffexiam contrà Normannos proficiscitur.

His itaque auditis sermonibus, Heraldus vehementèr est indignatus. Consilium istud, quod amicis salubre videbatur, sprevit; et germanum suum, qui fidelitèr ei consiliabatur, convitiis irritavit: matrémque suam, quæ nimìs ipsum retinere secum satagebat, pede procacitèr percussit. Deinde per sex dies undique populos ad bellum ascivit, innumeram multitudinem Anglorum contraxit, secúmque adducens ad pugnam in hostes festinavit[f]. Nocturno siquidem, seu repentino, incursu minùs

[f] *Deinde per sex dies undique populos ad bellum ascivit, innumeram multitudinem Anglorum contraxit, secúm que adducens ad pugnam in hostes festinavit.* By this passage it seems probable, that king Harold brought back with him from the north of England but a small part of the army with which he had defeated the king of Norway's army at Stamford-bridge, and that, when he was come back to London, he raised fresh troops in the adjoining counties, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Berkshire, for six days together, with which he marched to oppose and fight the Normans. This is agreeable to what Ingulphus relates on the subject in these words; *Prævolat igitur universos, exercet stimulos; nec de toto exercitu, præter paucissimos, eum aliquis concomitatur. Perveniens igitur citiùs Hastingas, collectâ illic popularium aliquali turbâ, confectâque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimìs et tenerâ, exercitum non expectat, sed, fatis urgentibus, contrà Comitem in crastino dimicat.* From this passage and that in the text of Ordericus, it seems plain that the English army that fought the battle of Hastings consisted, for the most part, of fresh troops raised by king Harold in the counties near London after his return from the North. But whether it was very large or not, does not appear so clearly.

minùs cautos opprimere cogitabat; et, ne perfugio abirent, septingentas naves armatis onustas in mari opposuerat[g]. Cujus accelerationem Willermus Dux ut audivit, omnes suos armari mane sabbati jussit, et ipse Missam audivit, et Dominicis sacramentis corpus et animam munivit: reliquiásque sanctas, super quas Heraldus juraverat, collo suo humilitèr appendit. Religiosi quoque viri pugnaturos è Normanniâ comitati fuerant. Nam duo Pontifices, Odo Bajocensis, et Goisfredus Constantinus,

Normanni se accingunt ad dimicandum cum Anglis.

A a

clearly. Ordericus and William of Poictiers represent it as immensely numerous [*innumeram multitudinem Anglorum contraxit*]: but from the expression of *popularium aliquali turbâ*, used by Ingulphus, one would be inclined to think it was less numerous than the Norman army, and did not consist of more than thirty or forty thousand men. And William of Malmesbury expresly tells us in his second book, that it was but a small army. His words are remarkable, and worth citing, and are as follows:

Rex [*Haroldus*] *Harvagre et Tostinus interempti; regis filius, cum omnibus navibus, domum clementèr remissus; Haroldus, triumphali eventu superbus, nullis partibus prædæ commilitones dignatus est. Quapropter multi, quo quisque poterat, dilapsi, regem ad bellum Hastingense proficiscentem destituère. Nam, præter stipendiariòs et mercenarios milites, paucos admodùm ex provincialibus habuit. Unde cum suis quos ductabat, post novem menses et aliquot dies accepti regni, astutiâ Willielmi circumventus, fusus est; levi, videlicet, belli negotio, sed occulto et stupendo Dei consilio, quòd nunquam posteà Angli communi prælio in libertatem spiraverint; quasi cum Haroldo omne robur deciderit Angliæ, qui certè potuit et debuit, etiam per inertissimos, poenas solvere perfidiæ. Nec hæc dicens virtuti Normannorum derogo, quibus, tum pro genere, tum pro beneficiis, fidem habeo. Sed mihi videntur errare qui Anglorum numerum accumulant, et fortitudinem extenuant. Ita Normannos dum laudare intendunt, infamiâ respergunt. Insignis enim planè laus gentis invictissimæ, ut illos vicerit quos multitudo impeditos, ignavia fecerit timidos! Immò verò pauci et manu promptissimi fuêre, qui, charitati corporum renuntiantes, pro patriâ animas posuerunt.* See Scriptores post Bedam, page 94.

May we not reasonably suppose the truth to lie in the mid-way between these different accounts of William of Poictiers and Ordericus Vitalis on the one hand, and of Ingulphus and William of Malmesbury on the other hand, and conclude that the English army under the command of king Harold at this famous battle of Hastings, was nearly equal to that of the duke of Normandy, and consisted of about fifty, or, at most, sixty thousand men?

g *Et, ne perfugis abirent, septingentas naves armatis onustas in mari opposuerat.* Here we see that Harold was full of confidence that he should totally destroy the Norman army (as he had done that of the king of Norway at Stamford-bridge), and for that purpose sent his fleet, consisting of seven hundred ships filled with soldiers and prepared for fighting, to the coast of Sussex, to prevent their escaping out of his hands. This too great confidence made him put the success of the war upon the event of a single battle, and proved the occasion of his ruin.

nus, aderant cum Monachis et Clericis multis; quorum officium erat pugnare precibus et consiliis. Bellum secundo Idus Octobr. horâ tertiâ[h] commissum est: totáque die ad multorum millium perniciem ex utráque parte acerrimè pugnatum est. Dux Normannorum pedites sagittis armatos et balistis in fronte locavit, item pedites loricatos secundo loco constituit: in ultimo turmas equitum[i], in quorum medio fuit ipse Dux cum firmissimo robore, unde in omnem partem consuleret voce et manu.

Magnum prælium apud *Senlac.*

Econtrà ex omnibus undique regionibus copiæ Anglorum ad locum, qui *Senlac* antiquitùs vocabatur, convenerant[k]: studiúmque suum pars Heraldo, sed cuncti patriæ, præstabant, quam contrà extraneos defensare volebant. Ibi protinùs equorum opem reliquerunt, cunctíque pedites densiùs conglobati constiterunt. Turstinus, filius Rollonis, vexillum Normannorum portavit. Terribilis clangor lituorum pugnæ signa utrinque cecinit. Normannorum alacris audacia pugnæ principium dedit. Pedites

[h] That is, on the 14th day of October, the Ides of October being the 15th day of it. *Horâ tertiâ* means at nine o'clock in the morning.

[i] *Pedites sagittis armatos et balistis in fronte locavit, item pedites loricatos secundo loco constituit; in ultimo turmas equitum.* That is, the Duke of Normandy drew up his army in three lines, placing the light-armed foot, who were armed with bows and arrows and cross-bows, (for so I understand the word *balistis*) in the first line; the heavy-armed foot, who were armed in coats of mail, in the second line; and the horse in the third line. This account agrees exactly with that of William of Poitiers given above in page 128, as indeed does the whole account here given of this famous battle, our author using for the most part the very words and phrases of the former writer, but with an omission of some few sentences for the sake of greater brevity.

[k] *Ad locum qui* Senlac *antiquitùs vocabatur, convenerant.* John Speed, the Geographer, in the account of the county of Sussex that accompanies his map of the said county, chap. 5, page 9, tells us, that the great number of Englishmen slain at the battle of Hastings (which he makes to be sixty-seven thousand, nine hundred, and seventy-four), was the occasion of calling the spot in which it was fought by the name of *Sanguelac*, which is French for *a lake of blood*, from which the name of *Senlac* may easily have been derived. But by this passage of our author it should seem that this spot of ground had obtained the name of *Senlac* long before this battle was fought; *antiquitùs vocabatur*: and if so, it must have been called so on some other account. But I have met with no other explanation of this name in any of the old historians. *Ideò quære.*

tes itaque Normanni propiùs accedentes Anglos provocant, et in eos missilibus vulnera necémque dirigunt. Illi contrà fortitèr, quo quisque valet ingenio, resistunt. Aliquandiù summâ vi certatur ab utrisque. Pertinaci Anglorum sævitiâ perterriti pedites paritèr equitésque Britanni, et quotquot auxiliares erant in sinistro cornu, avertuntur: et ferè cuncta Ducis acies, eundem jam occisum credens, cedit. Dux autem prospiciens multam partem adversæ stationis prosiluisse, et insequi terga suorum, fugientibus occurrit, et, hastâ verberans aut minans, obsistit. Nudato insuper capite detractâque galeâ exclamans: "Me, inquit, conspicite: vivo, "et vincam, opitulante Deo." Protinùs, prolatis à Duce verbis audaciæ, cedentes animos receperunt; et circumvenientes aliquot millia insecuta se momento deleverunt. Simili modo bìs iterùm fugam Normanni simulaverunt: et insequentes Anglos repente giratis equis interceperunt, et inclusos undique mactaverunt. Anglos itaque periculosâ simulatione deceperunt, disjunctos ab invicem peremerunt: multísque millibus trucidatis residuos alacriùs aggressi sunt. Institerunt eis Cenomannici, Franci, Britanni, Aquitani, et miserabilitèr pereuntes cadebant Angli.

Interfuerunt huic prælio, Eustachius Boloniæ Comes[1]; Guillelmus Ricardi, Ebroicensis Comitis, filius; Goifredus Rotronis, Moritoniæ Comites,

Nomina præcipuorum militum Normannorum qui isti prælio interfuerunt.

Aa 2

[1] *Interfuerunt huic prælio Eustachius, Boloniæ Comes, &c.* Here we have the names of eleven of the bravest and most eminent officers, or warriours, that were present at this great battle; to wit, *Eustace*, earl of *Boulogne*; *William*, the Son of *Richard*, earl of *Evreux* in Normandy; *Godfrey*, the son of *Rotro*, earl of *Mortagne* in Normandy; *William Fitz-Osbern*; *Robert*, a young warriour [*tiro*] (who probably had not yet been made a knight) the son of *Roger de Beaumont*; *Haimeric*, the president of *Thouars*; *Hugh*, the *count of the stables* to the duke of Normandy, that is, probably, the super-intendant of the horses belonging to the duke himself, or (in the language of the present times,) the master of his horse; *Walter Giffard*; *Ralph de Toesny*; *Hugh de Grantemaisnil*; and *William de Garennâ*, or *de la Garenne*, *or Warren*.

This list of warriours that were present at the battle of Hastings is the same with that given above, in page 132, by *Guillelmus Pictaviensis*, except that in that account Robert, the son of Roger de Beaumont, is omitted, and instead of *Hugo, Stabulariorum Comes*, we have *Hugo de Monteforti*. But these two persons named *Hugo* were probably the same person under different appellations or titles: *Hugo de Monteforti* being his appellation derived from his estate, or the land which he held of the duke of Normandy, or king of France, or other great lord, by military tenure, and *comes Stabulariorum* being

mitis, filius; Guillelmus, Osberni filius; Rodbertus Tiro, Rogerii de Bello-monte

being the name of some great office he bore under the duke, such as *master of his stables*, or *of his horse*. And, as to *Robert*, the son of *Roger de Beaumont*, though he is not mentioned by William of Poictiers in page 132 amongst the warriours that were present at the battle of Hastings, yet that writer has told us in another passage, page 130, that he not only was present at that battle, but distinguished himself in it in a very extraordinary manner by his courage and conduct at the head of a body of Norman troops. The two authors therefore agree perfectly with each other in their accounts of the eminent warriours that were present at this famous battle.

As most of these persons were afterwards settled in England, and became possessed of large tracts of land there, which were taken from the English and given them by tne Conquerour as rewards for their services in this great battle, it may not be amiss to mention such further particulars about them as are to be found in these old contemporary writers.

The first of these warriours, *Eustace*, earl of *Boulogne*, was also earl of *Guisnes*, in Picardy, and of *Teroüenne*. See above, page 163, note *d*.

The second, namely, William, the son of Richard, earl of Evreux in Normandy, was descended from Richard the 1st, duke of Normandy. For his father, Richard, earl of Evreux, was the son of Robert, earl of Evreux, and arch-bishop of Roan, who was the son of Richard the 1st, duke of Normandy. See Duchesne's *Scriptores Normanniæ*, pages 248 and 1084.

Of the third, namely, Godfrey, the son of Rotro, earl of Mortagne, I do not find any more particular account in these authors. But he must not be confounded with Robert, earl of *Mortol*, or *Morteüil*, *Comes Moritolii*, or *Moritoliensis*. For they were different persons, and both had great tracts of land given them in England after the Conquest; as appears from the following passage of our author, *Ordericus Vitalis*, in his 4th book, page 523. *Eustachius quoque Boloniensis, et Rodbertus Moritoliensis Gulielmus Ebroicensis, et Rodbertus Aucensis, atque Goiffredus, Rotronis filius, Mauritaniensis, aliique Comites et optimates, quos sigillatim nominare nequeo, magnos redditus et honores in Angliâ receperunt à rege Gulielmo. Sic extranei divitiis Angliæ ditabantur, quo quibus filii ejus nequitèr interficiebantur, vel extorres per extera regna irremeabilitèr fugabantur.*

The fourth, *William Fitz-Osbern*, was the son of *Osborn de Crepon*, and was descended from *Sprota*, the widow of *William Longæ Spatæ*, or *Longsword*, the second duke of Normandy, and, by that descent, was second cousin to Robert II, duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conquerour. He was a man of great wisdom and valour, and a great favourite of king William the Conquerour, who made him Governour of the important castle of *Breteüil* in Normandy on the frontiers of that dutchy towards the kingdom of France, and, after the conquest of England, gave him the Isle of Wight and other very large tracts of land in England, as a reward for his services in the invasion of that kingdom, and made him earl of Hereford. See above, page 151, note *r*, and *Duchesne's Scriptores Normannici*, page 521.

The fifth warriour, *Robert*, the son of *Roger de Beaumont*, was a person of very high birth, and distinguished himself greatly by his valour and good conduct in the battle

monte filius; Haimericus, Toarçensis præses; Hugo, Stabulariorum Comes;

battle of Hastings. He was grandson, by his mother, *Adelina*, to *Walran*, earl of *Mellent* in Normandy, and afterwards succeeded to that earldom, and held it for more than twenty-seven years. His brother, *Henry of Beaumont*, also attended duke William in his invasion of England, and was advanced by him to the earldom of *Warwick*. See above, page 159, note *w*.

Of the sixth warriour, namely, *Haimeric*, the president of *Thouars*, I do not find any other mention made by these authors, except in the foregoing history of duke William by *Pictaviensis*, page 143, where he is said to have been a native of Guienne, [*Aquitanus*] and to have been distinguished for his wisdom and eloquence as much as for his valour.

The seventh warriour is *Hugh*, the *comes Stabulariorum*, or (as I conjecture), master of the horse, to the duke of Normandy, and seems to have been the same person that William of Poictiers has called *Hugh of Montfort* in his account of the battle of Hastings, page 132. This *Hugh de Montfort* has been mentioned likewise in another part of the foregoing history of *Pictaviensis*, page 60, as having greatly distinguished himself by his courage and conduct in Normandy in the year 1054, when the great army with which king Henry the 1st of France invaded Normandy, was defeated at *Mortemer*.

The eighth warriour, *Walter Giffard*, is also mentioned in the foregoing history of *Pictaviensis* as having gained great honour in the same battle of Mortemer in the year 1054. After the conquest of England he was made earl of Buckinghamshire.

The ninth warriour, *Ralph de Toesny*, had distinguished himself likewise about the time of the battle of Mortemer in the year 1054, and was the person whom duke William sent to Henry the 1st, king of France, to inform him that the part of his army which he had sent forwrd under the command of his brother Odo, to lay waste the district called the *Päis de Caux* [*Calcinum territorium*] in Normandy, had been entirely defeated. See above, page 61, note *p*. He was, probably, either a son, or a nephew, or other relation, of that powerful Norman nobleman, *Roger de Toesny*, who was the great standard-bearer of Normandy, and had rebelled against duke William in the beginning of his reign over that dutchy, in the year 1036, and had been defeated and killed, with his two sons *Helbert* and *Elinant*, by *Roger de Beaumont*, the son of *Humphry de Vetulis*, or *de Vielles*. See above, pages 159, 160, note *w*.

The tenth warriour was *Hugh de Grentemaisnil*. He was the eldest son of *Robert de Grentemaisnil* who had joined with *Roger de Toesny* in the rebellion against duke William in the beginning of his reign, in the year 1036. Both Roger de Toesny and Robert de Grentemaisnil were killed in that rebellion in an engagement with Roger de Beaumont, who supported the cause of the young duke. Roger de Toesny was killed on the spot; but Robert de Grentemaisnil was only mortally wounded in that engagement, and died of his wounds three weeks afterwards, on the 16th day of June, A.D. 1036. He left three sons, *Hugh*, *Robert*, and *Ernald*, who was under age. He divided his lands equally among his two elder sons *Hugh* and *Robert*, and left the third *Ernald* to their care. The eldest of the sons, namely *Hugh*, was, I presume, the *Hugh de Grentemaisnil*

mes; Galterius Giphardus; et Radulphus Thoenites; Hugo de Grentemaisnilio, et Guillelmus de Garennâ, aliíque quamplures militaris præstantiæ famâ celebratissimi; et quorum nomina Historiarum voluminibus inter bellicosissimos commendari deceat. Willelmus verò, Dux eorum, præstabat eis fortitudine et prudentiâ. Nam ille nobilitèr exercitum duxit, cohibens fugam, dans animos, periculi socius, sæpiùs clamans ut venirent, quam jubens ire. In bello tres equi sub eo confossi ciciderunt: tèr ille intrepidus desiluit, nec diù mors vectoris inulta remansit. Scuta, galeas, et loricas irato mucrone, moramque dedignante, penetravit: clypeóque suo nonnullos collisit, auxilióque multis suorum atque saluti, sicut econtrà hostibus perniciei, fuit.

Fortitudo admiranda Gulielmi ducis in isto prælio.

Ab horâ diei tertiâ bellum acritèr commissum est, et in primo militum congressu Heraldus Rex peremptus est[m]. Deinde Leofwinus Comes, frater

Mors Heraldi, regis Anglorum.

nil mentioned in the text by Ordericus Vitalis as one of the principal warriours that were present at the battle of Hastings. See *Willelmus Gemmeticensis*, Lib. vii, cap. iii, page 268.

The eleventh and last of the warriours here enumerated was *Guillelmus de Garennâ*, or *William of Warren*. He was descended from a sister of *Gunnor*, dutchess of Normandy, the wife of duke Richard the Ist, and thereby was related to Richard the IId, and Richard the IIId, and Robert the IId (the father of William the Conquerour,) and William the Conquerour himself, dukes of Normandy. He was the son of a nobleman of the same name of *William of Warren*, and was brother to *Roger de Mortemer*. After the conquest of England William the Conquerour gave him great tracts of land in England, and made him earl of Surrey.

[m] *Et in primo militum congressu Heraldus Rex peremptus est.* This is probably a mistake, and is not warranted by the account given of this great battle by *Pictaviensis*. On the contrary, though he does not expresly say that king Harold was killed towards *the latter part* of the engagement, yet this seems to be most agreeable to his account of the course of the battle. For he says "that towards the close of the day the English "army perceived that they should not be able to withstand the attacks of the Normans "much longer: for that they saw that their own numbers were very much diminish- "ed by the slaughter that had been made of large bodies of them; and they knew "likewise that king Harold and his two brothers and some of the principal grandees "of the nation had fallen, and that the rest of their body was almost exhausted by "fatigue." See above, page 133. Now from this account it seems natural to conclude, (though it is not positively so asserted,) that the event of the death of Harold and his two brothers had happened a little before the time here mentioned, or towards the close

frater ejus, cum multis millibus, fimili forte perfunctus eft. Denique inclinatâ jam die, videntes Angli quòd Rex fuus, et Primates Regni, multæque legiones fuorum interierunt, et quod Normanni adhuc procacitèr fteterunt, et terribilitèr armis in obftantes fævierunt, in fugam converfi quantociùs abierunt, et eventus varios experti funt. Alii raptis equis, nonnulli pedites, pars per vias, plerique per avia fefe falvare conati funt. Normanni autem dum Anglos fugere viderunt, totâ nocte Dominicâ eos ad fui detrimentum obnixè perfecuti funt. Nam crefcentes herbæ antiquum aggerem tegebant, ubi fummoperè currentes Normanni cum equis et armis ruebant; ac fefe, dum unus fuper alterum repentè cadebat, vicifsìm extinguebant. Ibi nimirùm fugientibus Anglis rediit confidentia. Cernentes enim opportunitatem prærupti valli, et frequentium foffarum, in unum collecti funt, inopinatò reftiterunt, et Normannis magnam ftragem fortitèr intulerunt. Ibi Engenulfus Aquilenfis oppidanus [n], aliíque multi corruerunt, ac (ut fertur ab his qui interfuerunt) Normannorum ferè quindecim millia perierunt[o]. Sic omnipotens

Anglī iterùm Normannis refiftum in loco quodam opportuno, et multa millia eorum interficiunt.

close of the day; which is agreeable to the account given by Ingulphus, who fays exprefsly of King Harold, that he *corruit tandem in diei crepufculo, in quodam, ubi fuos collegerat, monticulo, eminùs fagittatus.* See Gale's Ingulphus, page 69.

[n] *Engenulfus Aquilenfis oppidanus.* That is, *Engenulf,* a citizen, or perhaps the governour, or lord, of the town called *Aquila,* or *L'Aigle* in Normandy, fituated near the head of the river *Rille,* fouth of *Lyre* and *Rugles.* The following mention is made of it in another paffage of our author, *Ordericus Vitalis,* in his fourth book, page 545. *Quondam, dum Rex [Gulielmus primus Angliæ] contrà Corbonienfis expeditionem faceret præpararet, et in oppido Richerii (quod, pro nido aquilæ ibidem in quercu reperto dum caftrum à Fulberto fieret,* Aquila *dicitur,) in domo Gunherii hofpitaretur, lis inter filios regis oritur dæmonica, unde poft-modùm multæ pullulaverunt lites et facinora.*

[o] *Ac (ut fertur ab his qui interfuerant,) Normannorum ferè quindecim millia perierunt.* It is hardly credible that the number of Normans flain in this fecond engagement in the night after the battle of Haftings fhould have been fo great as fifteen thoufand. Nor does *Pictavienfis* give us any reafon to think it was near fo great. For he fays only, that *in eo congreffu Normannorum aliqui nobiliores ceciderunt adverfitate loci virtute eorum impeditâ.* See above page 134. It is more probable that fifteen thoufand men were the whole number of the Normans that were flain both in the firft action at the place now called *Battle Abbey,* (which continued from nine o'clock in the morning till the clofe of the day,) and in the action in the following night, when the Englifh rallied on an advantageous ground, and made another ftand againft the Normans with a good deal of fuccefs for fome time, but were at laft obliged to fly. Ingulphus does not mention the number of men that were flain on either fide.

potens Deus pridiè Idus Octobris innumeros peccatores utriusque phalangis puniit diversis modis. Nam sævitiâ intolerabilitèr grassante Normannorum in die Sabbati multavit multa millia Anglorum: qui longè ante innocentem Alfredum cum suis pedissequis injustè necaverunt: atque præcedente sabbato Heraldum Regem, et Tosticum Comitem, aliósque multos absque pietate trucidaverunt[p]. Idem quoque Judex Dominicâ

[p] *Præcedente Sabbato Heraldum regem et Tosticum comitem aliósque multos absque pietate trucidaverunt.* According to this account king Harold had destroyed the army of *Harold Harfager*, king of Norway, at Stamford Bridge on Sunday the 7th day of October, A. D. 1066, and marched from thence into Sussex in the space of six days, and fought the battle of Hastings with the duke of Normandy on the following Sunday, October 14, 1066. This seems to be an almost incredible degree of expedition: yet the same thing is attested by *Willelmus Gemmeticensis Lib.* vii, *cap* xxxiv, For he there says expressly, in speaking of the battle of Stamford-bridge, *Hæc pugna nonis Octobris in die Sabbati facta est.* This seems to confirm the account which has been given us by Ingulphus of the English army that fought the battle of Hastings, to wit, "that it consisted of only a small part of the army that had fought the battle of Stamford-bridge, together with a body of fresh troops hastily collected from the country people of Sussex and the adjoining countries in the space of two or three days, who, though they were very brave men, were unacquainted with war and military discipline." The whole passage is curious and worth citing. It is as follows.

Dum ergò Haroldus hâc victoriâ contrà Noricos gloriaretur, Normannos in Australi parte regni solidam terram cepisse, indies per novos nuncios narratur. Rex, lætus hesternâ victoriâ, simili cum fortunâ somniat succedere futura. Prævocat igitur universos, exercet stimulos; nec de toto exercitu, præter paucissimos, eum aliquis concomitatur. Perveniens igitur citiùs Hastyngas, collectâ illic popularium aliquali turbâ, confectâque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimìs et tenerâ, exercitum non expectat, sed, fatis urgentibus, contrà Comitem in crastino dimicat, et fortissimè totâ die usque ad vesperum invictus perdurans, ac sæpiùs, more gregarii militis, manu ad manum congrediens cum adversariis, robustissiméque digladians à dextris et à sinistris, corruit tandem in diei crepusculo, in quodum, ubi suos collegerat, monticulo eminùs sagittatus. Cecidit ibi rex Haroldus, *Comites etiam sui, et fratres* Gurtha *et* Lefwinus, *ac reliquus ejus exercitus nobilium Angliæ universus.* These last words, *ac reliquus ejus exercitus nobilium Angliæ universus*, seem inconsistent with the former part of this passage, in which it is said, "that king Harold did not wait for his army's coming up, but collected an army of fresh and raw troops from the country people, *collectâ illic popularium aliquali turbâ, confectâque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimìs et tenerâ, exercitum non expectat.*" But these passages may be made consistent with each other by supposing that a great part of the nobility and gentry of England, (who must be supposed to be possessed of good horses, and were therefore able to attend the king in his swift return from the north of England into Sussex, though it was impossible that his whole army could have marched so fast,) joined the royal standard from all parts of the kingdom, though only a small

Dominicâ nocte Anglos vindicavit, et furentes Normannos in cæcam voraginem præcipitavit.* Ipsi enim contrà præceptum legis rem alienam immoderatè concupierunt; ac veloces (ut Psalmographus dicit) pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem fuerunt: ideòque contritionem et infelicitatem in viis suis offenderunt.

Sed tandem, superveniente Gulielmo duce, iterùm in fugam vertuntur.

Dux Guillelmus Anglorum cohortes inopinatò conglobatas cernens non substitit: sed Eustachium Comitem cum militibus quinquagintà aversum, et receptui signa canere volentem, ne abiret virili voce compellavit. Ille contrà familiaritèr in aurem Ducis reditum suasit, et proximam ei, si pergeret, mortem prædixit. Hæc inter verba percussus Eustachius inter scapulas ictu sonoro, (cujus gravitatem statìm sanguis demonstrabat ore et naribus) quasi moribundus ope comitum evasit. Dux autem victoriâ consummatâ ad aream belli regressus est, ibique miserabilem stragem, non absque miseratione videndam, intuitus est. Anglicæ nobilitatis et juventutis flos in cruore sordidatus latè solum operuit. Heraldus quibusdam signis est, non facie, recognitus, et in castra Ducis delatus: ac ad tumulandum propè littus maris, quod diù cum armis servaverat, Guillelmo agnomine Maleto, victoris jussu traditus.

Et Normanni plenâ victoriâ potiuntur.

a small part of the common soldiers of the northern army, that had fought at Stamford-bridge, attended the king into Sussex, and the rest of his army at the battle of Hastings consisted of fresh troops hastily drawn together from the country-people of Sussex and the adjacent counties. Upon this supposition it will be possible for the flower of the nobility and gentry of most part of England to have been slain (as Ingulphus says they were) at the battle of Hastings, notwithstanding the common soldiers of the army that fought that battle may have consisted chiefly of the inhabitants of Kent, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Hampshire, and Sussex.

The Saxon chronicle agrees with Ingulphus in asserting that king Harold fought the battle of Hastings before all his army from the north of England had joined him. The words of bishop Gibson's translation are these. *Et Haroldus, de partibus Borealibus veniens, cum eo depugnavit, priùs quàm totus suus exercitus convenisset.* See Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonicum*, page 172.

Upon the whole it seems next to certain that, if king Harold had been less rash, and had waited for the coming up of the whole of his army, before he had given the Normans battle, the Normans must have been defeated. His extreme confidence, in consequence of the great victory he had lately obtained over the king of Norway, proved the cause of his destruction.

De Githâ, matre Heraldi Regis, et ejus filiis.

Vergibili fortunâ mortalibus in terris ſuppeditante valdè aſpera et inopinata, quidam de pulvere proſiliunt ad magnarum poteſtatum culmina: aliíque de ſummo apice ſubitò pulſi gemunt in ingenti mœſtitiâ. Sic Githa, Godvini Comitis relicta, quondam divitiis gaudens et potentiâ, nunc nimio mœrore eſt affecta, quia gravibus infortuniis vehementèr eſt afflicta. Nam ſeptem filios viro ſuo peperit: Suenum, Toſticum, Heraldum, Guorth, Elſgarum, Leofvinum, et Vulnodum. Omnes hi Comites fuerunt [r], magnóque corporis decore et ſeculari probitate viguerunt: ſed diverſos et atroces eventus ſeparatìm experti ſunt. Elſgarus et Vulnodus Deum diligentes piè legitiméque vixerunt, et in verâ confeſſione prior Remis peregrinus et Monachus, et alter Saleſberiæ venerabilitèr obierunt. Verùm alii quinque diverſis in locis, variíſque ſtudiis, intenti armis, interierunt. Mœſta igitur mater Guillelmo Duci pro corpore Heraldi par auri pondus obtulit; ſed magnanimus victor tale commercium reſpuit; indignum ducens, ut ad libitum matris ſepeliretur, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem innumerabiles inſepulti remanerent [s]. Ipſe ſuis ingentem ſepeliendi curam exhiberi præcepit: Anglis quoque cunctis volentibus quoſque ad humandum liberam poteſtatem conceſſit. Suis autem,

[r] *Omnes hi Comites fuerunt.* That is, as I imagine, all theſe ſeven ſons of Earl Godwin and his wife Githa, to wit, *Swain*, *Toſti*, *Harold*, *Gurth*, *Elſgar*, *Leſwin*, and *Vulnod*, or *Wilnoth*, had been earls, or governours of counties, or other large diſtricts of land, in England, under king Edward the Confeſſor, as we have ſeen that Toſti had been earl, or governour, of *Northumberland* and *Harold* of *Weſſex*. But after the conqueſt of England, *Elſgar* and *Wilnoth* quitted the ſecular way of life, and became monks, the former in a monaſtery at *Rheims* in *Champagne* in France, and the latter in a monaſtery at *Saliſbury* in England, and died in that condition of life in thoſe monaſteries.

[s] *Indignum ducens ut ad libitum matris ſepeliretur, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem innumerabiles inſepulti remanerent.* The reaſon here given for duke William's refuſing to let *Githa*, the mother of king Harold, have the liberty of burying him in the manner ſhe thought proper, ſeems to be only a pretended one; ſince duke William was not himſelf very ſcrupulous about *cauſing many people to remain unburied*, or, in other words, cauſing many people to die by the ſword in battle in order to gratify his ambition. It is more likely that his reaſon for refuſing this favour to Harold's mother, and committing the care of burying him to *William Malet*, one of his faithful Normans, was to prevent the bad effects which the burying him with great funeral pomp, (as his mother probably would have buried him,) might have had in exciting the pity and reſentment of the Engliſh nation, and animating them to a further reſiſtance to his authority.

autem, prout tunc decuit, sepultis, Romaneium accessit; et expugnatis his qui intùs erant, cladem suorum vindicavit, quos illuc errore appulsos fera gens adorta prælio fuerat, et cum maximo utriusque partis detrimento fuderat.

Dux Guillelmus cum exercitu Normannorum proficiscitur ad Romaneium.

Deinde Dux contendit Doveram, ubi multus populus congregatus erat pro inexpugnabili, ut sibi videbatur, munitione: quia id castellum situm est in acutissimâ rupe mari contiguâ. Castellani autem dum obsidentem Ducem metuerent, supplicésque deditionem pararent, Normannorum armigeri pro cupidine prædæ ignem injecerunt, et voraci flammâ levitèr volitante pleraque correpta et combusta sunt. Dux autem damno eorum, qui sibi subdere se volebant, compassus est, pretiúmque restituendarum ædium dedit, aliáque amissa recompensavit. Recepto castro, quo minus erat, per dies octo munivit. Milites verò recentibus illic carnibus et aquâ utentes, multi profluvio ventris extincti sunt, plurimíque usque ad finem vitæ debilitati sunt. Dux inibi custodiam relinquens, et dysenteriâ languentes, ad perdomandum quos devicit proficiscitur. Ultrò Cantuarii non procùl à Doverâ occurrunt, fidelitatem jurant, et obsides dant.

Deinde ad Doveram.

Et ibi castrum in deditionem recipit, et per octo dies munit.

Cantuarii sese illi submittunt propè Doveram.

Interempto Heraldo, Stigaudus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, et præclari Comites Edvinus et Morcarus, aliíque Primates Anglorum, qui Senlacio bello non interfuerunt, Edgarum Clitonem, filium Edvardi, Regis Hunorum, filii Edmundi Irnesidæ, id est Ferrei-lateris, Regem statuerunt [t]; et cum eo contrà externos hostes pro patriâ et gente se fortitèr pugnaturos

Proceres Anglorum in Londoniâ collecti Edgarum Adelinum in regem eligunt post mortem Heraldi.

[t] *Edgarum Clitonem, filium Edwardi, regis Hunorum, filii Edmundi Irneside, id est, Ferrei lateris, regem statuerunt.* Here, we see, it is positively asserted that *Edgar Atheling* was chosen king of England by *Stigand*, arch-bishop of Canterbury, *Edwin*, earl of Mercia, and *Morkar*, earl of Northumberland, and other great men assembled at London, who had not been present at the battle of Senlac, or Hastings; which agrees with the testimony of *Gulielmus Pictaviensis* above, in pages 139 and 143, and with that of the Saxon Chronicle, page 173. There seems therefore to be no reason to doubt it. But it seems likely that he was not crowned, on account of the confusion of the times: and his reign probably did not last above seven or eight weeks, to wit, from about the 20th of October, 1066, (the battle of *Senlac*, or *Hastings*, having been fought on the 14th,) to the 7th or 8th of the December following.

I do

Dux Gulielmus cum exercitu proficiscitur versùs Lundoniam.

pugnaturos minati sunt. Porrò Guillermus Dux ubi frequentiorem conventum eorum audivit, cum validâ manu appropians non procùl à Lundoniâ consedit; equitésque quingentos illò præmisit. Qui egressam de urbe contrà se aciem refugere intrà mœnia compulerunt; et, multâ strage filiorum et amicorum factâ, civibus ingentem luctum intulerunt. Incendium etiàm urbanæ cædi addiderunt, et quicquid ædificiorum citrà flumen erat, cremaverunt. Dux autem Tamesim fluvium transmeavit, et ad oppidum Guarengefort pervenit.

Angli qui Edgarum Adelinum in regem elegerant, et cum iis ipse Edgarus, sese Gulielmo duci submittunt.

Illuc Stigaudus Archiepiscopus aliíque nobiles Angli advenerunt; Edgarum abrogantes, pacem cum Guillelmo fecerunt, ipsúmque sibi Dominum susceperunt: et ipsi ab eo benignitèr suscepti, pristinas dignitates et honores receperunt. Lundonii nihilominùs, utile consilium percipientes, sese in obsequium Ducis tradiderunt: et obsides quos et quot imperârat, adduxerunt. Edgarus Adelinus, qui Rex fuerat constitutus ab Anglis, resistere diffidens humilitèr Guillelmo se regnúmque contulit. Ille verò, quia idem puer mitis et sincerus erat, et consobrinus Edvardi Magni Regis (filius, scilicet, nepotis ejus,) erat, amicabilitèr eum amplexatus est, et omni vitâ suâ inter filios suos honorabilitèr veneratus est.

Omnia,

I do not know upon what ground our author asserts that *Edward*, the father of Edgar Atheling, had been king of the Huns, or Hungarians. He and his brother *Edmund*, both sons of Edmund Ironside, had been sent in their youth by Canute the Great, king of England, to the king of Sweden, to be put to death by him. But that king, taking compassion on them, sent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, who protected them and gave them a good education. This banishment of them from England happened in the year 1017. In process of time Edmund died in Hungary unmarried. But Edward married *Agatha*, daughter of Henry the IIId, surnamed *the Black*, Emperor of Germany, and by her had three children, namely, *Edgar Atheling*, who was now elected king of England, and *Matilda*, who married Malcolm the IIId, king of Scotland, and *Christiana*, who died unmarried in a convent. This is the account given of Edgar Atheling's father *Edward* in the Chronicle of *Mailross*, in Gale's collection of antient historians, Vol. 1, page 155. And I do not recollect any fuller account of the matter in any other author. See above, page 76, note *g*. It may, however, be conjectured with some appearance of probability, that prince Edward, after he had been educated by Solomon, king of Hungary, in a manner suitable to his birth, was appointed by him to the government of some part of the country under king Solomon's authority, and from thence may have afterwards been reported to have been king of the Huns, or Hungarians, as our author here calls him. *Tamen quære.*

Omnia, disponente Deo, in spatio trium mensium per Angliam pacata sunt, cunctique Præsules regnique Proceres cum Guillelmo concordiam fecerunt, ac ut diadema regium sumeret (sicut mos Anglici Principatûs exigit) oraverunt. Hoc summoperè flagitabant Normanni, qui pro fasce regali nanciscendo suo Principi subierunt ingens discrimen maris et prælii. Hoc etiàm, divino nutu subacti, optabant indigenæ regni, qui non nisi coronato Regi servire hactenùs erant soliti.

Angli et Normanni orant Guielmum ut rex Anglorum fieri dignaretur.

Eo tempore Adelredus Eboracensis Metropolitanus erat. Hic æquitatem valdè amans, ævo maturus, sapiens, bonus et eloquens, multis virtutibus fulgebat, et per vestigia Patrum Regem Regum adire jugitèr appetebat. Stigaudus autem Cantuariensis secularibus curis et actibus nimìs intentus erat: et pro quibusdam reatibus ab Alexandro Papâ interdictus fuerat.

Denique anno ab Incarnatione Domini MLXVI. Indictione v. in die Natalis Domini, Angli Lundoniæ ad ordinandum Regem convenerunt, et Normannorum turmæ circà Monasterium in armis et equis (ne quid doli et seditionis oriretur) præsidio dispositæ fuerunt. Adelredus itaque Archiepiscopus in basilicâ sancti Petri, Apostolorum Principis, quæ *Westmonasterium* nuncupatur, ubi Edvardus Rex venerabilitèr humatus quiescit, in præsentiâ Præsulum et Abbatum Procerúmque totius regni Albionis, Guillermum, Ducem Normannorum, in Regem Anglorum consecravit, et diadema regium capiti ejus imposuit.

Dux Gulielmus eligitur in regem Angliæ, et coronatur apud Westmonasterium, 25to die Decembris A. D. 1066.

Intereà instigante Sathanâ, qui bonis omnibus contrarius est, importuna res utrique populo, et portentum futuræ calamitatis ex improviso exortum est. Nam dum Adelredus Præsul alloqueretur Anglos, et Goisfredus Constantiniensis Normannos, "an concederent Guillermum regnare super se:" et universi consensum hilarem protestarentur unâ voce, non unius linguæ locutione: armati milites, qui extrinsecùs erant pro suorum tuitione, mox ut vociferationem in Ecclesiâ populi, et ignotæ linguæ strepitum audierunt, rem sinistram arbitrati flammam ædibus imprudentèr injecerunt. Currente festinantèr per domos incendio, plebs quæ in Ecclesiâ lætabatur perturbata, et multitudo virorum ac mulierum diversæ dignitatis et qualitatis, infortunio perurgente, celeritèr basilicam egressa.

Tumultus oritur inter Normannicos milites, ad tuitionem Ducis Normanniæ et amicorum ejus circà ecclesiam dispositos, dum ipsum officium coronationis ibidem peragitur.

egressa est. Soli Præsules et pauci Clerici cum Monachis nimiùm trepidantes ante aram perstiterunt, et officium consecrationis supèr Regem vehementèr trementem vix peregerunt: aliique penè omnes ad ignem nimìs furentem cucurrerunt, quidam ut vim foci virilitèr occarent, et plures ut in tantâ perturbatione sibi prædas diriperent. Angli, factionem tam insperatæ rei dimetientes, nimìs irati sunt: et posteà Normannos semper suspectos habuerunt, et infidos sibi dijudicantes, ultionis tempus de eis optaverunt.

Susceptum itaque imperium Guillelmus Rex in adversis et prosperis strenuè utilitérque rexit: eique XX. annis et VIII. mensibus, ac diebus XVI. laudabilitèr præfuit. De cujus probitate et eximiis moribus ac prosperis eventibus, et strenuis admirandisque actibus Guillelmus Pictavinus, Lexoviensis Archidiaconus, affluentèr tractavit: et librum polito sermone et magni sensûs profunditate præclarum edidit. Ipse siquidem prædicti Regis Capellanus longo tempore extitit, et ea quæ oculis suis viderit, et quibus interfuerit, longo relatu vel copioso indubitantèr enucleare studuit; quamvis Librum usque ad finem Regis, adversis casibus impeditus, perducere nequiverit. Guido etiàm, Præsul Ambianensis, metricum carmen edidit, quo, Maronem et Papinium gesta Heroum pangentes imitatus, Senlacium bellum descripsit, Heraldum vituperans et condemnans, Guillermum verò collaudans et magnificans.

De Guillelmo Pictavino, historico.

De Guidone, Episcopo Ambianensi.

De Johanne Wigornensi monacho, et Mariano Scoto, Historiæ Scriptoribus.

Joannes Wigornensis à puero Monachus, natione Anglicus, moribus et eruditione venerandus, in his quæ Mariani Scoti Chronicis adjecit, de Rege Guillelmo, et de rebus quæ sub eo, vel sub filiis ejus Guillelmo Rufo et Henrico usque hodiè contigerunt, honestè deprompsit[a]. Marianus

[a] *Johannes Wigornensis, à puero monachus, natione Anglicus, moribus et eruditione venerandus, in his quæ Mariani Scoti Chronicis adjecit de Rege Guillelmo et de rebus quæ sub eo vel sub filiis ejus, Guillelmo Rufo et Henrico, usque hodiè contigerunt, honestè deprompsit.* The meaning is, "That John of Worcester, who from his childhood was a monk, "and was by birth an Englishman, and was a writer of excellent morals and character "as well as great learning, took all that he has added to the Chronicle of *Marianus* "*Scotus* concerning the history of *William the conquerour* and his two sons, *William* "*Rufus* and *Henry*, from these two sources, to wit, the foregoing history written by *William*

nus enim in Cœnobio sancti Albani Martyris apud Maguntiam Monachus fuit; ibíque, Cæsariensem Eusebium et Hieronymum, aliósque Historiographos, pro modulo secutus, sese benignitèr exercuit, et dulcem fructum longi studii, magnorúmque laborum, quos in longinquâ peregrinatione pertulit, filiis Ecclesiæ, tanta rimari per se non valentibus, charitativè obtulit. Solertèr itaque perscrutatis veteribus et modernis Codicibus Chronographiam edidit, in quâ ab initio mundi, ex quo Deus Adam de limo terræ plasmavit, per omnes libros veteris et novi Testamenti, et Romanorum Græcorúmque Historias discurrens, optima quæque collegit, et, enumeratis annis per Regum et Consulum tempora, usque in diem mortis suæ annalem Historiam laudabilitèr distinxit. Quem prosecutus Joannes acta ferè centum annorum contexuit, jussúque Venerabilis Vulstani Pontificis et Monachi, supradictis Chronicis inseruit: in quibus multa de Romanis, et Francis, et Alemannis, aliísque gentibus quæ agnovit, utilitèr et compendiosè narratione dignâ reseravit. In his utique Chronicis continentur omnes Judices et Reges, Pontificésque Hebræorum à Moyse usque ad subversionem Hierosolymorum, dum sub Tito et Vespasiano, pro nece Salvatoris et Martyrum ejus, justè destructum est regnum Judæorum. Omnes ibi nominantur Consules et Dictatores, Imperatores et Pontifices Romanorum. Omnes quoque Reges, qui regno Angliæ præfuerunt, ex quo Hengist et Horsa Wortigerno Regi Britanniæ, scandalo Guallum, militaverunt. His etiam Episcopi Chronicis annotati sunt, qui regimen Ecclesiasticum in Angliâ tenuerunt, ex quo Gregorius Papa Augustinum et Mellitum, alióque Prædicatores verbi Dei, in Angliam misit; per quos Deus Adelburtum, Regem Cantiæ, et Eduinum, Regem Nordanhymbrorum, alióque Principes ejusdem gentis, ad fidem veritatis perduxit. Ex his Opusculis Engelburtus * Gemblacensis Monachus quædam præclara decerpsit, et multa de his, quæ de Insulanis Oceani scripta erant, in eisdem Insulis dimisit; et nihilominùs de Gothis, et Hunis, ac Persis, aliísque barbaris gentibus multa adjecit. Hæc ideò huic Chartæ gratìs indidi ut istos Codices avidi Lectores inquirant sibi; quia magnum sapientiæ fructum ferunt, et vix inveniri

William of Poictiers, and the historical poem concerning the battle of *Senlac*, or "*Hastings*, written by *Guy*, bishop of Amiens." The construction is as follows. *Deprompsit ea quæ Mariani Scoti Chronicis adjecit de rege Guillelmo et de rebus quæ sub eo vel sub filiis ejus, Guillelmo Rufo et Henrico, usque hodiè contigerunt, ea omnia deprompsit in his supradictis scriptoribus, Guillelmo Pictavino et Guidone, Episcopo Ambianensi.*

niri possunt. A modernis enim editi sunt, et adhuc passim per orbem diffusi non sunt. Unum eorum Wigornæ vidi in Angliâ, et alterum Cameraco in Lotharingiâ. Familiaritèr ostendit illìc mihi Fulbertus, prudens Abbas Cœnobii sancti Sepulchri, quod in Septentrionali Cameraci studio ædificatum est, ac sumptibus Liberti, ejusdem urbis Episcopi, ubi idem Præsul honorificè meruit sepeliri.

Ad requiem jam fessus anhelo, Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, quam de contemporaneis et collimitaneis Principibus atque Didascalis veraci deprompsi calamo, primum Libellum hìc terminare dispono. In sequentibus verò latiùs de Rege Guillelmo differam, miseràsque mutationes Anglorum et Normannorum sine adulatione referam: nullius remunerationis à victoribus seu victis expetens honorificentiam.

ORDERICI VITALIS
ANGLIGENÆ,
COENOBII UTICENSIS
MONACHI,
ECCLESIASTICÆ HISTORIÆ,
LIBER QUARTUS.

TEMPORIBUS Alexandri secundi Papæ plurima per Orbem regna calamitatibus concussa sunt; et multiplices populorum concursus in sui perniciem debacchati sunt. Hæc in Occiduis partibus terrigenæ senserunt, et gravia subeuntes detrimenta nimìs experti sunt. Defunctis enim optimis Regibus HENRICO, Rege Francorum, et EDVARDO, Anglorum, Franci et Angli diu luxerunt funus eorum, quia post illos vix adepti sunt dominos illis consimiles virtutibus et nectare morum. Patribus patriæ de medio sublatis, successêre Tyranni abutentes freno regiæ dominationis. Anglia tunc Heraldi sævitiâ perjurióque polluta corruit: et, genuinis heredibus orbata, externis prædonibus, Guillelmo victori faventibus, subjacuit, unde flebile thema de suâ ruinâ piis Historiographis ad dictamen tribuit.

Copiosam faciendi plures libros materiam eloquentes Sophistæ habuerunt, qui Regis GUILLELMI Curiæ diutiùs interfuerunt, et gesta ejus ac varios et præclaros eventus, ac intima et profunda consilia noverunt, et, divitiarum ejus participes, ultrà natales suos admodùm promoti sunt. Ecclesiæ nempe, quæ sub eo, vel ab eo, ad laudem Dei, in Neustriâ vel Angliâ factæ sunt, devotionis ejus largitatísque in Dei cultu laudabile testimonium afferunt, boníque studii exemplum imitabile posteris pariunt. Cœnobia quoque plurima devotè construxit, et ab ipso vel ab aliis condita multùm emendavit, multimodísque gazis tripudians ditavit, et patrocinio suo contrà omnes adversarios defensavit. Hæc utique palàm attestantur in duobus Monasteriis Cœnobitæ Cadomenses: in uno Monachi,

Pietas et Liberalitas Guillelmi in construendis et dotandis Ecclesiis et Monasteriis.

et

et in altero Sanctimoniales. Hæc duo Cœnobia in Ducatu adhuc, æterno Regi favens, ædificaverat: in quorum uno sibi, et in altero conjugi suæ, sepulturam elegerat.

Fundat Abbatiæ, dictam *De Bello*, apud *Senlac*, ubi Anglos devicerat.

Postquam bello peracto fortitèr hostes subegit, et diadema regium apud Lundoniam suscepit, Cœnobium sanctæ Trinitati *Senlac*, ubi bellum factum est, construxit: et multis opibus vel fundis (ut decet regalem munificentiam) ditavit. Ibi Goisbertum, Majoris-Monasterii religiosum Monachum [w], Abbatem constituit: quo monitore Monasticus Ordo et regularis disciplina commodè viguit. Majus enim Monasterium à sanctissimo Martino, Turonorum Archiepiscopo, cœptum est, ibíque bonorum hominum religio crevit, inspirante Deo, et multiplicata est. Nostris temporibus Albertus et Bartholomæus, Bernardus et Hilgotus, ac Guillelmus Nanticensis, Abbates huic Monasterio præfuerunt, qui sanctitate et probitate multis profuerunt, et, longè latéque famosi, vicinis et externis virilitèr micuerunt. Post obitum Goisberti Henricus, Cantuariensis Prior, Abbatis officium suscepit, et Bellense Cœnobium honorificè tenuit. Quo defuncto Rodulfus, Roffensis Prior, Monachúsque Cadomensis, successit: studióque sanctitatis et salutaris doctrinæ sibi multísque coëssentibus prodesse fategit: et bonâ in senectute spiritualibus studiis fervidus adhuc insistit. Tandem anno Henrici Regis Anglorum xxv. religiosus senex felicitèr ad Deum transiit è mundo.

De hujus abbatiæ tribus primis abbatibus.

Prudentia et moderatio Guillelmi in initio regni sui.

Guillelmus Rex multa Lundoniæ, postquam coronatus est, prudentèr, justè, clementérque disposuit: quædam ad ipsius civitatis commoda vel dignitatem, alia quæ genti proficerent universæ: nonnulla quibus consuleretur Ecclesiis terræ. Jura quæcumque dictavit, optimis rationibus sanxit [x]. Judicium rectum nulla persona nequicquam ab eo postulavit.

[w] *Majoris monasterii religiosum monachum.* That is, a monk of the monastery of *Maire-Monstier*, or *Maire-Moutier*, a little to the north of the river *Loire*, and the city of *Tours*. See Bleau's Atlas, and Du Chesne's History of England, written in French; the second edition, printed at Paris, in the year 1634, page 433.

[x] *Jura quæcunque dictavit, optimis rationibus sanxit.* This seems to mean, "That "he made some laws, or edicts, at this time for the preservation of the peace of the "kingdom, and that he set forth, in the preambles of them, such strong reasons for "making them, as gave every body satisfaction." The legislative power he exercised on this occasion, seems to have been exercised by him alone, without the concurrence of any parliament, or assembly of the great men of the kingdom, either English or Normans.

vit[y]. Neminem, nisi quem non damnare iniquum foret, damnavit. Suis quoque Primatibus dignâ se et gravitate præcepit, et diligentiâ æquitatem suasit. "Esse jugitèr in oculis habendum æternum Regem, cujus vicerint "præsidio. Nimiùm opprimi victos non oportère, victoribus professione "Christianâ pares; ne quos justè subegerint, injuriis ad rebellandum coge-"rent." Seditiones interdixit, cædem et omnem rapinam; frænans, ut populos armis, ita legibus arma. Tributis et cunctis rebus ad regium fiscum reddendis, modum, qui non gravaret, imposuit[z]. Latrociniis, invasionibus, maleficiis locum omnem intrà suos terminos denegavit. Portus et quælibet itinera negociatoribus patere; et nullam injuriam fieri jussit. Sic omninò proba ejus in regnando initia fuêre, et incrementa probitatum ad utilitatem subditorum liquidò fulsêre, quæ in bonis perseverantia laudabilisque finis evidentibus signis confirmavêre.

Erigit munitiones in Lundoniâ ad cives in obedientiâ continendos.

Egressus Lundoniâ Rex dies aliquot in propinquo loco Bertingis morabatur, dum firmamenta quædam in urbe contrà mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur[a]. Edvinus et Morcarus, filii Elfgari Comitis, ferè omnium Anglorum genere ac potentiâ maximi, ad Regem veniunt, veniámque, si quâ in re contrà eum senserint, poscunt, & se cunctáque sua ejus clementiæ tradunt. Deinde Coxo, Comes, fortitudine et probitate singularis, et Turchillus de Limis, Siwardus & Aldredus, filii Edelgari pronepotis Regis, Edricus quoque cognomento Guilda, id est silvaticus, nepos Edrici, pestiferi Ducis cognomento Streone, id est acquisitoris, aliique complures nobiles et opibus ampli Guillelmo pacificantur: datísque sacramentis omnes possessiones suas

Clementia ejus versùs Angliæ optimates.

C c 2 cum

[y] *Judicium rectum nulla persona nequicquam ab eo postulavit.* This passage relates to the king's conduct in a judicial capacity. He appears to have heard and decided causes himself: and he is said to have decided them justly and impartially.

[z] *Tributis et cunctis rebus ad regium fiscum reddendis, modum, qui non gravaret, imposuit.* By this passage it appears that king William at this time exercised the power of imposing taxes on his English subjects: and he is said to have done it with moderation. But whether he was warranted in so doing by the example of his predecessors on the throne of England, or took the advantage of the depressed condition of the English to assume to himself this authority, is not clear.

[a] *Dum firmamenta quædam in urbe contrà mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur.* This was probably the first beginning of the Tower of London.

cum honore adipiſcuntur [b]. Rex indè progrediens diverſas regni partes acceſſit, et ubique utilia ſibi et incolis terræ ordinavit. Cuſtodes in caſtellis ſtrenuos viros ex Gallis collocavit; et opulenta beneficia, pro quibus labores & pericula libentèr tolerarent, diſtribuit.

Arcem conſtruit apud urbem *Guentam*, ſive *Winchester*.

Intrà mœnia Guentæ, opibus et munimine nobilis urbis et mari contiguæ, validam arcem conſtruxit [c]; ibíque Guillermum, Oſberni filium, in exercitu ſuo præcipuum, reliquit: eúmque vice ſuâ toti regno verſùs Aquilonem præeſſe conſtituit. Doveram verò totámque Cantiam fratri ſuo commendavit, qui multâ liberalitate et induſtriâ ſeculari pollebat. His duobus præfecturam Angliæ commiſit, et cum eis Hugonem de Grentemaiſnilio, et Hugonem de Monteforti, Guillelmúmque de Garennâ, alióſque acerrimos bellatores dimiſit. Quidam eorum ſubjectos laudabilitèr rexerunt: nonnulli verò, modeſtiâ carentes, immoderatè ſuos oppreſſerunt.

Et præfecturam, ſive cuſtodiam, totius Angliæ committit Guillelmo, Oſberni filio, et Odoni, Epiſcopo Bajocenſi.

Deinde redit in Normanniam menſe Martio, A. D. 1067.

Rex itaque, curâ regni commiſſâ, Peneveſellum ſe recepit: ubi multus ad eum equitatus Anglorum convenit. Ibi militibus repatriantibus largâ manu ſtipendia data ſunt [d]. Solutis itaque navibus menſe Martio

[b] *Datíſque ſacramentis omnes poſſeſſiones ſuas cum honore adipiſcuntur.* Here we ſee that king William confirmed to great numbers of the Engliſh nobility and gentry the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, upon their taking the oath of allegiance to him. Yet the author tells us immediately after, that he gave large eſtates, *opulenta beneficia*, to his faithful Norman, or French, captains, whom he appointed to command the garriſons of the caſtles he had lately erected, in order to induce them to undergo with chearfulneſs the fatigues and dangers which they might be expoſed to in defending them. Now it may be thought that this paſſage is inconſiſtent with the former, ſince, if he left the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, he could not have had any to give away to theſe faithful Normans. I ſuppoſe therefore that he confiſcated the eſtates of thoſe perſons who had fought againſt him at the battle of Haſtings, and gave many of them to his Norman captains, and that he only left thoſe Engliſh in poſſeſſion of their eſtates who had not been in arms againſt him, and who came and ſubmitted to him, and ſwore allegiance to him. And further, he might give theſe Norman captains ſome parts of the lands belonging to the crown.

[c] *Intrà mœnia Guentæ——validam arcem conſtruxit.* Here we ſee the beginning of Wincheſter Caſtle, as a little before we ſaw the beginning of the Tower of London. There ſeem to have been but few caſtles in England before the Norman conqueſt. There were, however, ſome; as, for example, Dover Caſtle, which earl Harold, when he was in Normandy in the ſummer of the year 1065, had promiſed duke William to deliver into his hands when the duke ſhould come to take poſſeſſion of the crown of England, upon king Edward the Confeſſor's death.

[d] *Ibi militibus repatriantibus largâ manu ſtipendia data ſunt.* The word *ſtipendia* probably means *ſums of money*, and not *landed eſtates*, which in the paſſage above mentioned he had termed *opulenta beneficia*.

Martio Rex Guillelmus in altricem terram prosperè pervehitur, secúmque honorificè adduxit Stigaudum Archipræsulem, Edgarum Adelinum, Edvardi Regis consobrinum, et tres clarissimos Comites, Edvinum, Morcarum, et Guallevum; Egelnodum quoque, Cantuariensem Satrapam, aliósque complures altæ nobilitatis et miræ pulchritudinis. Benignâ calliditate est usus, ut ipsis auctoribus nihil sub decessum suum novaretur, gens verò tota minùs ad rebellionem valeret spoliata Principibus. Denique divitias suas et honores eis in Normanniâ ostendit; ut eos, velut obsides, in potestate suâ secum teneret, quorum auctoritas vel salus propinquis et compatriotis maximi esset.

Et secum adducit in Normanniam plurimos Anglorum Proceres.

Adveniente Guillelmo Rege cum magnâ seculari gloriâ, admodùm tota lætata est Normannia. Dies erant hiberni et quadragesimales: sed in Episcopiis et Cœnobiis, ubi novus veniebat Rex, initiabantur Paschalia festa [e]. Nihil relinquebatur, quod in studio talis honorificentiæ agi solitum est. Prætereà, si quid novum adinveniri potuit, addebatur. Quam pietatem ipse confestìm multiplici dono recompensavit: donans pallia, libras auri, aliáque magna altaribus famulísque Christi. Ecclesias autem, quas præsentiâ suâ non visitavit, muneribus missis lætificavit.

Magna lætitia Normannorum.

Ad Cœnobium sanctæ Trinitatis Fiscanni Pascha celebravit [f], ubi frequentia Præsulum et Abbatum, nobiliúmque virorum convenit. Tunc Radulfus Comes, Philippi Regis Francorum victricus [g], multáque nobilitas Franciæ affuit: et crinigeros Anglicæ Britanniæ alumnos curiosé

Guillelmus celebrat Pascha apud Fiscannum, in presentiâ multorum Franciæ nobilium.

[e] *Dies erant hiberni et quadragesimales: sed in Episcopiis et Cœnobiis, ubi novus veniebat Rex, initiabantur Paschalia festa.* I take the meaning of this passage to be as follows. It was in the winter season, and during the solemn and religious time of Lent, (which good Christians usually pass in fasting and prayer) that the new king of England passed over into Normandy: yet such was the joy throughout all that dukedom, upon the wonderful success of his expedition, that in all the bishops sees, and all the monasteries that he visited, these rules of abstinence were laid aside upon his arrival, and the feastings that were usual at the joyful season of Easter, were substituted in their stead, to make him welcome.

[f] *Ad Cœnobium sanctæ Trinitatis Fiscanni Pascha celebravit.* The place here called *Fiscanni* is called *Fecan* in Bleau's Atlas. It is situated on the sea-coast of Normandy, about half-way between Havre-de-Grace, or the mouth of the river Seine, and the sea-port town of Dieppe.

[g] *Radulfus Comes, Philippi, Regis Francorum, victricus.* This great earl Radulfus was earl of *Mante*, upon the river Seine. See above, page 161, note [x].

curiosè intuebatur: et Regis Regiorúmque satellitum indumenta intexta atque crustata auro mirabatur. Vasa verò aurea vel argentea, seu bubalina cornua, fulvo metallo circà extremitates utrásque decorata, laude attollebat. Denique plurima hujuscemodi competentia regali magnificentiæ Franci magna notabant, quæ reversi domum ob novitatem prædicarent [h].

Primo die Maii dedicari facit Ecclesiam beatæ Virgini Mariæ apud Divam; et

Celebratâ Paschæ solemnitate, Rex dedicari basilicam sanctæ Mariæ super Divam præcepit, ubi ipse cum magno cœtu Optimatum et mediocrium kalendis Maii reverentèr interfuit: et utilissima totius populi commoditati edicta sub voce præconis promulgavit [i]. Deinde kalendis Julii

[h] *Denique plurima hujuscemodi competentia regali magnificentiæ Franci magna notabant, quæ, reversi domum, ob novitatem prædicarent.* Here the rich dresses, and gold and silver plate, and other ornamental furniture, brought over by king William from England, are represented as exciting great astonishment, from their novelty, in the first nobility of France: which agrees with the account of William of Poictiers, given above in page 157. Yet it seems rather surprizing that England should at this time have abounded more in riches than France. It proves that the trade of England must have been, even at this early period, very considerable; as, indeed, *Pictaviensis* says it was. See above, page 159.

[i] *Celebratâ Paschæ solemnitate, Rex dedicari Basilicam sanctæ Mariæ super Divam præcepit, ubi ipse cum magno cœtu optimatum et mediocrium kalendis Maii reverentèr interfuit: et utilissima totius populi commoditati edicta sub voce præconis promulgavit.* Here we see that, after king William had kept the feast of Easter with great magnificence at *Fecan*, he went to the river *Dive* (which lies a good deal to the west of the great river Seine, and somewhat east of the river Orne, on which the city of Caen is situated) and there laid the foundations of a church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, on the first Day of May,. A.D. 1067. This he did in the presence of a great assembly of people, both of the nobles of Normandy [optimatum] and of persons of the middle rank of life, or the gentry [mediocrium]. And he here made several edicts (which he caused to be proclaimed by the public crier) of great importance and use to the people of Normandy.

Now it should seem, from the manner in which this passage is expressed, that these edicts were made by the single authority of the king, as duke of Normandy; and, if so, it will follow that he was possessed of compleat legislative authority in Normandy, or was an absolute prince there. Yet, from other passages in the authors of this age, it seems probable, that the consent of the nobles of Normandy, or *optimates*, and likewise of the bishops, was necessary to the making of new laws. And, as the *optimates* are said to have been present with the duke on this occasion in great numbers, it is possible that they concurred in making the useful edicts here spoken of. *Ideò quære.*

Julii Ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ apud Gemmeticum[k] dedicari præcepit, et ipse sacro mysterio veneranter affuit. Utramque nimirùm ex prædiis dominii sui largitèr dotavit, suáque præsentiâ, dum sanctum mysterium celebraretur, devotè sublimavit. Maurilius cum suffraganeis Episcopis hanc dedicationem humilitèr et devotè perpetravit: et paulò post duodecimo Episcopatûs sui anno in lectum decubuit. Peracto autem quicquid religioso Dei vernulæ competit, v. Idus Augusti ad Deum (cui diù servierat) migravit. Corpus verò ejus in Episcopali Ecclesiâ (quam ipse ante v. annos Indictione I. sanctæ Dei genitrici Mariæ dedicaverat) delatum est; et ante crucifixum honorificè tumulatum est. Epitaphium autem ejus à Ricardo, Herluini filio, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Canonico, editum est, et super ipsum in cupri laminis ex auro sic scriptum est.

primo die Julii Ecclesiam apud Gemmeticum.

Maurilius, Archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, moritur mense Augusto, A. D. 1067.

Humani cives, lacrymam nolite negare
Vestro Pontifici Maurilio Monacho.
Hunc Remis genuit, studiorum Legia nutrix
Potavit trifido fonte Philosophico[l].
Vobis hanc ædem cœptam perduxit ad unguem,
Lætitiâ magnâ fecit et encenia.
Cùm tibi, Laurenti, vigilat plebs sobria Christi,
Transit, et in cælis laurea festa colit.

Post

[k] ——*apud Gemmeticum. Gemmeticum* is situated on the lower part of the great river Seine, on the east side of it, much to the north of *Roan*, or *Roüen*. In *Bleau's* Atlas it is called *Jumege*. It is sometimes also spelt *Jumieges*.

[l] *Potavit trifido fonte Philosophico.* The word *Potavit* is here used in the sense of *implevit*, or *implevit potu*, that is, filled him, or supplied him, with large draughts of science, or philosophy. The expression *trifido fonte Philosophico* alludes to the three branches of learning then usually taught in monasteries and universities, to wit, *Grammar*, *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*.

The curious reader will probably be pleased with the perusal of the following passage from the Continuation of Ingulphus's History of Crowland Abbey, written by *Petrus Blesensis*, or Peter of Blois, in the reign of king Henry I. in which the author gives us an account of the first rise of the University of Cambridge, which was owing to a deputation of three learned French, or Norman, or other foreign monks from Crowland Abbey, namely, Friar *Odo*, Friar *Terrick*, and Friar *William*, who were sent by Joffrid, Abbot of Crowland, to his Manor of *Cottenham*, near *Cambridge*, to teach the young people in the neighbourhood Grammar, Logick, and Rhetorick.

Post mortem Antistitis sui Rotomagensis Ecclesia Lanfrancum, Cadomensem Abbatem, sibi Præsulem elegit: et Rex Guillelmus, cum Optimatibus suis, omníque populo, libentissimè concessit [m]. Sed vir Deo devotus,

Rhetorick. These three monks went every day from *Cottenham* to *Cambridge*, and there hired a barn, in which they taught those sciences to a great number of scholars, who resorted to them not only from the town of Cambridge, but from all the country in the neighbourhood. This passage is as follows. *Transmisit etiàm [Joffridus] ad manerium suum de Cotenham juxtà Cantabrigiam Dominum Gislebertum, commonachum suum et Sacræ Theologiæ Professorem, cum aliis tribus Monachis qui secuti eum in Angliam, Philosophicis Theorematibus et aliis scientiis primitivis instructissimi quotidiè Cantabrigiam adeuntes, et, conducto quodam borreo publico, suas scientias palàm profitentes, in brevi temporis excursu grandem discipulorum numerum contraxerunt. Anno verò secundo adventûs illorum tantùm accrevit discipulorum numerus tàm ex totâ patriâ quàm ex oppido, quod quælibet domus maxima, horreum, nec ulla Ecclesia sufficeret eorum receptaculo. Unde diversis in locis à se divisi, & formam Aurelianensis studii sequuti, summo mane frater Odo, Grammaticus et satyricus illo tempore singularis, pueris et junioribus sibi assignatis legebat Grammaticam juxtà Prisciani doctrinam et Remigii in eundem. Ad horam verò primam frater Terricus, acutissimus sophista, logicam Aristotelis juxtà Porphyrii et Aviroiz Isagogas et commenta adolescentioribus tradebat. Ad horam verò tertiam frater Wilelmus Rhetoricam Tullii Quintilianique flores perorabat. Magister verò Gislebertus omnibus Dominicis diebus et sanctorum festis in diversis Ecclesiis verbum Dei ad populum prædicans, rudis in Anglicanâ linguâ, sed expeditus et profundus in Latinâ et Gallicanâ suâ, contrà Judaicum errorem maximè disputabat. Ferialibus diebus litteratis ac sacerdotibus ad ejus auditorium specialiùs confluentibus ante sextam horam textum sacræ paginæ exponebat. Cúmque nonnulli increduli, et adhuc Judaicâ perfidiâ cæcati, ad ejus verba in sinum Matris Ecclesiæ, relicto penitùs suo pristino errore, compuncti accurrerunt, et fides Christiana indies solidior quotidiè firmaretur: non modicum commodum eorum industriâ Monasterio affluxit, in tantum quod nihil onerantes Manerium, sed multum meliorantes, aliquo anno Centum Marcas ad ædificationem suæ Ecclesiæ transmissas ab illis partibus computarent. Maximè ipso venerabili Abbate Joffrido in partibus illis suos filios visitante, et sermonem suo more ad populum luculentissimè personante, viri et mulieres innumeri de vicis oppidi concurrebant; qui licet Latinè vel Gallicè loquentem illum minimè intelligerent, tamen intendentes ad illum, virtute verbi Dei, et gratiâ vultûs sui ad lacrimas multoties compuncti, ad reædificationem suæ Ecclesiæ nuper concrematæ, quam semper in conclusione sermonis ingerebat, innumeras eleemosynas erogabant. Semper etiàm tres vel quatuor finito sermone sua vestigia sequentes et nusquam divertentes, tàm Laicos quàm literatos vel suo Conventui incorporavit, vel vicinis Monasteriis, Burgo, Thorney, et aliquoties locis remotioribus Monachandos cum suâ epistolâ commendavit. Ex isto itaque fonte parvo qui crevit in fluvium jam magnum, videmus nunc lætificatam Civitatem Dei, et totam Angliam factam frugiferam per plurimos Magistros et Doctores de Cantabrigiâ exeuntes ad similitudinem sanctissimi Paradisi.* This was about A. D. 1110, or 1111. See Gale's Collection of Writers of English History, Vol. I. pages 114, 115.

[m] *Post mortem Antistitis sui, Rotomagensis Ecclesia Lanfrancum, Cadomensem Abbatem, sibi Præsulem elegit: et rex Guillelmus, cum optimatibus suis omníque populo, libentissimè concessit.* Here we see that, after the death of *Maurilius*, archbishop of *Roan*, the church

devotus, et humilitati studens, tanti Primatûs sarcinam refutavit; et sibi ad hunc apicem toto conatu Joannem, Abrincatensium Præsulem, præferre sategit. Porrò ut Canonicè fieret ista conjugatio, Romam adiit, prædictæ ordinationis licentiam ab Alexandro Papâ impetravit [a]: sacrum quoque

church of Roan elected *Lanfrank* (at that time abbot of Caen in Normandy) to be his successor in the archbishoprick of Roan: and king William, with his nobles and people, consented to, or confirmed, the election.

This narrative gives occasion to the following questions, which I do not well know how to answer.—First, Who are the persons meant by the expression *Ecclesia Rotomagensis*, or *the church of Roan?* Does it mean the parochial clergy of the diocese of Roan; or the dean and prebendaries, or canons, or other body of clergy, settled at the cathedral church of Roan? I conjecture that it means the latter.—Secondly, How is this account of the election of an archbishop of Roan by the church of Roan, with the subsequent confirmation of him by king William, as duke of Normandy, to be reconciled with the account given above by *Pictaviensis* of the appointment of Maurilius to the same archbishoprick in the year 1055, by *the sole authority of duke William?* See above, page 100, note [a]. Are we to suppose that, in the case of Maurilius, the duke used his interest with the clergy of the church of Roan to prevail with them to elect *Maurilius*, (though nothing of this kind is hinted by *Pictaviensis*) and that he afterwards confirmed the election, as in this latter case of Lanfrank? Or what else are we to suppose to make these passages consistent with each other? For my part, I am unable to reconcile them.—In the third place, it may be asked, Whether the nobles and people of Normandy had any share, conjointly with the king, in confirming the election of Lanfrank by the church of Roan, (as the words *et rex Guillelmus, cum optimatibus suis omnique populo, libentissimè concessit*, seem to imply,) or whether the author only means to say that the nobles and people of Normandy, that were present with king William in great numbers on that occasion, very much approved and applauded the choice the church of Roan had made, but without any authority to give it a legal confirmation. I imagine the author means only the latter, because I do not recollect any instance, in these ages, of a confirmation of the election of a bishop, or archbishop, by the nobles and people of the country; but yet the words seem rather to convey the former meaning. *Ideò quære.*

[a] *Porrò, ut Canonicè fieret ista conjugatio, Romam adiit, prædictæ ordinationis licentiam ab Alexandro Papâ impetravit.* The meaning is, "That, in order to make the *union*, "or *marriage*, of the said John, bishop of *Avranches*, with the archi-episcopal see of Roan, regular and canonical, the said John went to Rome, and obtained the confirmation of Pope Alexander. The word *conjugatio* relates to the union between the new-elected archbishop of Roan and his church, or the see of Roan, and not to his holding the archbishoprick of Roan together with his former bishoprick of *Avranches*: for this he did not do; our author informing us in the next page, that one *Michael*, an Italian, a man of great learning and piety, was made bishop of *Avranches* in his stead.

quoque pallium, unde et ipſi et toti Normanniæ gloriandum erat, cum licentiâ deportavit.

Johannes, Epiſcopus Abrincatenſis, ei ſuccedit.

"Johannes itaque de Sede Abrincatenſi, quam vii. annis et iii. menſibus rexerat, aſſumptus eſt: et Metropolitanus Rotomagenſis factus eſt. Hic ardore virtutum in verbis et operibus multiplicitèr fervebat, nimióque zelo in vitia, ut Phinees, ſæviebat. Quantum verò ad ſeculi dignitatem attinet, magnæ nobilitatis lampade cluebat. Erat enim filius Radulphi, Comitis Baiocenſium, qui frater fuerat uterinus Ricardi ſenioris, Ducis Normannorum [o]. Decèm itaque annis Metropolitanum regimen fortitèr et diligentèr geſſit: multúmque contrà impudicos Preſbyteros pro auferendis pellicibus laboravit [p]: à quibus dum in Synodo concubinas eis ſub anathemate prohiberet, lapidibus percuſſus aufugit, fugiénſque de Eccleſiâ, *Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam,* fortitèr clamavit.

In

[o] *Erat enim filius Radulphi, Comitis Baiocenſium, qui frater fuerat uterinus Ricardi ſenioris, Ducis Normannorum.* This John, the new-appointed archbiſhop of Roan, was the ſon of *Radulphus,* or *Ralph,* or *Rodulph,* who was half-brother to Richard I. duke of Normandy, being the ſon of the ſame mother, *Sprota* (the widow of duke William, ſurnamed *Long-ſword*) by a rich Norman of the name of *Aſperling.* See above, page 151, note [r]. This earl Rodulph is here called earl of *Bayeux*; but in *Wilhelmus Gemmeticenſis,* lib. 7, cap. 38, he is called earl of *Jureium,* from the caſtle of *Jureium,* which was given him by his half-brother, duke Richard I. as a reward of his valour. I cannot find the name of *Jureium,* or any name like it, in *Blaeu*'s Map of Normandy: but, from our author's calling this *Rodulph* earl of *Bayeux, comes Baiocenſium,* it ſeems probable that *Jureium* (of which he was alſo called earl) was ſomewhere in the *Beſſin,* or diſtrict of *Bayeux*; perhaps a little to the eaſt of the river *Vire.*

A daughter of this earl *Rodulph* had married *Oſbern de Crepon,* and by him was the mother of the famous William Fitz-Oſbern, or Fitz-Oſborn, who had ſo great a ſhare in the conqueſt of England: ſo that this John, archbiſhop of Roan, was uncle to that great warriour. He was alſo firſt couſin to Richard II. duke of Normandy, who was father to both Richard III. and Robert I. ſucceſſively dukes of Normandy, and grand-father to William the Conquerour.

[p] —— *pro auferendis pellicibus laboravit.* The word *pellicibus* here, probably, means the wives of the parochial clergy, whom the Pope and the biſhops of the church of Rome denominated their *miſtreſſes,* becauſe they had made canons to prohibit the clergy from marrying. But it appears by this paſſage that the clergy had not at this time paid obedience to theſe canons, but were reſolved to keep their wives in ſpite of them. And it was not till fifty, or ſixty, years, or more, after this time, A. D. 1067, that the celibacy of the parochial clergy became generally eſtabliſhed.

In loco ejus Michaël, natione Italicus, eruditione literarum imbutus, studio religionis venerandus, ad culmen Abrincatensis Episcopatûs electione legitimâ est promotus [q]. Qui plus quàm xx. annis laudabilis Pastor floruit, et Rodberti Ducis tempore beatus senex obiit. Quo defuncto Turgisus successit: jámque Præsulatum fermè xxx. annis tenuit [r].

De Successoribus hujus Johannis in Ecclesiâ Abrincatensi.

Intereà Normannico fastu Angli opprimuntur, et [à] Præsidibus superbis, qui Regis monitus spernebant, admodùm injuriabantur. Præfecti minores, qui munitiones custodiebant, nobiles et mediocres indigenas injustis exactionibus multísque contumeliis aggravabant. Odo nimirùm Episcopus, et Guillelmus, Osberni filius, nimiâ cervicositate tumebant, et clamores Anglorum rationabilitèr audire, eísque æquitatis lance suffragari despiciebant. Nam armigeros suos, immodicas prædas et incestos raptus facientes, vi tuebantur [s]; et supèr eos, qui gravibus

Normanni milites in Angliâ et Justiciarii Anglos opprimunt.

[q] *In loco ejus Michäel, natione Italicus, eruditione litterarum imbutus, ad culmen Abrincatensis Episcopatûs electione legitimâ est promotus.* Here we see that *Michael*, an Italian by birth, a man of great learning and piety, was promoted to the bishoprick of *Avranches* by *a lawful election*. This is another proof that bishops were not appointed at this time in Normandy by the sole authority of the duke of Normandy. For the words *electione legitimâ* can hardly be supposed to mean such an appointment of them. Yet how to reconcile this account, of their being elected to their bishopricks, with the account given above by *Pictaviensis* in page 100, of their being appointed to them by duke William, I know not.

[r] *——jámque præsulatum fermè trigintà annis tenuit.* By this passage it appears that Ordericus Vitalis wrote this part of his history about 50 years after the conquest of England, or about A. D. 1116, which was about the middle of the reign of king Henry I.

[s] *Intereà Normannico fastu Angli opprimuntur, &c.——Nam armigeros suos, immodicas prædas et incestos raptus facientes, vi tuebantur.* This account of the insolent and oppressive behaviour of the Norman officers towards the English is probably true, notwithstanding what *Pictaviensis* says to the contrary. See above, pages 165, 166, 167, note [s]. And it is confirmed by a passage of *Eadmerus*, (a very respectable writer, who lived in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. the conquerour's successors) which is very remarkable. For he there says, that many of the Normans were so elated with their great victory over the English, that they were not contented with robbing them of their lands and goods, but committed rapes on the English women of all conditions, the married as well as the unmarried, whenever they had an opportunity: and that, in consequence of this inordinate behaviour, many of the better sort of English women threw themselves into convents for protection, and became nuns. The passage is

Angli, his injuriis permoti, rebellare contrà eos moliuntur.

*Subaudi nuncios.

gravibus contumeliis affecti querimonias agebant, magis debacchabantur. Amissâ itaque libertate Angli vehementèr ingemiscunt, et vicissim "qualitèr intolerabile jugum sibique hactenùs insolitum excutiant" subtilitèr inquirunt. Igitur ad Suenum, Regem Danorum,* dirigunt, atque ut regnum Angliæ, quod Suenus et Chunutus, avi ejus, armis obtinuerunt, reposcat, expetunt. Ultrò in exilium aliqui profugiunt, quo extorres vel à potestate Normannorum sint liberi, vel, opibus alienis aucti, contrà eos ad reciduum certamen revertantur. Quidam autem ex eis, pulchræ juventutis flore vernantes, longinquas regiones adierunt, et militiæ Alexii, Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, sese audactèr obtulerunt. Erat enim multùm sapiens, et miræ dapsilitatis: contrà quem Rodbertus Wiscardus, Apuliæ Dux, cum suis omnibus arma levaverat in auxilium Michaëlis, quem Danai dè throno Imperiali expulerant indignatione Senatoriæ potestatis. Exules igitur Anglorum favorabilitèr à Græcis suscepti sunt, et Normannicis legionibus, quæ nimiùm Pelasgis adversabantur, oppositi sunt. Augustus Alexius urbem quæ Chevetot dicitur, Anglis ultrà Bizantium cœpit condere; sed, nimiùm infestantibus Normannis, eos ad urbem Regiam reduxit; et eisdem principale Palatium cum regalibus thesauris tradidit. Hâc itaque de causâ Saxones Angli Ioniam expetierunt, et ipsi ac hæredes eorum sacro Imperio fidelitèr famulati sunt: et cum magno honore inter Thraces, Cæsari et Senatui, populóque chari, usque nunc perstiterunt.

Quidam ex Anglis ad Alexium, Imperatorem Græcorum apud Constantinopolim, profugiunt, et ab eo benignè recipiuntur.

Multimodis

is in the third book of Eadmerus's *Historia Novorum*, or *History of his own Times*, page 57 of *Selden*'s edition, and is in the following words. *Nam quando ille magnus Willielmus hanc terram primò devicit, multi suorum, sibi pro tantâ victoriâ applaudentes, omniáque suis voluntatibus atque luxuriis obedire ac subdi debere autumantes, non solùm in possessiones victorum, sed in ipsas matronas et virgines, ubi eis facultas aspirabat, nefandâ libidine cœperunt insanire. Quod nonnullæ prævidentes, et suo pudori metuentes, monasteria virginum petivêre, acceptóque velo sese inter ipsas à tantâ infamiâ protexêre.* When the confusions that followed the conquest of England had in a great measure subsided, and peace and good order were re-established by the care and vigour of the conquerour's government, many of these ladies, who had thus become nuns to preserve their chastity, were desirous of leaving their monasteries, and returning to their families. And, by the advice and opinion of Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, (who thought that, as they had not embraced the monastick life through choice and a free preference of it to a secular life, but only through fear and a sort of necessity, their vows ought not to be considered as binding upon them) they were permitted to do so.

Multimodis Normannorum oppressionibus Angli ad rebellionem lacessiti, Boloniam legatos miserunt, et Eustachio Comiti, ut cum classe diligentèr militibus et armis instructâ ad suscipiendam Doveram acceleraret, mandaverunt. Olìm cum eodem inimicitias ingentes habuerant: sed nunc (quia simultates inter illum et Regem insurrexerant, eúmque bellandi peritum et in prælio felicem experimentis cognoverant) pacem cum illo fecerunt: et munitionem Doveræ contrà Regem illi tradere conati sunt. Eustachius autem, suscepto Cantiorum veredario, classem paratam ascendit: noctísque conticinio (ut oppidum ex insperato præoccuparet) cum suis festinantèr transfretavit. Milites multos secum duxit, sed equos, præter admodùm paucos, reliquit. Vicinia omnis fuit armata, et maximè Cantiorum caterva, quæ toto nisu suffragari Eustachio erat conata. Præsul Bajocensis, et Hugo de Monteforti, qui primi munitionis custodes erant, ultrà flumen Tamesim abierant, et majorem partem militum secum duxerant. Auctior hostium numerus ex ulterioribus accederet, si biduana obsidio fieret. Sed cum hostes vehementèr impetum facere in oppidum molirentur, custodes ad defensandum reperti sunt, et ferventissimè, quâ locus poterat impugnari, restiterunt. Acerrimè per aliquas horas diei utrinque certatum est. Sed, dum Eustachius diffideret, eruptionémque propugnatorum, quâ turpiùs abigeretur, timeret: receptui ad naves cani signa jubet. Denique oppidani confestìm portas patefecerunt, avidéque et cautè sequentes novissimos conciderunt. Fugientes verò Bajocensem Episcopum cum agmine copioso subitò supervenisse rati sunt: eáque formidine velut amentes per aviæ rupis præcipitium se dejecerunt: et tali compendio, fœdiùs quàm ense virorum, perierunt. In illâ fugâ diversis generibus mortis multi periêre. Plerique abjectis armis, acumine saxeo exanimati sunt, nonnulli telo suo se sociósque suos unà labentes necârunt: et multi lethalitèr vulnerati, vel collisi, spirantes ad mare devoluti sunt. Plures etiàm, qui ad puppes properè anhelant, cum salutis nimiùm cupidi trepidant, suáque multitudine naves deprimunt, subitò submersi pereunt. Equites Normanni quantos consectari possunt, comprehendunt vel occidunt. Eustachium verò eripuit velocitas cornipedis, notitia tramitis, paratiórque navis. Ibi nobilissimus tyro, nepos ejus, captus est. Angli per diverticula plura evaserunt: quia pauci multos insequi per diversa Castellani nequiverunt.

Angli in Cantii comitatu legatum mittunt ad Eustachium, Boloniæ comitem, et castrum Doveræ illi tradere promittunt.

Custodes castri istius sese fortitèr contrà Eustachium et Anglos defendunt, et eos cum magnâ strage fugere cogunt.

Non

Eustachius, comes, Gulielmo regi reconciliatur.

Non multo post Eustachius Consul Willermo Regi reconciliatus est; ejúsque amicitiâ longo tempore postmodùm perfunctus est. Erat enim idem Comes magnæ nobilitatis, ex prosapiâ, scilicet, Caroli Magni, Francorum strenuissimi Regis. Erat quoque magnæ potestatis; utpóte sublimis Princeps trium Comitatuum, Boloniensis, Githnensis, * et Tarwanensis. Generosam et religiosam, nomine Ittam, habuit uxorem, Godefridi, Lotharingiæ Ducis, sororem: quæ peperit ei tres filios, Godefridum, Balduinum, et Eustachium [a]: et filiam, quæ nupsit quarto Henrico, Imperatori Alemannorum.

* Vel Guisnensis.

Alii ex Anglis perstant fideles regi Guillelmo; et præcipuè Coxo, comes illustris et potens.

Dum plurimi Anglorum pro amissâ libertate pristinâ, quam repetere peroptabant, machinarentur rebellionem, multi ex eâdem gente fuerunt Deo servantes fidem, et constitutum ab ipso venerantes Regem: præcepto domni Apostoli dicentis, *Deum timete, Regem honorificate.* Coxo itaque Comes, prosapiâ et potentatu inter Anglos præcelsus, animíque magìs singularitate prudentis et omninò honesti præcipuus, Guillelmo Regi fidelitèr favebat, et ejus causam multo favore probabat. Satellites verò sui ab eo dissidebant, quia factionum deterrimi fautores ac socii erant. Diversis igitùr modis eum appetebant, et precibus minísque ac obtestationibus invadebant, ut extraneos desereret, et bonorum hominum suæ nationis et consanguinitatis voluntati obsecundaret. Sed dum mens in tenore boni firmitèr fixa non posset à rectitudine dimoveri, concitatis contrà eum comprovincialibus per insidias occisus est pro integritate fidei. Sic asseruit casu suo vir eximius, quòd Majestas Domini sui semper chara debeat esse subjectis fidelibus.

Coxo, comes, ob eam causam, à quibusdam Anglis interficitur.

Tunc Addredus * Primas Eboracensis [b], alíique Pontifices quidam utilitati Regiæ intendebant, quia sapientis monitum scientes, æquitati obtemperabant.

* Adelredus. Aldredus, Archiepiscopus

[a] —*quæ peperit ei tres filios, Godefridum, Balduinum, et Eustachium.* The first of these three sons of Eustace, earl of Boulogne, was afterwards, in the year 1098, chosen king of Jerusalem, and is generally known by the name of *Godfrey of Boulogne.* And upon his death he was succeeded as king of Jerusalem, by his brother Baldwin. The third son, Eustace, (who probably was the eldest, though, by some negligence, he is here named last) succeeded his father as earl of Boulogne. He married Mary, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, by Margaret the sister of Edgar Atheling, and thereby he became brother-in-law to Henry I. king of England, who married Matilda; another daughter of the said Malcolm and Margaret.

[b] *Tunc Addredus, Primas Eboracensis, &c.* Here begins that part of Ordericus Vitalis's history which answers to that part of the history of *Gulielmus Pictaviensis* which is lost.

temperabant. *Time*, inquit, *Deum, fili mi, et Regem.* Tunc etiàm aliquot sapientissimi civium urbanorum, et nonnulli ex militibus ingenuis, quorum nomen et opes valebant, et multi ex plebeiis, contrà suos pro Normannis magnoperè insurgebant.

Eboracensis, et alii multi ex Anglis, regi Gulielmo perstant fideles.

Intereà Willelmus Rex dum moraretur in Normanniâ, tranquillitati ejus in longum prospiciebat sollicitudine maximâ. Justas leges et recta judicia ex consultu sapientum divitibus et pauperibus æquè sanxit [w]; optimósque Judices et Rectores per Provincias Neustriæ constituit. Sacra Cœnobia, et fundos illis datos, Regalibus privilegiis et tuitionibus ab injustis exactionibus liberavit. Omnibus, tam advenis quàm indigenis, pacem in totâ terrâ suâ præconis voce propalavit: et super fures ac seditiosos, patriæque quietis contemptores, graves justásque ultiones rigidè promulgavit.

Rex Gulielmus tranquillitati Normanniæ stabiliendæ sapientissimè providet.

Rumores interìm de transmarinis partibus diversi advolitabant, et, optatis molestia permiscentes, Regem inquietabant: et ex malevolentiâ Anglorum, cum nisu Danorum, aliarúmque barbararum gentium, magnam cladem Normannis orituram intimabant. Rex igitur Mathildi conjugi suæ, filióque suo Rodberto adolescenti [x], Principatum Neustriæ commisit, et cum eis Religiosos Præsules, et strenuos Proceres ad tuendam regionem dimisit. Deinde sextâ nocte Decembris ad ostium amnis Deppæ ultrà oppidum Archas accessit; primáque vigiliâ gelidæ noctis Austro vela dedit; et mane portum oppositi littoris

Et, commisso ejusdem ducatûs regimine Matildæ, uxori suæ, et Roberto, filio suo primogenito, in Angliam revertitur, Sextâ nocte Decembris, A.D. 1067.

[w] *Justas leges et recta judicia ex consultu sapientum divitibus et pauperibus æquè sanxit.* Here we see that king William, as duke of Normandy, made laws for that dutchy *ex consultu sapientum*, or by the advice of wise men. Here is no mention of *the consent* of these wise men, or of his nobles, or grandees, of Normandy: so that it should seem, from this passage, that he made these laws by his own single authority. Yet in other passages we find express mention made of the consent of the great men of the country to the new laws that were made. Perhaps therefore, what the king did on this occasion in Normandy might be only to issue proclamations to enforce the observance of the laws already in being. *Tamen quære.*

[x] *——filióque suo, Rodberto, adolescenti.* As king William had married his wife, Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, in the year 1053, his eldest son, Robert, was, probably, born in the year 1054, and therefore was about fourteen years of age at this time, or the end of the year 1067, when his father appointed him regent of Normandy in conjunction with his mother Matilda.

toris (quem Wicenesium vocitant [y]) prosperrimo cursu arripuit. Jam aura hiemalis mare sævissimum efficiebat: sed sancti Nicolai, Mirreorum Præsulis, solemnitatem Ecclesia Dei celebrabat, et in Normanniâ pro devoto Principe fidelitèr orabat. Omnipotentia ergò Dei, qui omnes ubique et semper quos vult, prosperè gubernat, benevolum Regem inter hiemales tempestates ad portum salutis cum gaudio dirigebat. Rex in illâ transfretatione Rogerium de Monte-Gomerici (quem tutorem Normanniæ, dum ad bellum transmarinum proficisceretur, cum suâ conjuge dimiserat) secum minavit [z]: eíque primò Cestriam, et Arundellum [a]; ac post aliquod tempus Scrobesburiensem [b] Comitatum donavit.

Et dat Rogerio de Monte Gomerici, militi Normanno, comitatus Cestriæ et Arundeliæ in Angliâ.

Adventui

[y] ——*portum oppositi littoris, (quem Wicenesium vocitant.)* That is, the port of *Winchelsea.*

[z] This word *minavit* means the same as *duxit*, or "That he carried over this Roger "Montgomery with him to England." It is the French verb *mener* Latinized. This Roger Montgomery, our author here informs us, had been left in Normandy during duke William's expedition to England, in the office of *guardian*, or *regent*, of Normandy, in conjunction with Matilda, the duke's wife. But we are told by William of Poictiers, above in page 159, that *Roger de Beaumont* was the person principally intrusted by duke William to assist Matilda with his advice in the government of Normandy during his absence; which seems at first sight to be inconsistent with the passage in the text. The passage of William of Poictiers is as follows. *Illius [scilicet, Matildæ] prudentiam viri adjuvêre consilio utilissimi; in quibus locum dignitatis primum tenebat Rogerus de bello Monte, Humphridi, hominis generosissimi, filius, ob maturitatem ævi liberior ad negotia quæ domi geruntur.* The truth of the fact contained in this passage, or of the appointment of Roger de Beaumont to assist Matilda with his advice in the government of Normandy during duke William's absence, can hardly be doubted; as William of Poictiers, who asserts it, lived at the very time of its happening. And therefore, if the two passages were absolutely inconsistent with each other, the account given by Ordericus Vitalis in the text ought to be rejected. But, perhaps, they be made to agree with each other by observing that in the foregoing passage of *Pictaviensis* it is said that there were *several* wise and eminent men, *viri consilio utilissimi*, appointed by duke William to assist Matilda with their advice concerning the government of Normandy during his absence. It is therefore possible that Roger Montgomery might be an eminent member of this council, conjointly with Roger de Beaumont and others. Yet, upon the authority of *Pictaviensis*, I think we must conclude that Roger de Beaumont was at the head of this council, and took the lead in the business intrusted to them, or, as *Pictaviensis* expresses it, *locum dignitatis primum tenebat.*

[a] ——*Cestriam et Arundellum.* That is, probably, *Chichester and Arundel in Sussex*, (which lie near to each other) not *Chester* in Cheshire.

[b] *Scrobesburiensem Comitatum.* That is, the county of Shrewsbury, or Shropshire.

Adventui Regis Angli occurrerunt, ipsúmque tàm honorificentiâ Monasteriali quàm secularibus officiis sublimaverunt. Ipse Lundoniæ Dominicam Nativitatem celebravit, ibíque Pontificibus Anglis Proceribúsque multâ calliditate favit [c]. Ipse omnes officioso affectu demulcebat, dulcitèr ad oscula invitabat, cunctis affabilitatem ostendebat: benignè, si quid orabant, concedebat: promptè, si nunciabant aut suggerebant, auscultabat. Desertores hujusmodi arte aliquoties reducuntur. Pari sedulitate et solertiâ Guallos nunc instruebat [d], nunc ut contrà omnes dolos et insidias singulorum semper ubique parati essent, clàm Anglis admonèbat. Cunctæ urbes et regiones, quas ipse adierat vel præsidiis occupaverat, ad nutum ei parebant. Circà terminos regni Occidentem aut plagam Septentrionalem versùs effrenis adhuc ferocia superbiebat: et Angliæ Regi, nisi ad libitum suum, famulari, sub Rege Edvardo aliisque prioribus, olìm despexerat [e].

Apud Lundoniam honorificè ab Anglis recipitur.

Sed in occidentalibus et septentrionalibus Angliæ partibus populus Anglicanus potestati ejus adversatur.

Exonia

[c] *Ipse Lundoniæ Dominicam nativitatem celebravit, ibique Pontificibus Anglis, proceribúsque multâ calliditate favit* It was customary in these times for the kings of England to be attended by the bishops and great secular lords, or nobles, of the kingdom, at the three great christian feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

[d] *Guallos nunc instruebat, &c.* Dr. Brady in his History of England, vol. II. page 192, supposes the word *Guallos* to mean the Welsh. But the passage will be more easily understood, if we suppose that the word *Guallos* is a misprint for *Gallos*, and that it means, "That at the same time that king William treated the English bishops "and nobles (who waited upon him at his Christmas assembly at London) with great "civility and appearance of affection, he privately gave instructions to his Norman, "and other French, subjects in England, to be much upon their guard, in every "place that was entrusted to their care, against the treacherous designs and attempts "of the English."

[e] *Circà terminos regni occidentem aut plagam Septentrionalem versùs effrenis adhuc ferocia superbiebat: et Angliæ regi, nisi ad libitum suum, famulari, sub rege Edwardo aliisque prioribus, olim despexerat.* According to this account, the authority of the kings of England over the more distant parts of the kingdom was very weak before the conquest. This great event (though it produced great misery amongst the natives of England for almost a hundred years together) yet was attended with the good effect of uniting the several parts of the kingdom more closely together, and making them all equally obedient to the king's authority. From this time we hear no more of the distinction between the West-Saxon district, the Mercian district, and the Danish district, of the kingdom, which were governed by different laws and customs, and under great earls, or governours, who seem to have been too powerful to be controuled by the royal authority: but all these districts were governed in nearly the same manner, and by nearly the same laws, so as to form one compact kingdom under one head, or sovereign, who governed it with the concurrence of a parliament, or great council, consisting of his nobles, or feudal tenants, who held the lands of it immediately from the crown.

* Forte legendum foret, *vindicare.*

Exonia libertatem vendicare * prima contendit; ſed, fortiſſimis athletis fortitèr eam invadentibus, ſervituti ſubjacuit. Hæc urbs dives eſt et antiqua, in plano ſita, operosè munita, à littore marino, quo ex Hiberniâ, vel Britanniâ minore, breviſſimo aditur ſpacio, diſtans milliaria circitèr duo. Cives eam tenebant furioſi, copioſæ multitudinis, infeſtiſſimi mortalibus Gallici generis, puberes, ac Senatus [f]. Hi nimirùm ſocios è plagis finitimis inquietè arceſſebant, mercatores advenas bello habiles retinebant; et pinnas ac turres, et quæque neceſſaria ſibi cenſebant, in munimentis addebant, vel reſtaurabant. Alias quoque civitates ad conſpirandum in eadem legationibus inſtigabant: et contrà Regem alienigenam toto niſu ſe præparabant, cum quo anteà de nullo negocio egerant. Rex verò ubi hæc certiùs comperit, primoribus civitatis jurare ſibi fidelitatem mandavit. At illi remandaverunt ei, dicentes: "Neque ſacramentum Regi faciemus, neque in "urbem eum intromittemus: ſed tributum ei ex conſuetudine priſtinâ "reddemus [g]." E contrà ſic eis remandavit Rex, dicens: "Non eſt mihi "moris ad hanc conditionem habere ſubjectos." Deinde cum exercitu ad fines eorum acceſſit, et primos in eâ expeditione Anglos eduxit. Majores mox, ut Regem cum exercitu appropinquare cognoſcunt, obviàm advenienti procedunt [h], pacem poſcunt, portas ei patere dicunt, imperata quælibet ſe facturos promittunt; et obſides illicò,

Cives urbis Exoniæ in Devoniâ contrà eum arma capiunt.

Rex contrà eos proficiſcitur cum exercitu.

[f] *Puberes, ac Senatus.* It ſeems not unlikely that the word *puberes* may have been inſerted here, by ſome miſtake, inſtead of the word *plebes*; and that the author wrote *plebes ac ſenatus*; and then the ſenſe will be, "that the whole body of the inhabi- "tants of the city of Exeter, both the common people, *plebes*, and the magiſtrates, "or town-council, *ſenatus*, were violent enemies of the French nation." But, if the author wrote *puberes*, as it is in the text, the ſenſe will be, "that the whole "body of the inhabitants of the city of Exeter, both the young men and the men of "middle age, (who may all be underſtood by the word *puberes*) and the old men, "*ſenatus*, were violent enemies of the French nation."

[g] *Neque ſacramentum regi faciemus, neque in urbem eum intromittemus: ſed tributnm ei ex conſuetudine priſtinâ reddemus.* This anſwer of the people of Exeter to King William's command to them that they ſhould ſwear allegiance to him, is a proof of the great degree of liberty, or independency, they had enjoyed under the former kings of England, of the Saxon line; and that they had obeyed thoſe kings only as far as they had choſen to do ſo; or, (as the author expreſſes it in the foregoing page) *Angliæ regi, niſi ad libitum ſuum, famulari, ſub rege Edwardo aliiſque prioribus, olim deſpexerat.*

[h] *Majores mox, ut Regem cum exercitu appropinquare cognoſcunt, obviàm advenienti procedunt, pacem poſcunt, &c.* This firſt act of ſubmiſſion to King William's authority, ſeems to have been done by the authority of the magiſtrates, or principal men, of the city,

illicò, quantos Rex jubet, adducuntur. Reversi ad concives, qui supplicia pro reatu nimìs metuebant, nihilominùs machinantur hostilia quæ cœperant, multísque pro causis ad oppugnandum sese incitabant. Quod audiens Rex, qui ad quatuor milliaria consistebat ab urbe, irâ repletus est et admiratione.

Exonienses, post aliquot dies, se regi submittunt, et clementiam ejus petunt et obtinent.

Imprimis itaque Rex cum quingentis equitibus properè perrexit, ut locum et mœnia videret, et quid hostes agerent deprehenderet. Portæ offirmatæ erant, densæque turbæ in propugnaculis, et per totum muri ambitum prostabant. Denique regio jussu exercitus ad urbem admotus est, et unus ex obsidibus propè portam oculis privatus est. Pertinacia furentis populi nullo timore, nec ullâ reliquorum obsidum flectitur miseratione: sed acuitur ad defensandum se suósque lares totâ obstinatione. Rex autem fortitèr urbem obsidione concludit, militari feritate invadit, et per plurimos dies obnixè satagit cives desupèr impugnare, et subtùs murum suffodere. Tandem municipes ingenti hostium instantiâ utile consilium coacti capiunt, ad deprecationem descendunt: et formosissima juventus, majorésque natu, cum Clero gestante sacros Libros et hujusmodi ornatum, ad Regem exeunt. Protinùs Princeps moderatus humilitèr prostratis clementèr pepercit, consitenti populo reatus indulsit; ac si nesciisset quòd illi eidem protervè restiterant, et quòd militibus crudelitèr et contumeliosè illuserant, quos ipse de Normanniâ miserat, et tempestas ad portum illorum appulerat. Exonii gaudent, gratésque Deo referunt, quòd post tot iras, terribilésque minas, spe meliùs alienigenæ Regi pacificati sunt. Rex autem à rebus eorum abstinuit, et portas urbis valente fidáque custodiâ munivit, ne gregarii milites repente intro-irent, et pecunias civium violentèr diriperent. Locum verò intrà mœnia ad extruendum castellum delegit,

Rex castellum, sive arcem, intrà urbis mœnia, construi jubet.

city, here called *majores*, but without having obtained the consent of the bulk of the inhabitants. And hence it happened, that the said inhabitants, *concives*, (who were very much afraid of the punishments the king might inflict upon them for the resistance they had already made to his authority, *(qui supplicia pro reatu nimìs metuebant)* would not confirm this submission, but shut the gates of the city against King William, and manned the walls, in great numbers, to resist any attack he might make upon them. But, at last, upon the king's preparing, for several days together, to throw down the wall, by digging under its foundations, and then to make an assault upon the town, they all agreed to submit to the king, and throw themselves upon his mercy, which he, with great policy, extended to them in a degree that went beyond their hopes.

Et ipse proficiscitur cum exercitu in Cornwalliam; et inde, motibus omnibus pacatis, redit ad Wintoniam in festo Paschæ, A. D. 1068.

delegit[l], ibíque Balduinum de Molis, filium Gisleberti Comitis, aliósque milites præcipuos reliquit, qui necessarium opus conficerent, præsidióque manerent. Ipse posteà in Cornu Britanniæ[k] ulteriùs contendebat. Composito ubique motu, quem deprehendit, exercitum dimisit; et Guentam, ad vacandum illuc Paschali festo, rediit.

Matildis, uxor regis, in Angliam venit et coronatur ut regina in festo Pentecostes, A.D. 1068; et in eodem anno parit filium Henricum.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1068, Guillelmus Rex Legatos honorabiles in Neustriam direxit; et Matildem conjugem suam ad se venire præcepit. Protinùs illa mariti jussis libentèr obedivit; et, cum ingenti frequentiâ virorum ac nobilium feminarum, transfretavit. In Clero, qui ad divina ei ministrabat, celebris Guido, Ambianorum Præsul, eminebat, qui jam certamen Heraldi et Guillelmi versificè descripserat[l]. Adelredus, Eboracorum Metropolitanus, qui maritum inunxerat, Matildem ad consortium regii honoris, die Pentecostes anno 2 regni præfati Regis, inunxit. Decorata regio diademate matrona, priusquàm annus perficeretur, filium nomine Henricum peperit, quem totius terræ suæ in Angliâ heredem constituit[m]. Hic, dum dociles annos attigisset, litterarum scientiam didicit, et, post utriusque parentis obitum, militiæ agones fortitèr exercuit. Tandem multimodæ probitatis clarus titulis, Principatum paternum tenuit pluribus annis.

Eodem

[l] *Locum verò intrà mœnia ad extruendum castellum delegit, &c.* Here we see the first building of Exeter Castle, as we before saw the first buildings of the castles of Pevensey and Hastings, in Sussex, and of the Tower of London, and the Castle of Winchester. It plainly appears, in this history, that King William could never retain the English in obedience to his government, till he had built castles in several parts of the kingdom to command the country.

[k] *Cornu Britanniæ*; that is, *Cornwall*, or the extreme *horn*, as it were, of the island of Great-Britain, by which it thrusts itself into the Atlantic Ocean.

[l] *Guido, Ambianorum Præsul, eminebat, qui jam certamen Heraldi et Gulielmi versificè descripserat.* Here we see, that this Guy, Bishop of Amiens, in Picardy, had already, in the spring of the year 1068, composed a Latin poem on King William's great victory over King Harold at the battle of *Senlac*, or Hastings. There seems to be no reason to suppose that he continued his account of King William's exploits beyond the events of that important day. and therefore the loss of this work of his (which was only a complimentary poem) is not much to be regretted.

[m] *Quem totius terræ suæ in Angliâ hæredem constituit.* By this passage it should seem, that Queen Matilda had a tract of land in England assigned to her by King William, her husband, as her own separate property, with a power of disposing of it as she thought fit; and that, upon the birth of her youngest son, Henry, in this year 1068, she settled this land upon her said son, who was born an Englishman. *Tamen quære*; for the meaning of this passage is by no means clear.

Eodem anno egregii juvenes Edvinus et Morcarus, filii Elfgari Comitis, rebellaverunt, et cum eis multi alii ferocitèr insurrexerunt, quorum motus Albionis regnum vehementèr turbaverunt. Guillelmus etenim Rex, quando Edvinus Comes cum eo concordiam fecerat, eique fratrem suum, et pene tertiam partem Angliæ subdiderat, filiam suam se in conjugem ei daturum spoponderat: sed postmodùm, fraudulento consultu Normannorum, concupitam virginem & diù expectatam denegavit nobilissimo juveni. Unde iratus, cum fratre suo, ad rebellionem incitatus est: eúmque magna pars Anglorum et Guallorum secuta est. Fervens adfectus erat præfatis fratribus ergà Dei cultum, et bonorum reverentiam hominum. Erat eis ingens pulchritudo, nobilis et ampla cognatio, latè valens potentatus, et nimia in eos popularium dilectio. A Clericis et Monachis crebra pro illis fiebat oratio, et à turbis pauperum quotidiana supplicatio.

Edwinus et Morcarus, comites Angli, contrà regem rebellant, A. D. 1068.

Elfgarus, Comes, Coventrense Cœnobium construxit [a], et magnis redditibus, ad victum Monachorum inibi consistentium, largitèr ditavit. Godiova

De Elfgaro, sive Algaro, patre Edwini et Morcari, Comitum.

[a] *Elfgarus, Comes, Coventrense Cœnobium construxit.* I take this to be a mistake in our author; because Ingulphus (who was an Englishman, and resided, during great part of his life, in England, and was made abbot of Crowland-Abbey by king William the Conqueror, and lived in that high station for a great number of years; and who, therefore, must be supposed to have been well-informed upon this subject;) assures us that Coventry-Abbey was built, and very richly endowed, by *Leofric*, earl of Leicester, (who was the father of the earl *Elfgar*, or *Algar*, mentioned in the text, and the grandfather of the earls Edwin and Morcar); and that the said earl Leofric was buried in the said abbey. His words are as follows: *Anno autem* 1057 *illustrissimus et optimus comes Leicestriæ, Leofricus, obiit, et apud Coventriam, monasterium suum, (quod construxerat, et maximis donariis et privilegiis plurimùm ditaverat) sepultus requiescit.* See Gale's Ingulphus, p. 66. Our author is also mistaken in supposing that *Godiva* was the wife of *Elfgar*, or *Algar*, and the mother of earls Edwin and Morcar; for she was the wife of Leofric, and consequently the grandmother of those earls. He also differs from Ingulphus as to the name of Alfgar's daughter, or the sister of earls Edwin and Morcar, which he says was *Aldit*; whereas Ingulphus says her name was *Lucia*. The words of Ingulphus are as follows: *Anno autem Domini* 1059 ——— *strenuissimus comes Algarus, nostri monasterii semper amantissimus, sæpiùs ab æmulis infectatus, sæpe terrâ marique jactatus, sed, Domino semper prosperante suos conatus, invictus, et populo terræ affectu sincerissimo amatus, obiit, et Coventriæ, juxtà patrem positus, requiescit humatus; relictis tribus liberis, duobus filiis, scilicet, Edwino et Morcario, posteà comitibus, et unicâ filiâ, quæ nunc superest, comitissâ Luciâ.* We have other instances, in these times, of eminent persons who have been known by two different names. Thus, for example, *Emma* of

Godiova verò, religiosa Comitissa, omnem thesaurum suum eidem Ecclesiæ contulit, et, accersitis aurifabris, quicquid in auro et argento habuit, ad construendum sacros textus et cruces, ac imagines Sanctorum, aliáque mirifica Ecclesiæ ornamenta, devotè distribuit. Devoti Deo, digníque religionis laude, parentes elegantem et multâ laude dignam ediderunt sobolem: Eduinum, Morcarum, et unam filiam nomine Aldit, quæ primò nupsit Guitfrido Regi Guallorum, post cujus mortem sociata est Heraldo, Regi Anglorum.

De Blideno, rege Guallorum, sive Wallensium.

Tempore Normannicæ cladis, quæ nimìs oppressionibus Anglos immoderatè conquassavit, Blidenus, Rex Guallorum, ad avunculos suos suppetias venit, secúmque multitudinem Britonum adduxit [o]. Congregatis autem

of Normandy, the wife of Ethelred and Canute the Great, (who were successively kings of England) and mother of Hardi Canute and Edward the Confessor, (who were also successively kings of England) was called *Alfgiva* as well as *Emma*; for the author of Roger Hoveden's Annals mentions her death in these words: *Anno millesimo, quinquagesimo, secundo,* Alfgiva, *id est* Emma, *regina quondam, et conjux regum Egelredi et Canuti, secundo Nonas Martii Wintoniæ obiit, et ibi sepulta est.* See *Scriptores post Bedam,* p. 442.

Our author also tells us, that this lady *Aldit*, the sister of the earls Edwin and Morcar, and daughter of Algar, was twice married; namely, first to *Guitfrid*, or *Griffith*, king, or prince, of the Welshmen; and afterwards to *Harold*, king of England, the successor of Edward the Confessor. But Ingulphus says nothing of these marriages, but tells us that the lady he calls *comitissa Lucia*, and who was the only daughter of earl Algar, married an eminent Norman knight, who was a great favourite of William the Conqueror, and whose name was *Ivo Tailbois*. This marriage was, indeed, posterior to the conquest; and, therefore, is not incompatible with the account here given by our author of her having been married before to *Griffith*, prince of Wales, and *Harold*, king of England. Yet it seems strange, if she had been married to those eminent persons, that Ingulphus should not mention it. *Ideò quære.*

[o] *Blidenus, Rex Guallorum, ad avunculos suos suppetias venit, secúmque multitudinem Britonum adduxit.* Here we see *Blidenus*, the king, or prince, of the Welshmen, is said to have brought a body of Welshmen to assist *his uncles* (Edwin and Morcar) in their insurrection against king William. This is a confirmation, or re-assertion, of what was said just before, to wit, that *Aldit*, the sister of Edwin and Morcar, had been married to *Griffith*, prince of Wales, who was the father of this *Blidenus*. This *Blidenus* is called *Blethgentus* by Ingulphus, who also differs from our author with respect to his relation to the former prince *Griffith*, or *Griffin*; for he makes him the brother, not the son of that prince Griffin. His account of the war against the Welsh, conducted by earl Harold, (who was afterwards king of England) in the latter part of the reign of Edward the Confessor, is very curious; and, as it is not very long, will, I presume, be

autem in unum multis Anglorum et Guallorum Optimatibus, fit generalis querimonia de injuriis et oppreſſionibus, quibus intolerabilitèr Angli affligebantur à Normannis, et eorum contubernalibus. Legationibus quoſcumque poterant per omnes Albionis terminos in hoſtes clàm palàmque ſtimulabant. Fit ex conſenſu omnium pro vendicandâ * libertate priſtinâ procax conſpiratio, & obnixa contrà Normannos conjuratio. Exoritur in finibus Tranſ-Humbranis vehemens perturbatio. Seditioſi ſilvas, paludes, æſtuaria et urbes aliquot in munimentis habent. Eboracenſis civitas ardentiſſimè furit, quam ſanctitas Pontificis ſui ſedare nequit, Plures in tabernaculis morabantur: in domibus, ne molleſcerent, requieſcere dedignabantur: unde quidam eorum à Normannis Silvatici cognominabantur [p].

* id eſt, *vindicandâ*.

Rex igitur receſſus regni providentiùs perluſtravit, et opportuna loca contrà excurſiones hoſtium communivit. Munitiones enim (quas caſtella Galli nuncupant) Anglicis Provinciis pauciſſimæ fuerant: et ob hoc Angli, licet bellicoſi fuerint et audaces, ad reſiſtendum tamen inimicis extiterant debiliores. Rex itaque caſtrum apud Guareuicum condidit,

Gulielmus rex, ut meliùs rebellium conatibus poſſit reſiſtere, caſtellum condit apud Warwick;

be thought worthy of a place in this note. It is as follows: *Anno autem Domini M.LXIII. Haroldus, comes Weſt-Saxoniæ, Juſſu regis Edwardi, in Wallenſes, qui crebras irruptiones in pagos proximos et plurimas deprædationes aſſiduè faciebant, expeditionem fortiſſimam movit: cernénſque Wallenſem levitatem in Anglicam gravitatem multa facere, et, factâ violentiâ, citiùs ad ſaltus refugere, noſtróſque milites armis onuſtos* [*eos*] *inſequi non valere, præcepit militem corium coctum et omnem levem armaturam aſſueſcere. Unde territi Wallenſes ſe in omnibus ſubmiſerunt, et regem ſuum Griffinum penitùs abjecerunt.*

Anno autem Domini M.LXV Rex Griffinus Wallenſium à ſui occiditur; et caput ejus, cum roſtro navis ipſius, Haroldo deſtinatur: cujus fratribus, Blethgento et Ruthio, Rex Edwardus dedit, et, fidelitate juratâ pro ſervitio regno Angliæ debito ſingulis annis præſtò perſolvendo, Walliam tenendam ſibi et ſuis poſteris pacificè conceſſit. See Gale's Ingulphus, p. 68. By this paſſage it clearly appears that even ſo long ago as the laſt year of the reign of king Edward the Confeſſor, or the year of Chriſt 1065, Wales was reduced to a ſtate of feudal ſubjection to the kings of England; and that it continued ſo ever after, till it was brought under the immediate government of the kings of England by king Edward the Iſt. in the year 1284. See a ſeries of paſſages, relating to this ſubject, that are collected from Matthew Paris, in the Second Volume of the Canadian Freeholder, pages 84, 85, &c.—— 150.

[p] *Unde quidam eorum à Normannis Silvatici cognominabantur.* It ſeems probable, from this paſſage, that the French word *ſauvage*, (from which we have taken the word *ſavage* in Engliſh) was derived from the Latin word *ſylva*, and was uſed to denote a man living in an uncivilized manner *in the woods.*

condidit, et Henrico, Rogerii de Bellomonte filio, ad ſervandum tradidit. Tunc Edvinus et Morcarus cum ſuis, anceps prælii diſcrimen prependentes *, gratiam Regis petierunt, et ſpecie tenùs obtinuerunt. Deinde Rex Snotingheham caſtrum conſtruxit, et Guillelmo Peverello commendavit.

Et aliud caſtellum apud Nottingham;

Et aliud in urbe Eboracenſi.

Hæc Eboracenſes ut audierunt, extimentes maturatâ deditione vim declinaverunt: Regíque claves civitatis cum obſidibus dederunt. Ipſe tamen quia fidem illorum ſuſpectam habuit, in urbe ipſâ munitionem firmavit, quam delectis militibus cuſtodiendam tradidit. Tùnc Archillus, potentiſſimus Nordanhimbrorum, cum rege concordiam fecit, eíque filium ſuum obſidem tradidit. Præſul quoque Dunelmi Regis in gratiam acceſſit: et pro Malcomo, Rege Scotorum, pacis mediator intervenit, et acceptas conditiones in Scotiam detulit. Malcomus autem, licèt ab Anglis requiſitus fuerit, et validam expeditionem in eorum auxilium facere paraverit, auditâ tamen legatione pacis quievit, et cum Præſule Dunelmi nuncios ſuos ovantèr remiſit: per quos Guillelmo Regi fidele obſequium juravit. Sic utilitèr ſibi conſuluit, populóque ſuo multùm placuit, quòd pacem bello præpoſuit. Nam Scotica gens, licèt in prælio aſpera ſit, otium tamen et quietem diligit: nollet à vicinis inquietari regnis, Chriſtianæ Religionis plus quàm armorum intenta ſtudiis. Rex poſthæc in reverſione ſuâ Lincoliæ, Huntendonæ, et Gruntebrugæ caſtra locavit, et tutelam eorum fortiſſimis viris commendavit.

Archillus, potentiſſimus Anglorum Northumbranorum, ſe regi ſubmittit.

Idem faciunt Epiſcopus Dunelmenſis et Malcolmus, rex Scotiæ.

Scoti, licèt fortes ſint in præliis, tamen pacem amant.

Rex Gulielmus alia tria caſtella condit apud urbes Lincolniæ, Huntingdoniæ, et Cantabrigiæ.

Uxores plurimorum militum Normannorum requirunt à maritis in Angliâ militantibus, ut ad eas redeant.

His temporibus quædam Normanniæ mulieres ſævâ libidinis face urebantur, crebríſque nunciis à viris ſuis flagitabant ut citò reverterentur; addentes quòd, niſi reditum maturarent, ipſæ ſibi alios conjuges procurarent. Non enim ad maritos ſuos, propter inuſitatam ſibi adhuc navigationem, transfretare audebant, nec in Angliâ eos expetere, ubi jugitèr in armis erant, et quotidianas expeditiones, non ſine magnâ ſanguinis utriuſque partis effuſione, frequentabant. Rex autèm inter tot bellorum motiones ſecum milites ſuos retinere cupiebat; et terras, cum redditibus et magnis poteſtatibus, eis amicabilitèr offerebat, et majora, dum totum regnum ab adverſariis undique liberatum eſſet, promittebat. Legitimi Barones, ſtrenuique pugiles, multiplicitèr anxiabantur,

* Potiùs legendum foret, *perpendentes*.

bantur, dum Regem suum cum fratribus suis, et amicis, sociisque, sedulis circundari bellis intuebantur; ipsique, si discederent, infidi proditores, timidique desertores, palàm censeri verebantur. Rursùs honorabiles athletæ quid facerent, si lascivæ conjuges thorum suum adulterio polluerent, et progeniei suæ perennis maculæ notam et infamiam generarent? Unde Hugo de Grentemaisnil, (qui præsidatum Gevvissorum, id est, Guentanæ regionis, jam habuerat) et, sororius ejus, Unfridus de Telliolo, (qui Hastingas à primâ die constructionis ad custodiendum susceperat) aliique multi, discesserunt: et Regem inter exteros laborantem tristes et inviti deseruerunt; deinde famulari lascivis dominabus suis in Neustriam reversi sunt. Sed honores, quos jam nactos * hac de causâ reliquerunt, ipsi, vel heredes eorum, numquam posteà recuperare potuerunt.

Multi milites Normanni ex Angliâ in Normanniam ad uxores suas revertuntur, antequam motus rebellium Anglorum sint compositi; et ob eam causam honoribus in Angliâ acquisitis à Gulielmo rege indignante privantur.

* id est, *acquisitos.*

Multimodis desolationibus Anglia nimìs attrita est, et tàm ab indigenis quàm ab alienigenis valdè aggravata est. Incendia, rapinæ, et quotidianæ cædes, miseram gentem invaserunt, percusserunt, dejecerunt, et conquassaverunt. Adversa fortuna miseros, tàm victos quàm victores, muscipulâ suâ irretivit: nunc ense, nunc fame, nunc peste irreverentèr præcipitavit, prout omnipotens arbiter unicuique dispensavit. Rex verò, perspectis importunitatibus terræ, solidarios milites [q] convocavit,

[q] *Solidarios milites.* This expression probably means *hired soldiers,* who received money, or shillings, (then called *solidos*) as a reward for their military services in king William's army. And from this word *solidarios,* the modern word *soldier* is derived. It appears, from many passages in these old writers, that king William the Conqueror employed hired soldiers in his armies, as well as his military, or feudal, tenants, who held lands of him upon the condition of serving him in his wars. And this he was more particularly obliged to do in the first part of his reign, before he had dispossessed the greater part of the English landholders of their lands, and given them away to his Norman subjects, and other foreigners who assisted him in the conquest of England. But he renewed these confiscations of the estates of Englishmen from time to time (as the insurrections of the English gave him a pretence for such severity) so often, and to such extent, that, in the last years of his reign, there was hardly an Englishman to be found in the whole kingdom who continued in the possession of the lands he had inherited from his ancestors. But at the time mentioned in the text, that is, in the second year of king William's reign, or the year 1068, we see that the powerful brothers, earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, and *Archillus,* the great nobleman of Northumberland, were pardoned by the king upon their submission, and seemingly received into favour by him; and therefore were, no doubt, left in possession of their great estates.

vit, omnésque regali munificentiâ pro militari servitute muneratos domum abire benignitèr permisit.

Robertus de Cuminis, insignis miles Normannus, cum suis, ab Anglis occiditur apud Dunelmum; A. D. 1069.

Anno tertio regni sui Guillelmus Rex Dunelmensem Comitatum Rodberto de Cuminis tradidit, qui mox cum militibus quingentis civitatem confidentèr adiit. Primâ verò nocte cives collecti sunt, et ipsum cunctósque milites, præter duos fugâ elapsos, mactaverunt. Fortissimi viri nequiverunt defendere se, oppressi tempore, dolo, multitudine.

Idem accidit Roberto, custodi castelli Eboracensis, et ejus sociis.

Non multò post Rodbertus, Ricardi filius, Eboracensis præsidii custos, cum multis peremptus est. Fiducia deinceps Anglis crevit contrà Normannos, à quibus videbant nimiùm vexari suos collegas et amicos. Fides, sacramentum, et salus obsidum vilia fuerunt iratis pro amissis patrum suorum prædiis, et occisis parentibus et compatriotis.

Castellum Eboraci ab Anglis obsidione cingitur.

Sed mox à rege ipso, adveniente cum exercitu, liberatur, cum magnâ clade et fugâ Anglorum. A. D. 1069.

Marius Suevus, Gaius Patricius, Edgarus Adelinus, aliíque potentes et factiosi convenerunt: et consociatâ manu civium ac finitimorum, munitionem Regis in Eboraco impugnare ausi sunt. Willelmus cognomento Maletus, Præses Castrensis, Regi denunciavit se defecturum, nisi [1] maturum fessis conferat auxilium. Rex ociùs advenit, in obsidentes ruit, nec ulli pepercit. Multi capti, pleríque interfecti, cæteri sunt fugati. Rex autem dies octò in urbe morans alterum præsidium condidit [2]: et Guillelmum Comitem, Osberni filium, ad custodiendum reliquit. Ipse verò lætus Guentam rediit, et Paschale festum ibi celebravit. Rursùs Angli post Regis discessum contrà utrumque præsidium congregati sunt: sed, Guillelmo Comite, cum suis, virilitèr in quodam valle dimicante, non prævaluerunt; sed, pluribus eorum captis seu trucidatis, alii fugâ mortem distulerunt.

Bellicis

[1] *Regi denunciavit se defecturum nisi*, &c. That is, "he sent word to king William that he should be obliged to *give out*, or *yield*, and surrender York-Castle to the English, who were besieging it, if the king did not speedily send him some assistance.

[2] *Rex autem dies octò in urbe morans alterum præsidium condidit.* By this passage it appears that William, the Conqueror, built two castles in the city of York, one in the year 1068, after he had compelled Edwin and Morcar to lay down their arms and submit to him, and the citizens of York to open their gates to him; and the other in the year 1069, after the English had made another insurrection against him under the conduct of *Marius Suevus*, *Gaius Patricius*, and *Edgar Atheling*. And he made *William Malet* governour of the former of these castles; and the great warriour, *William Fitz-Osborn*, governour of the latter.

Bellicis turbinibus undique insurgentibus admodùm occupatus, conjugem sibi multùm dilectam Matildem remisit in Normanniam Rex Guillelmus, ut ab Anglico tumultu seposita in pace religiosis actibus vacaret, incolumémque Provinciæ statum Rodberto puero servaret. Hæc consanguinea Philippi, Francorum Regis, erat, et ex Regibus Galliæ ac Imperatoribus Germaniæ originem ducebat, eximiáque tam generis quàm morum nobilitate cluebat. Egregio marito edidit utriusque sexûs optatam sobolem, Rodbertum, et Ricardum, Guillelmum Rufum, et Henricum: Agatham, et Constantiam, Adelizam, Adelam, et Ceciliam: quibus in hac variabili vitâ sors diversa provenit, et dicacibus Sophistis ingentes libros condendi uberem materiam tribuit. Reginam hanc simùl decoravêre forma, genus, litterarum scientia, cuncta morum et virtutum pulchritudo, et (quod his laude immortali dignius est,) firma fides et studiosus amor Christi. Eleëmosynâ (cui quotidiè hæc hera[t] insistebat) marito agonizanti in procinctu bellico plus quàm fari nôrim succurrebat.

Rex Matildem reginam remittit in Normannium, ut sit belli periculis immunis.

Laudes Matildis reginæ.

Nomina liberorum Gulielmi regis et Matildis reginæ.

Duo filii Heraldi, Regis Angliæ, mœsti pro patris occisione suíque propulsione, confugerant ad Dirmetum, regem Hiberniæ. Ejus et Principum regni suffragio adjuti sunt[u], et, 66 naves armatâ manu oneratas ducentes, Exonio appulerunt. Deinde progredientes à littore terram audaciùs depopulari cœperunt, et ferro ignéque furentes maxima patrare damna conati sunt. Protinùs illis Briennus, Eudonis, Comitis Britanniæ minoris, filius[w], et Guillelmus Gualdi cum armis obvii fuesuum,

Duo filii Heraldi, nuper regis Anglorum, cum armatâ manu ex Hiberniâ in Exoniam veniunt.

Sed in duobus magnis præliis à Gulielmi regis militibus cum magnâ clade in fugam vertuntur.

[t] *Hæc hera.* The word *hera,* in this place, seems to mean the same thing as *domina* in the Latin of these dark ages; that is, this *lady,* or *mistress of a court, or numerous set attendants*; or this *woman of high rank.*

[u] *Duo filii Heraldi, regis Angliæ — confugerant ad Dirmetum, regem Hiberniæ. Ejus et Principum regni suffragio adjuti sunt,* &c. By this passage there seems to be reason to suppose, that Ireland was, at this time, A. D. 1069, a single kingdom, governed by one king, and not divided into a number of separate and independent principalities. But this king was, probably, only a limited monarch, who acted, in matters of state, in conjunction with the great men of the kingdom, who are here called the *princes* of it, and are said to have joined with their king, *Dermot,* in assisting the sons of Harold to invade England. *Ejus et principum regni suffragio adjuti sunt.*

[w] *Briennus, Eudonis, Comitis Britanniæ minoris, filius.* The pedigree of this Brian, the son of Eudo, earl of Britany, in France, is as follows: *Godfrey,* earl of Britany, married *Haduis,* a daughter of Richard the Ist, duke, or earl, of Normandy, and sister

 of

runt; et duobus uno die conflictibus horrendam multitudinem in eam paucitatem redegerunt, ut residui duabus scaphis subtracti aufugerent, et

of Richard the IId, duke, or earl, of Normandy. This marriage took place in the reign of Richard the IId, duke of Normandy, who succeeded his father, Richard the Ist, in that dukedom, in the year of Christ 996. I do not find in what year that marriage took place; but I conjecture it to have happened about the year 1003 or 1004. Earl Godfrey had, by this lady, two sons, *Alan* and *Eudo*, who, both of them, succeeded, in their turns, to the government of Britany, after the death of their father Godfrey. Some years after this marriage of Godfrey, earl of Britany, with *Haduis*, the sister of Richard the IId, duke of Normandy, this Richard, duke of Normandy, married a sister of the same *Godfrey*, earl of Britany, of the name of *Judith*, and by her had three sons, namely, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*, and three daughters. The eldest of these three sons, namely, *Richard*, succeeded his father, Richard the IId, in the dukedom of Normandy, in the year 1026, and died two years after, in the year 1028, and was succeeded by his brother *Robert*, called *Robert the IId*, duke of Normandy, who was the father of king William the conquerour. And this Robert the IId, duke of Normandy, died in the year 1035, and was succeeded in that dukedom by his only son William, afterwards called *William the Conquerour*, who was, at that time, a boy of only eight years of age. Upon the death of Godfrey, earl of Britany, his two sons, *Alan* and *Eudo*, who were, at that time, in their childhood, were left by their father under the guardianship of their uncle, Richard the IId, duke of Normandy. And Alan, the eldest of them, when he came to man's estate, took upon him the government of Britany, as earl thereof. This, probably, happened in the latter part of the reign of Richard the IId, duke of Normandy, or about the year 1024. And, in like manner, when Robert the IId, duke of Normandy, died, in the year 1035, he left his infant son, William, under the guardianship of this same Alan, earl of Britany, who discharged his duty as guardian of the young duke, with eminent valour and fidelity, supporting his right to the dukedom against the rebel grandees of Normandy, who attempted to withdraw themselves from their obedience to him on account of his illegitimate birth. This Alan died before his ward, the young duke William, came of age, and, probably, about the year 1041 or 1042, and left a son, named *Conan*, who, being a child at the time of his father's death, did not immediately succeed him as earl of Britany, the rules of hereditary succession, which are now so constantly observed, not having yet been thoroughly established. But *Eudo*, the brother of earl Alan, and second son of earl Godfrey abovementioned, succeeded his brother in the government of Britany, either in his own right, or as guardian to his infant nephew, *Conan*. And, when Conan grew up to man's estate, which was, probably, about the year 1059 or 1060, he wrested the government of Britany out of the hands of his uncle Eudo, whom he seized and put in prison; and, in the year 1065, he made war upon William, duke of Normandy, in the height of all his power and glory, at the the time that the English earl Harold was in Normandy. But he was obliged to retreat out of Normandy with disgrace and precipitation; and soon after died in the same year 1065. This *Eudo*, uncle to *Conan*, was the father of the *Brian*, who is mentioned in the text; and who, together with *William Gualdi*, defended the city of Exeter, and the adjacent

et Hiberniam, luctu replerent. At * nisi nox prælium diremisset, ne nuncius quidem cladis repatriavisset. Justè id omen comitatum est natos pro tyranno genitore vindictam quærentes, et huic intentioni opem ferentes.

Githa, mater Heraldi regis, in Galliam fugit.

Inter hæc Gisa, Godwini uxor, Heraldi genitrix, ingentem gazam clanculùm sumpsit, et, pro timore Guillelmi Regis, in Galliam, non reditura, transmeavit.

Suenus, Rex Danorum, magnam classem et exercitum comparat ad Angliam invadendam.

In illâ tempestate Suenus, Rex Danorum, magnam classem Danis et Anglis accuratissimè instruxit, duósque filios suos, et Osbernum fratrem suum, Pontificésque duos, Comitésque tres dilectissimos, præfecit, et in Angliam misit. Multotiens enim pecuniis Anglorum et obnixis precibus fuerat sollicitatus, et ruinâ suorum, qui nuper in Heraldi conflictu occisi fuerant, motus: quin etiàm proximâ cognominatione † ad regni cupiditatem incitatus, utpote nepos Edvardi Regis, Hardecunuti filius †. Hic ingenti potentiâ pollebat, universas regni sui vires contrahebat: quibus à vicinis regionibus et amicis auxilia magna coacervabat. Adjuvabant eum Polenia, Frisia, necne Saxonia. Leutecia quoque pro Anglicis opibus auxiliares turmas mittebat [x]. In eâ populosissima natio consistebat,

adjacent country, against the sons of king Harold, in the year 1069, and defeated them with so great a slaughter. This account is collected from other passages of our author, *Ordericus Vitalis*; and from the History of *Willelmus Gemmeticensis*.

By this account of earl Eudo's pedigree, it appears that he was a grandson of Richard the Ist, duke of Normandy, by his daughter *Haduis*; and, therefore, was first-cousin to Robert the IId, duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conquerour. Therefore *Brian*, the son of *Eudo*, was second-cousin to William the Conquerour.

After the death of *Conan*, earl of Britany, in the year 1065, *Alan Fergeant*, the son of *Hoel*, or *Howell*, earl of *Nantes*, in *Britany*, succeeded to the earldom of Britany. This *Alan Fergeant* came into England with William the Conquerour, and married one of his daughters, named *Constantia*, and had very large tracts of land in England granted him by the Conquerour out of the confiscated estates of the English nobility.

* Potiùs legendum foret, *Et*.

† Forte legendum foret, *cognatione*.

† Harde canutus erat Edwardi regis, Confessoris, frater uterinus ex eâdem matre Emmâ reginâ.

[x] *Adjuvabant eum Polenia, Frisia, necne Saxonia. Leutecia quoque pro Anglicis opibus auxiliares turmas mittebat.* By *Polenia*, *Frisia*, and *Saxonia*, I suppose, are meant, *Poland*, and some parts of the north of Germany; and by *Leutecia*, I conjecture is meant, *Livonia*.

consistebat, quæ, gentilitatis adhuc errore detenta, verum Deum nesciebat: sed, ignorantiæ muscipulis illaqueata, Guodeven et Thurum, Freámque, aliósque falsos Deos, immò, dæmones, colebat. Hæc gens terrâ maríque præliari perita erat, quam Suenus cum Rege suo sæpè vicerat, suaéque ditioni subegerat. Multis itaque triumphis sublimatus, ut sibi adhuc augeret potentiam et decus, contrà Guillelmum Regem (ut prædiximus) magnam classem in Angliam misit Suenus. Appulsos Doveram regiorum militum occursus repulit. Itidem apud Sanguicum abacti sunt, sed à Normannis repulsi sunt. Nacti opportunitatem egrediendi apud Gepesvicum in prædam diffusi sunt; sed Provinciales congregati trigintà necaverunt, et reliquos in effugium coëgerunt. Egressos Northguici ad similem discursionem Radulfus de Guader invasit, et multis ferro, multis aquâ, vitam ademit; et reliquos turpitèr navigium arripientes in pelagus abire compulit. Rex autem Guillelmus tunc in Danâ sylvâ [y] erat: ibíque, pro more, venatui vacabat. Illìc audito adventu Dacorum [z], statìm nuncium direxit Eboracum: monens suos, ut sese cautiùs in eos præpararent, ipsúmque, si fortè necessitas posceret, advocarent. Remandaverunt custodes præsidiorum non indigeri subventu ejus ad annum. Jam Adelinus, Guallevus, Sigvardus, alíique præpotentes Angli ad Danos contulerant se. Perventum est ad Humbræ, lati fluminis, ostium. Adelinus ibi seorsìm ab sociâ turbâ cum quibusdam suorum prædatum ierat. Quos insiliens familia Regis è Lincoliâ cepit omnes, exceptis duobus cum Adelino elapsis, et navem confregit, quam custodia pavens deseruit.

Qui primùm apud Doveram, deinde apud Sandvicum, posteà apud Ipswich, et demùm apud Norwich, è navibus egrediuntur, sed à Normannis repelluntur et ad naves fugere coguntur.

Posteà verò ad ostium Humbræ fluvii è navibus egrediuntur, ubi multorum Anglorum, et præcipuè Edgari Adelini, et Waldevi, et Siwardi, aliorúmque potentium virorum, accessione augentur.

Dani

vonia. For the author tells us, that the inhabitants of it were all heathens, and worshippers of the false gods, called *Frea*, *Thor*, and *Woden*; which was not true, at this time, of the Germans, they having embraced the Christian religion near three centuries before; to wit, in the time of the emperour *Charlemagne*, or the beginning of the ninth century; and therefore the country here called *Leutecia*, was not, I presume, any part of Germany. The deities called *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea*, have given their names to the three middle days of the week in the English language, to wit, *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Friday*.

[y] *Danâ sylvâ.* This, probably, means the forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, between the rivers Severn and Wye.

[z] *Dacorum.* By this word the author means the *Danes*. We have many instances, in this and other authors of the same age, of the like misapplication of the name of the *Daci*. The *Daci* mentioned by the Roman historians, were a people that inhabited a country south of the river Danube in Germany.

Dani Eboracum accedunt, nimísque incolarum contubernio aucti sunt. Guallevus enim, Gaius Patritius, Marius Suevus, Elnocinus, Archillus, et quatuor filii Karoli, antesignani erant: et Danos Northvigenásque præcedebant. Castellani obviàm eis inconsultiùs exeunt; et intrà urbis mœnia infelicitèr confligunt. Non valentes resistere multitudini, omnes aut interimuntur, aut capiuntur. Cástella desolata patent. Securo Regi casus suorum nunciatur; terribilitas hominum major quàm sit, amplificante famâ, refertur; et quòd cum ipso dimicaturi confidentèr præstolentur. Rex ergò tàm dolore quàm irâ conturbatur, ac ad hostes cum exercitu properare conatur. Illi verò metu magni bellatoris in Humbram aufugiunt, et ripæ, quæ Lindissem attingit, applicant. Ipse illùc cum equitatu contendit, nefarios quosdam in paludibus penè inaccessibilibus reperit, gladióque puniit, et aliquot latibula diruit. In ripam alteram evadunt Dani, opperientes tempus quo se, sociósque suos possent ulcisci.

Deinde ad Eboracum proficiscuntur, et castellorum ibi constructorum defensores, adversùs eos extrà castella venientes, in prælio superant, et urbem cum castellis capiunt.

Gulielmus rex ipse contrà eos cum exercitu proficitur, et eos trans Humbram fluvium in Lindissem fugere cogit.

Eo tempore Saxones Occidentales de Dorsetâ et Summersetâ cum suis confinibus Montem-acutum assilierunt*, sed divino nutu impediti sunt. Nam Guentani, Londonii, Salesberii, Gaufredo, Constantiensi Præsule, ductore, supervenerunt, quosdam peremerunt, partìm captos mutilaverunt, reliquos fugaverunt. Gualli et Cestrenses præsidium Regis apud Scrobesburiam obsederunt; quibus incolæ civitatis cum Edrico Guildâ, potenti et bellicoso viro, aliisque ferocibus Anglis, auxilio fuerunt. Idem apud Exoniam Exoniensis Comitatûs habitatores fecêre: et undique coadunata turba ex cornu Britanniæ. Nam supremi fines Anglorum Occidentem versùs et Hiberniam *Cornu Britanniæ*, id est, *Cornuallia*, nuncupantur. Exoniæ cives Regi favebant, non immemores pressurarum quas olìm passi fuerant. Protinùs ubi Rex hæc accepit, Comites duos Guillelmum et Briennum laborantibus subvenire præcepit. Verùm priusquam illi Scrobesburiam pervenissent, urbe combustâ hostes discesserant. Defensores quoque Exoniæ subitò eruperunt, & impetu in se obsidentes abegerunt. Fugientibus obvii Guillelmus & Briennus grandi cæde temeritatem punierunt.

Eodem tempore Angli in Dorsetâ et Summersetâ contrà regem arma capiunt, sed à regiis militibus sub auspiciis Gaufredi, Episcopi Constantiæ, brevi tempore superantur.

Eodem tempore Gualli, seu Wallenses, et Cestrenses præsidium regis apud Shrewsbury obsident.

Et Devoniæ et Cornwalliæ habitatores eodem tempore contrà regem arma capiunt, et Exoniæ urbem obsident; sed à militibus regiis et civibus Exoniæ repelluntur, et posteà à comitibus regis, Gulielmo Gualdi et Brienno, Eudonis filio, cum magnâ cæde superantur.

Rex

* *Montem-acutum assiluerunt.* I find, in Speed's map of Somersetshire, a town called *Montecut*, situated in the hundred of *Tintenhull*, between the towns of *Yeovil* and *South-Petherton*. Perhaps this was the place mentioned in the text, which the West-Saxons, or English of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, now attempted to seize.

Rex ipse apud Stafford multos rebelles superat et occidit.

Comites Normanni Rodbertus, Moritoliensis, et Rodbertus, Aucensis, à rege in Lindisse relinquuntur ad coercendas Danorum excursiones.

Hi Comites Normanni Danos ex improviso et inter epulas aggrediuntur, et multos eorum cædunt, et fugant reliquos.

Rex ipse cum exercitu per vias impeditissimas ad Eboracum proficiscitur.

Rex interìm apud Estafort quamplurimos factiosarum partium facili proventu delevit. In tot certaminibus sanguis utrinque multus effunditur; et tam inermis quàm armata plebs diversis infortuniis hinc indè miserabilitèr concutitur. Lex Dei passìm violatur, & Ecclesiasticus rigor penè ab omnibus dissolvitur. Cædes miserorum multiplicantur, animæque cupiditatis et iræ stimulis stimulantur ac sauciantur, et catervatìm hinc indè ad inferna raptantur, damnante Deo, cujus judicia esse justissima comprobantur. Rex Guillelmus cùm à Lindisse reverteretur, reliquit ibi germanum suum Rodbertum, Moritoliensem Comitem, et Rodbertum Aucensem, qui Danorum excursiones arcerent. Dani aliquamdiù delituêre. Verùm postquàm tuta sunt opinati, conviviis Provincialium (quæ vulgò firmam appellant) illecti ad terram egrediuntur. Ambo Comites ex improviso eos invadunt, epulas cruore confundunt, instant trepidis: ad naves usque cædendo fugientes persequuntur. Divulgatur iterùm eosdem latrunculos Eboracum advenire, quâ Natalem Dominicum celebrent seséque ad præliandum præparent. Properans illò Rex è Snotingeham, præpeditur ad Fracti-pontis aquam [b] impatientem vadi, nec navigio usitatam. Reditum suadentibus non acquiescit, pontem fieri volentibus id opportunum non esse respondet, ne hostis repentè super eos irrueret, et inferendæ cladis occasionem in ipso opere haberet. Tres hebdomades illic detinentur. Denique Lisois, audax miles, quem de Monasteriis agnominabant [c], flumen summoperè attentabat, et vadum suprà infráque quæritabat. Per multam demùm difficultatem locum transmeabilem deprehendit, et cum 60 magnanimis

[b] *Ad Fracti-pontis aquam.* That is, at that part of the river *Are* in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, near which *Pomfret* is situated.

[c] *Lisois, audax miles, quem de Monasteriis agnominabant.* This surname, *De Monasteriis*, was, I believe, in French, *Des Moustiers*, or *Des Moûtiers*. The ford over the river *Are*, which this brave Norman knight, *Lisois des Moutiers*, discovered, and over which king William marched his army, was, probably, somewhere near *Leeds*, or, perhaps, higher up the river than *Leeds*, towards the town of *Skipton*. From this ford, (wherever it was) our author tells us, the king marched, in the middle of winter, through a very rugged country; through woods and marshy grounds; over high hills and deep vallies; in places where it was often impossible for more than two men to walk a-breast, to York; which the Danes abandoned at his approach. He seems, indeed, on this occasion, to have had need of all his valour and activity to extricate himself from the difficulties he was brought into by this Danish invasion, which appears to have been favoured and encouraged by the people of the country, in almost every part of England.

magnanimis equitibus pertransivit, super quos hostium multitudo irruit; sed, his acerrimè repugnantibus, non prævaluit. Postero die Lisois reversus prodit vadum; nec mora, traducitur exercitus. Itur per silvas, paludes, montana, valles: arctissimo tramite, qui binos lateralitèr ire non patiebatur. Sic Eboraco appropinquatum est; sed Danos aufugisse nunciatum est. Rex autem Tribunos et Præsides cum armatorum manu, qui restaurarent in urbe castella, direxit: et alios nihilominùs in ripâ Humbræ, qui Danis resisterent, reliquit. Ipse verò in saltuosa quædam, et difficillimè accessibilia, loca contendit, et abditos illìc hostes persequi summoperè studuit. Spatio centum milliariorum castra ejus diffunduntur. Pleróśque gladio vindice ferit, aliorum latebras evertit, terras devastat, et domos cum rebus omnibus concremat. Nusquam tantâ crudelitate usus est Guillelmus; hic turpitèr vitio succubuit, dum iram suam regere contempsit; et reos innocuósque pari animadversione peremit. Jussit enim, irâ stimulante, * segetibus et pecoribus cum vasis et omni genere alimentorum repleri, et igne injecto penitùs omnia simul comburi; et sic omnem alimoniam per totam regionem trans-humbranam paritèr devastari. Unde sequenti tempore tam gravis in Angliâ latè sæviit penuria, et inermem ac simplicem populum tanta famis involvit miseria, ut Christianæ gentis utriusque sexûs et omnis ætatis homines perirent plus quàm centum millia. In multis Guillelmum nostra libentèr extulit relatio: sed in hoc "quod unâ justum et injustum tabidæ famis lanceâ æquè transfixit," laudare non audeo. Nam dum innocuos infantes, juvenésque vernantes, et floridos canitie senes, fame periclitari video: misericordiâ motus miserabilis populi mœroribus et anxietatibus magìs condoleo, quàm frivolis adulationibus inutilitèr studeo. Præterea indubitantèr assero, quòd impune non remittetur tam feralis occisio. Summos enim et imos intuetur omnipotens Judex, et æquè omnium facta discutiet ac puniet districtissimus vindex, ut palàm omnibus enodat Dei perpetua lex.

Dani ab Eboraco fugiunt, et Rex ibidem milites collocat, qui castella diruta reædificent.

Deinde relliquias Danorum persequitur, et in incolas istius regionis nimiùm iræ suæ et vindictæ indulget.

Inter bella Guillelmus ex civitate Guentâ jubet adferri coronam, aliáque ornamenta regalia et vasa, et, dimisso exercitu in castris, Eboracum pergit, ibíque Natale Salvatoris nostri concelebrat. Rursùm comperit hostile collegium in angulo quodam regionis latitare, mari

Rex apud Eboracum celebrat festum nativitatis Christi, A. D. 1669, et ibi se coronari facit.

 vel

* Hic videtur deesse verbum *horrea*, vel aliud ferè ejusdem significationis.

vel paludibus undique munito. Unicus aditus per solidum intromittit, latitudine tantùm viginti pedum latens *. Prædam abundantem contraxerant, securi agitabant: nullam sibi vim nocere putabant. Attamen ut agmen regium approximare audierunt, noctu quantociùs abierunt. Rex ardens infestos sibi hostes ad flumen Tesiam insequitur, et avia prorumpit: quorum asperitas interdum peditem eum ire compellit. Super Tesiam sedens quindecim dies transegit. Ibi reconciliati sunt Guallevus præsens, et Gaius Patricius absens, sacramento per legatos exhibito. Horum paulò ante contubernales jam periclitabantur Dani, ut vagi Piratæ, fluctibus et ventis jactati. Urgebat eos non minùs fames quàm tempestas. Pars naufragio periit. Residui vitam vilissimâ pulte sustentabant: nec solùm milites gregarii, verùm ipsi quoque Principes, Comites, atque Pontifices. Carnes penitùs defecerant, quibus diù rancidis ac putridis vescebantur. Egredi ad comportandum rapinas non audebant, neque littus propter incolarum terrorem uspiam attingere. Tandem magnæ classis exiguæ reliquiæ Daciam * repetierunt: et Sueno, Regi suo, magna discrimina quæ perpessi sunt, nimiámque ferocitatem hostium, suorúmque ruinam sodalium, flebilitèr retulerunt.

Rebelles Angli sese regi submittunt ad flumen Tesiam, et parvæ Danorum reliquiæ in naves aufugiunt, et ab Angliâ prorsùs recedunt, et in Daniam revertuntur.

* id est, *Daniam*, seu *Danemarchiam*.

Mense Januario Rex Guillelmus Haugustaldam revertebatur à Tesiâ [d], viâ quæ hactenùs exercitui erat intentata; quâ crebrò acutissima juga, & vallium humillimæ sedes, cùm vicinia serenitate vernâ gaudet, nivibus compluuntur. At ille in acerbissimo hiemis gelu transivit, animósque militum confirmavit suâ alacritate. Illud iter difficultèr peractum est, in quo sonipedum ingens ruina facta est. Anxius pro suâ quisque salute extitit, Dominíque parùm aut amici meminit. In eâ difficultate Rex cum senis tantum equitibus aberravit: et noctem integram

Rex à Tesiâ per vias difficillimas ad Eboracum revertitur, mense Januario, A. D. 1070.

* Forte legendum foret, *patens*.

[d] *Haugustaldam revertebatur à Tesiâ*. *Speed*, the geographer, in his account of Northumberland, says, that the town of *Hexham*, in Northumberland, on the river *Tyne*, is called *Haugustald*, by *Bede*, the old Saxon historian. Yet, from the context, it would be more natural to suppose that our author, in this place, meant the city of York by the word *Haugustaldam*, since he says, that king William returned to it in the month of January, A.D. 1070, from the river *Tees*, which is very much to the north of York, but south of Hexham. And besides, in the very next sentence, he speaks of king William as being returned to York; *Eboracum reversus complura illic castella restauravit*, &c. *Ideò quære*.

tegram "ubinam essent quos ductabat" ignarus exegit. Eboracum reversus complura illic castella restauravit, et urbi ac regioni commoda ordinavit. Deinde movet expeditionem contrà Cestrenses et Guallos, qui, præter alias offensas, nuperrimè Scrobesburiam obsederunt. Exercitus autèm, qui dura toleraverat, in hoc itinere multò duriora restare timebat. Verebatur enim locorum asperitatem, hiemis intemperiem, alimentorum inopiam, et hostium terribilem ferocitatem. Andegavi, Britones, et Cenomanni[e] servitiis, ut dicebant, intolerabilibus oppidò gravabantur: unde pertinacitèr à Rege missionem petentes conquerebantur. Sui nimirùm ad expurgationem depromebant, non posse Domino semper nova et immoderata audenti, nimiáque præcipienti, obsequi. Rex autem constantiam Julii Cæsaris in tali necessitate secutus[f] est,

Ibi multa castella restaurat, et alia construi jubet ad defendendam istam regionem necessaria; et inde proficiscitur cum exercitu contrà Cestrenses et Guallos, sive Walenses.

In hoc itinere à plurimis militibus Andegavensibus, Britonibus, et Cenomannis, deseritur.

[e] *Andegavi, Britones, et Cenomanni.* Here we see that king William had hitherto employed soldiers from the provinces of *Anjou*, *Britany*, and *Maine*, in France, as well as his own subjects, the Normans, in reducing England to obedience to his authority; and that many of these soldiers, who were not his own subjects, were disgusted with the frequent repetition of the hardships they had to encounter in England, from the aversion of the English to his government, and refused to accompany him in this winter expedition. But his own subjects, the Normans, seem to have been more firmly attached to him, and to have followed him with fidelity and zeal, on this occasion, in his laborious march from York to Chester, where he finally subdued all his remaining enemies, and re-established his authority throughout all the kingdom.

[f] *Rex autem constantiam Julii Cæsaris in tali necessitate secutus*, &c. This seems to be an allusion to the conduct of Julius Cæsar in the civil war against Pompey the great. In the year of Rome 704, and before the birth of Christ 48, after the reduction of Pompey's army in Spain, commanded by his Lieutenants Afranius and Petreius, but before the defeat of Pompey himself in the battle of Pharsalia, Julius Cæsar was created Dictator, whilst he was still in Gaul upon his return to Italy, the news of his appointment reaching him at Marseilles. He spent the remainder of this year in Gaul and in the north of Italy, to strengthen his army and give directions for the security of the provinces which he was about to leave. In this interval the soldiers of his ninth Legion mutinied at *Placentia*, and demanded their dismission. He shewed on this occasion an uncommon degree of spirit and resolution, by which they were awed into submission. After reproaching them with their ingratitude and folly, he told them, "that he had "no occasion for their service, and that he should never want soldiers to share his pros- "perity and triumphs; but that, before he disbanded them, he would punish their crime "and order them to be decimated." These words broke the spirit of the mutineers: they threw themselves at his feet, and begged for pardon; and all their officers interceded for them. Cæsar was for some time inexorable; but at last, abating of his severity, he ordered them to deliver up to him an hundred and twenty of the most guilty. Of these twenty were appointed by lot for execution; and the officers managed it so that the lots fell on the most insolent. After this execution the soldiers were obliged to renew their entreaties to their General for leave to continue in his service. See Hook's

Roman

Sed nihilominùs pergit in itinere cum reliquo exercitu, et, per loca impeditissima et anteà equitibus intentata, tandem pervenit ad Cestram, et ibi motus hostium compescit.

est, nec eos multo precatu seu novis promissis retinere dignatus est. Audactèr incœptum iter iniit, fidásque sibi cohortes se sequi præcepit: desertores verò, velùt inertes pavidósque et invalidos, si discedant, parvipendit. Post difficillimas fatigationes victoribus requiem promittit, nec ad honores posse pertingere nisi per labores asserit. Indefessìm itaque pergit viâ equiti nunquam ante expertâ, in quâ sunt montes ardui, et profundissimæ valles, rivi et amnes periculosi, et voraginosa vallium ima. In hac viâ gradientes sæpè nimio vexabantur imbre, mixtâ interdùm grandine. Aliquando præstabant cunctis usum equi in paludibus evecti. Ipse Rex multoties pedes cunctos agilitèr præcedebát; et laborantes manibus impigrè adjuvabat. Tandem exercitum incolumem usque Cestram perduxit, et in totâ Merciorum regione motus hostiles Regiâ vi compescuit. Tunc Cestræ munitionem condidit[g], et in reversione suâ apud Estafort alteram locavit: milites et alimonias

Apud Cestram et Stafford castel-

Roman History, Vol. 4, page 104. The account given of this transaction by Suetonius is in these words.

Seditionem per decèm annos Gallicis bellis nullam omninò [Milites ejus] moverunt: civilibus aliquas; sed ut celeritèr ad officium redierint, nec tàm indulgentiâ ducis quam auctoritate. Non enim cessit unquam tumultuantibus; atque etiàm obviàm semper iit. Et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quanquam adhuc in armis Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominiâ missam fecit; ægréque, post multas et supplices preces, nec nisi exactâ de sontibus pœnâ, restituit. Suetonius in Julio, sect. 69. This story is related in a very beautiful manner in Lucan's Pharsalia, Lib. 5, from Line 237 to Line 373.

g *Tunc Cestræ munitionem condidit*, &c. This seems to have been the first building of a castle at Chester, and another at Stafford. So that at this time, that is, at Easter in the year 1070, there were the following castles, at least, (if not more,) erected in different parts of England, and garrisoned by Normans and other soldiers of the Conquerour, to keep the English in subjection; to wit, 1st, Dover Castle; which had been built before the conquest, but had been repaired and enlarged by William the Conquerour very soon after the battle of Hastings; 2dly, Pevensey castle, at that part of the coast of Sussex in which the chief part of the Norman army landed in September 1066. This castle was built by the Conquerour immediately after the landing of the Norman army, and before the battle of Hastings, and was intended as a place of retreat to the Normans in case they had been defeated.

3dly. A castle at Hastings in Sussex, which lay at the eastern end of the ground which the Norman army occupied upon their first landing in England. It seems probable that, for the greater dispatch of that dangerous and important business, the landing was carried on at several different parts of the coast at the same time, from Pevensey to Hastings: for otherwise this operation would have taken up several days time, on account of the very great number of ships of which the Norman fleet consisted, which, by the lowest accounts, was a thousand. There is a tradition current at this day on the coast of Sussex that the particular place at which the duke of Normandy himself landed, was a place

place called *Bulver Hythe*, that lies between Hastings and Pevensey, at nearly the same distance from each of them. The command of this castle at Hastings was given to *Humphrey de Telliolo.*

4thly. The Tower of London; which the Conquerour erected about the time of his first coronation in December 1066.

5thly. A castle at Winchester; which he erected in the months of January and February of the year 1067, before he went over to Normandy after having been elected and crowned king of England. The great warriour, William Fitz-Osbern, was appointed the first Governour of this castle; and after him it seems to have been held by *Hugh de Grentemaisnil.*

6thly. A castle at Chichester in Sussex, and, 7thly, another at Arundel in the same county. These the Conquerour, probably, built in the beginning of the year 1068, when he gave *Roger de Montgomery* (whom he had brought over with him from Normandy to England in December 1067,) the earldoms, or governments, of the towns of Chichester and Arundel, with the districts adjoining to them.

8thly. A castle at Exeter; which the Conquerour built in the spring of the year 1068, after having subdued the rebellious citizens of Exeter, and made himself master of their city. He put a garrison of Normans into this castle, and appointed *Baldwin de Molis*, (the son of Earl *Gislebert*, or *Gilbert*,) to be the first Governour, or commander, of it.

9thly. A castle at Warwick; which the Conquerour built in the year 1068, in consequence of the rebellion in the Northern parts of England excited by Earls Edwin and Morcar, out of revenge for the king's breach of his word with earl Edwin in refusing to give him one of his daughters in marriage, as he had promised him in the beginning of his reign, when Earl Edwin had submitted to his authority and brought in all the northern parts of England, (amounting to nearly a third part of the whole kingdom,) to do the same. The command of this castle was given to *Henry de Beaumont*, the son of *Roger de Beaumont.* Soon after the building of this castle the two earls Edwin and Morcar, fearing the event of a contest with the king's troops, sued for the king's pardon, and obtained it.

10thly. A castle at Nottingham; which the Conquerour built in the same year 1068, soon after the submission of the earls Edwin and Morcar, and his reconciliation with them. The command of this castle was given to *William Peverell.*

11thly. A castle at York; which the Conquerour built in the same year 1068, after the citizens of York (who had supported the earls Edwin and Morcar in their rebellion against the king,) had, in consequence of the submission of Edwin and Morcar to the king's authority, renounced their rebellious preparations, and sent the keys of their city to the king with hostages for their future fidelity. The king, not thinking it safe to rely singly on their promises of obedience, built this castle within the walls of the city, and put a strong garrison into it. The first Governour of this castle was *Robert, the son of Richard*, or (I suppose) *Fitz-Richard*; and the next Governour of it, (after the death of the first) was *William Malet.*

12thly. A castle at Lincoln; which the Conquerour built in the same year 1068, in his return from York, after building a castle there.

13thly. A castle at Huntingdon; which the Conquerour built likewise in the same year 1068, in his return from York.

14thly. A castle at Cambridge; which the Conquerour built likewise in the same year 1068, in his return from York.

15thly. A second castle at York; which the Conquerour built there in the year 1069, after the citizens of York had rebelled against him a second time, and had killed Robert, the

the ſon of Richard, or Robert Fitz-Richard, (the firſt Governour of the firſt caſtle, which the king had built there in the year 1068,) with a great part of his garriſon. Upon this misfortune the command of the caſtle ſeems to have devolved upon *William Malet*, who earneſtly ſolicited the king to come to his aſſiſtance, declaring that, if he was not ſpeedily relieved, he ſhould be forced to ſurrender to the rebels. The king, upon this news, haſtened with ſome troops to the relief of the place, and defeated the rebels with great ſlaughter, and took the city, and continued in it eight days, in which time he built another caſtle in a different part of the city, and gave the command of it to the great warriour, William Fitz-Oſbern. The king then returned to the ſouth of England, and kept the great feſtival of Eaſter at Wincheſter. Soon after the king's departure from York the Engliſh rebels in the North took arms again, and attacked both the caſtles at York: but they were met by the Normans under the conduct of William Fitz-Oſbern in a valley in the neighbourhood of York, and defeated with great ſlaughter. But in ſome following part of the ſame year 1069, when the Engliſh rebels in the north of England had been reinforced by a powerful army of Danes which *Swein*, king of Denmark, ſent at this time to invade the kingdom, they, with their allies, marched towards York in order to beſiege theſe caſtles, and were more ſucceſsful than on the laſt occaſion. For the garriſons of the two caſtles were ſo raſh as to give up the advantages of their ſituation, and to march out of their works to give them battle; the conſequence of which was that they were overpowered by numbers, and were all either killed or taken priſoners, and the caſtles were both taken by the enemy. But they were ſoon retaken by king William, who, immediately upon the news of this diſaſter, haſtened down with an army to the north, to oppoſe the enemy, and recover York: which he did without ſtriking a blow, by the mere terror of his name; the enemy abandoning York, and retiring to the Lincolnſhire ſide of the Humber, upon his approach, to avoid an encounter with him. The king afterwards marched to Stafford, and there defeated a great body of the rebels. And ſome time after this, but in the ſame year 1069, he was at Nottingham, where hearing a report that the Danes (who had retired into Lincolnſhire,) intended again to take poſſeſſion of York at Chriſtmas, he immediately marched with his army to prevent them, notwithſtanding a number of difficulties which he had to encounter from the roughneſs of the ways he was to go through, and the danger of being attacked by the enemy at a great diſadvantage in many parts of the journey. All theſe difficulties he, with great ſpirit and unconquerable patience, overcame, and in a few weeks arrived at York, which the Danes had again abandoned to him. And here he ordered the two caſtles (which the Danes had in a great meaſure deſtroyed,) to be repaired and put into good condition, and placed ſtrong garriſons in them, with able Governours to command them. And at Chriſtmas 1069, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned at York, as he had been at Chriſtmas in the year 1066 at London, and afterwards at Eaſter in the year 1070 at Wincheſter.

16thly. A caſtle at Cheſter; which the Conquerour built in the year 1070, after he had ſubdued the rebels of Cheſhire who had joined with a body of Welchmen in beſieging Shrewſbury in the preceeding year 1069, when the Daniſh army was in England.

And 17thly. A caſtle at Stafford; which the Conquerour built in the year 1070, ſoon after the caſtle of Cheſter.

After the building of all theſe caſtles, and not before, that is, in the year 1070, king William ſeems to have completely reduced the Engliſh to ſubjection, and to have remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown. The troubles that happened in the ſubſequent part of his reign, were produced more by his Norman, than his Engliſh, ſubjects.

nias

nias abunde utrobique impoſuit. Perveniens inde Saleſburiam præmia militibus ibi pro tantâ tolerantiâ largiſſimè diſtribuit[h], benemeritos collaudavit, et cum gratiâ multâ dimiſit. Deſertores autem ad dies 40 ultrà diſceſſum commilitonum per indignationem retinuit, eâque pœnâ delictum, quod pejus meruit, caſtigavit.

ls condit, et ad Saliſburiam proficiſcitur, et ibi plurimos milites dimittit.

Poſt hæc Guillelmus Rex Dominicam Reſurrectionem in urbe Guentâ celebravit, ubi Cardinales Romanæ Eccleſiæ Coronam ei ſolemnitèr impoſuerunt. Nam, ex petitione ipſius, Alexander Papa tres idoneos ei, ut clariſſimo filio, legaverat vicarios, Ermenfredum, Pontificem Sedunorum[i], et duos Canonicos Cardinales: Quos apud ſe annuo fermè ſpatio retinuit, audiens et honorans eos tanquam Angelos Dei. In diverſis locis, in plurimis negociis ſic egêre, ſicut indigas Canonicæ examinationis et ordinationis regiones illas dinovêre. Maxima verò ac utiliſſima Synodus Windreſſoris celebrata eſt anno 1070 ab Incarnatione Domini. Rex et Cardinales eidem Concilio præſederunt: et illic Stigaudum, pridem reprobatum anathemate, depoſuerunt[k]. Perjuriis

Gulielmus Rex feſtum Paſchæ celebrat apud urbem Guentam, ſeu Winchester, et ibi de novo coronatur. A.D. 1070.

Magna Synodus eccleſiaſtica tenetur coràm rege apud Windſor.

Stigandus, archi-epiſcopus

[h] *Perveniens inde Saleſburiam præmia militibus ibi pro tantâ tolerantiâ largiſſimè diſtribuit*, &c. Here we ſee that king William gave handſome rewards to ſuch of his ſoldiers as had adhered to him and attended him in his late dangerous and fatiguing expeditions to York and Cheſter: which gives ground to ſuppoſe that theſe ſoldiers were not his feudal tenants by military ſervice, but hired ſoldiers. Yet by what follows one would be apt to conclude the contrary: for we are told that, to puniſh thoſe who had deſerted him on that occaſion, or had refuſed to attend him in thoſe expeditions, he kept them in ſervice for forty days after he had permitted the former to go home; which would not have been any puniſhment to them, if they were hired ſoldiers and maintained by his pay or at his expence; and therefore there ſeems to be ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were his feudal tenants and were made to attend him during thoſe forty days at their own expence. Perhaps the former were hired ſoldiers, and the latter military tenants. But the paſſage is, upon the whole, very obſcure. *Ideò quære.*

[i] *Pontificem Sedunorum.* That is, biſhop of Sion, an epiſcopal city ſituated on the river Rhone between Lyons and Geneva.

[k] *Stigaudum, pridem reprobatum anathemate, depoſuerunt.* This *Stigand*, arch-biſhop of Canterbury, had never received the *Pallium*, or archi-epiſcopal robe or mantle, from the Pope, as it was cuſtomary in this age, and for ſeveral centuries afterwards, for the archbiſhops of Canterbury to do: and for this reaſon he was conſidered by the Pope as an intruder into the ſee of Canterbury, that was not legally inveſted with the authority belonging to it. He was a powerful, ambitious, and intriguing prelate, and accumulated large ſums of money, which he made uſe of as bribes to the great men about king Edward the confeſſor's court to obtain by their means the greateſt dignities in the church. He was, firſt, made biſhop of *Eaſt Anglia*, or *Norfolk*, and from that biſhoprick was promoted to the ſee of Wincheſter,

Cantuarienfis, et alii aliqui Epifcopi Angli, ab epifcopatibus in iftâ Synodo deponuntur.

juriis enim et homicidiis inquinatus erat, nec per oftium in Archipræfulatum introierat. Nam à duobus Epifcopis[l] Norfulcano et Guentano nefandâ gradatione ambitionis et fupplantationis afcenderat. Suffraganei quoque aliquot dejecti funt, indigni Pontificatu propter criminofam vitam, et curæ paftoralis infcitiam. Conftituti funt autem nominandi Præfules Normanni duo, Regii Capellani, Guafchelinus Guentanorum, et Thomas Eboracorum: unus in loco depofiti, alter defuncti[m]: uter-

Winchefter, and, laftly, by his great intereft in king Edward's court, obtained the arch-bifhoprick of Canterbury, even in the life-time of the preceeding arch-bifhop, *Robert*, and held it without refigning the bifhoprick of Winchefter, for feveral years, being in poffeffion of both thofe dignities at the time of the Norman invafion, and continuing to hold them till this great fynod which was held at Windfor (or, according to Ingulphus, at Winchefter,) before the King and the three Cardinals, fent over by the Pope as his Legates, in the year 1070; in which fynod he was depofed. But, though he continued to be archbifhop of Canterbury to this time, yet king William (as we have feen above) would not permit him to officiate in that capacity, and put the Crown upon his head, at his election to the office of king by the united voices of the Normans and the Englifh in December 1066, but chofe to have that ceremony performed by *Aldred*, arch-bifhop of York, objecting to Stigand (to whofe office it belonged to perform that important ceremony) on account of the Pope's difapprobation of his conduct and difallowance of his authority. The account given of this matter by Ingulphus is as follows. *Victoriofiffimus Comes* Willielmus, *obtentâ palmâ, pervagatâque parvo tempore occidentali Angliæ orâ, Londonias cum Epifcopis plurimis petit, et lætantèr receptus, ovantèrque Rex conclamatus, in ipfo die Natali Domini ab* Aldredo, *Archi-epifcopo, coronatus regale folium confcendit. Coronationis autem officium noluit ab Archi-epifcopo* Stigando *percipere (cujus dignitati folebat illud officium ex debito pertinere) eo quòd ab Apoftolico Papâ illum calumniatum audierat fuum pallium non fumfiffe canonicè.* Stigandus *ifte, dimiffo epifcopatu* Eft-Angliæ, *fimplicitatéque innocentiffimi regis abutens, et Jura omnia fe poffe pervertere pecuniis arbitrans,* Wyntonienfem *invaferat; deinde, adhuc vivente* Roberto *Archi-epifcopo,* Cantuariæ *Cathedram afcendens, etiàm* Wyntonienfem *retinebat. Ex his accufatus, et publicè condemnatus, ab Apoftolicæ fedis legatis in concilio* Wyntonienfi *depofitus eft.* See Gale's Ingulphus, page 69.

For a further account of this archbifhop *Stigand*, fee William of Malmfbury's hiftory, intitled, *De Geftis Pontificum Anglorum*, Lib. 1, in the *Scriptores poft Bedam*, pages 204, 205.

[l] *Nam à duobus Epifcopis*, &c. I conjecture that this word *Epifcopis* is printed erroneoufly for the word *Epifcopiis*, which means *bifhopricks*. Without this alteration it is difficult to make fenfe of the paffage. And we may obferve that our author ufes the word *Epifcopiis* in this fenfe in a paffage that occurs a very little lower than the prefent paffage, to wit, in thefe words, *Auguftinus enim et Laurentius, aliique primi prædicatores Anglorum, Monachi fuerunt, et in Epifcopiis fuis vice Canonicorum (quod vix in aliis terris invenitur) Monachos piè conftituerunt.*

[m] *Unus in loco depofiti, alter defuncti.* That is, *Guafchelin* was made bifhop of Winchefter in the room of *Stigand*, who was depofed from the bifhoprick of Winchefter, as well as from the arch-bifhoprick of Canterbury; and *Thomas* was made arch-bifhop of York in the room of *Aldred*, who had crowned king William at London in December 1066, and who was now dead.

que

que prudens, plenus manſuetudine et humanitàte, venerabilis hominibus, verens et amans Deum medullitùs. Item alii ſubrogati ſunt, traducti ex Galliâ; litterati, decorati moribus, ac ſtudioſi divinorum amatores.

Rex Guillelmus maximam curam impendit in rectè gubernandâ Ecclesiâ et in electione optimorum episcoporum et abbatum.

Multimodæ honeſtatis ſtudio in multis Rex Guillelmus laudabilis claruit: maximéque in miniſtris Dei veram religionem (cui pax interdum et proſperitas mundi famulatur) ſemper amavit. Hoc fama multiplex atteſtatur; hoc operum exhibitione certiſſimè comprobatur. Nam dum Paſtor quilibet completo vitæ ſuæ termino de mundo migraret, et Eccleſia Dei proprio rectore viduata lugeret, ſollicitus Princeps prudentes Legatos ad orbatam domum mittebat, omnéſque res Eccleſiæ, ne à profanis diſſiparentur, deſcribi faciebat. Deinde Præſules et Abbàtes, alióſque ſapientes Conſiliarios convocabat: et eorum conſilio quis melior et utilior tàm in divinis rebus quàm in ſecularibus ad regendam Dei domum videretur, ſummoperè indagabat. Denique illum, quem pro vitæ merito et ſapientiæ doctrinâ proviſio ſapientum eligebat, benevolus Rex diſpenſatorem et Rectorem Epiſcopatûs vel Abbatiæ conſtituebat [n]. Hanc nimirùm obſervationem quinquagintà ſex annis

[n] *Denique illum, quem pro vitæ merito et ſapientiæ doctrinâ proviſio ſapientum eligebat, benevolus Rex diſpenſatorem et Rectorem Epiſcopatûs vel Abbatiæ conſtituebat.* By this paſſage it plainly appears, that king William the Conquerour appointed all the biſhops and abbots, both in England and Normandy, by his own authority, without any election of the former by the deans and canons, or prebendaries, of the cathedral churches of which they were to be made biſhops; or of the latter by the monks of the convents of which they were to be made abbots. The manner of appointing them was by delivering to them a ring and a paſtoral ſtaff, as the enſign of their office, or of the power they were inveſted with over the clergy, or the ſociety of monks, committed to their charge. Nor was this right of thus appointing biſhops and abbots, by royal authority, a prerogative introduced by William the Conquerour; but it had been exerciſed by the preceding kings of England for many years before; though, at a more remote period, theſe great eccleſiaſtical governours had been elected, in conformity to certain canons of the church made on the ſubject, by the clergy of the cathedral churches or of the dioceſes, or by the monks of the convents, over which they were to preſide. But this cuſtom had, as Ingulphus informs us, been laid aſide, or neglected, many years before the conqueſt; inſomuch that even king Edward the Confeſſor, (who was ſo remarkable for his piety, and the reſpect he ſhewed the clergy,) paid no regard to it, but appointed both biſhops and abbots by his own authority, by the delivery of the ſtaff and ring. Of this Ingulphus gives us

a remark-

annis custodivit, quibus regimen in Ducatu Normanniæ seu regno Angliæ tenuit: et indè religiosum morem et exemplum posteris dereliquit. Simoniacam hæresim omnimodis abhorrebat: et ideò in eligendis Abbatibus vel Episcopis non tàm opes seu potentiam, quàm

a remarkable instance in the nomination of *Wulgate* to be abbot of Crowland-Abbey, in the year 1048, eighteen years before the conquest, upon the death of *Brichtmer*, the former abbot. The manner of proceeding, on this occasion, was as follows: Upon the death of abbot *Brichtmer*, the prior of Crowland-Abbey, whose name was *Gerard*, came up to king Edward's court, accompanied by two monks of the convent, and delivered into the king's hands the pastoral staff of the late abbot *Brichtmer*. King Edward was, at this time, in search of some means of providing in a proper manner for *Wulgate*, who had lately been abbot of *Peykyrke*, or *Pegelandia*, (a place in the neighbourhood of Crowland) but had been deprived, by judgements given against him in divers law-suits, first of the ground on which his monastery of *Peykyrke* was built, and afterwards of all the manors and lands that had belonged to it; so that he and all his monks, to the number of eighteen, were turned out of all their possessions, and deprived of all certain means of subsistence; which induced king Edward, from compassion to their distress, to entertain them in his court till he could find some other means of providing for them. Upon the death, therefore, of the late abbot of Crowland, and the surrender of his pastoral staff into the king's hands, the king, thinking this a very proper method of providing for abbot *Wulgate*, delivered the staff to him in the presence of *Gerard*, the prior, and the two monks of Crowland-Abbey, who attended him, and of the monks of the late abbey of *Peykyrke*, who were then at court, and thereby constituted him abbot of Crowland-Abbey. And he, at the same time, sent a letter to the subprior and other monks of Crowland-Abbey, in which he tells them he has supplied the loss they have lately suffered by the death of their father (or abbot) *Brichtmer*, by setting over them father *Wulgate* for their governour, *patrem Wulgatum vobis in prælatum præficiendo*. We may therefore conclude, that it was at this time, as well as in the following reign of William the Conquerour, the established practice of the kings of England to appoint bishops and abbots by their own authority, by the delivery of the ring and staff. The words of Ingulphus concerning this practice are very clear and positive, being as follows - *A multis itaque annis retroactis nulla electio prælatorum erat merè libera et Canonica; sed omnes dignitates tàm Episcoporum quàm Abbatum per annulum et baculum regis curia pro suâ complacentiâ conferebat.* The curious reader will, I doubt not, be disposed to read the whole account of this transaction in Ingulphus, which he will find in Gale's Edition, pages 62, 63, and 64.

It appears also, by this passage of *Ordericus Vitalis*, that king William the Conquerour shewed great wisdom and discretion in the exercise of this important prerogative of appointing bishops and abbots; for that he usually called a meeting of bishops and abbots, and other wise counsellors, upon these occasions, and inquired of them what persons they thought to be the most accomplished in divine learning and temporal skill and prudence, and fittest to be entrusted with the government of the church; and that he generally appointed the persons they agreed in recommending.

sanctitatem

ſanctitatem et ſapientiam perſonarum conſiderabat. Probatas virtute perſonas Cœnobiis Angliæ præfecit: quorum ſtudio et rigore Monachatus (qui jam aliquantulùm tepuerat) revixit; èt qui defeciſſe videbatur, ad priſtinum robur ſurrexit.

De ſtatu Eccleſiæ Chriſti in Angliâ ante conqueſtum Angliæ.

Auguſtinus enim et Laurentius, aliíque primi prædicatores Anglorum, Monachi fuerunt, et in Epiſcopiis ſuis vice Canonicorum (quod vix in aliis terris invenitur) Monachos piè conſtituerunt. Cœnobia multa et præclara conſtruxerunt, et converſis inſtituta regularia verbis et exemplis tradiderunt. Magnificè igitur Monachilis Ordo plus quàm ducentis annis in Angliâ floruit: et Chriſtiana Religio Reges Anglorum Edelbertum, Edvinum, Oſwaldum, et Offam, alióſque plures felicitèr coërcuit, et ſalubritèr in montem virtutum ſuſtulit; donec Edmundus, Eſtanglorum Rex, cum aliis duobus Angliæ Regibus, paganorum gladio martyr occubuit [o]. Tunc Ethnici Reges Danorum, Oſkiter et Gudrun, Hamund et Halſdens, Inguar et Huba cum turmis ſuis Angliam invaſerunt, Eccleſias Monachorum et Clericorum concremaverunt, populúmque Dei, ut bidentes, mactaverunt.

Danorum invaſiones.

Alfredi regis fortitudo et pietas.

Poſt aliquot annos Elfredus, Geuviſſorum Rex, filius Edelvulfi Regis, in paganos ſurrexit, et virtute Dei hoſtes aut peremit, aut expulit, aut ſubegit: & primus omnium Regum Monarchiam totius Angliæ ſolus obtinuit [p]. Probitate et liberalitate, laudabilíque providentiâ ómnes Angliæ

[o] *Donec Edmundus, Eſtanglorum Rex, cum aliis duobus Angliæ Regibus, paganorum gladio martyr occubuit.* The death of Edmund, king of the Eaſt-Angles, that is, of the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk, happened in the year 871. He was taken priſoner and beheaded by the Danes. For an account of theſe incurſions of the Danes in the reigns of king Ethelred the Iſt, and his brother, the great king Alfred, and of the infinite miſchief they did in various parts of England, ſee Gale's Ingulphus, pages 18, 19, 20, &c.——28.

[p] *Et primus omnium Regum Monarchiam totius Angliæ ſolus obtinuit.* It is commonly ſaid, by the writers of the hiſtory of England, that Egbert, the grandfather of king Alfred, was *the firſt king of all England*; but here our author tells us that Alfred was the firſt king that anſwered that deſcription. And this is agreeable to the account given us by Ingulphus, who tells us that, upon the ſucceſs of king Alfred againſt the Danes in the year of Chriſt 874, (which was the ſecond or third year of his reign) the kingdom of Mercia was united to the kingdom of Weſſex, which king Alfred

poſſeſſed

Angliæ Reges præcedentes et ſubſequentes (ut reor) excelluit; anníſque 29 laudabilitèr in regno peractis, Edvardo ſeniori, filio ſuo, ſceptra reliquit. Pacificato itaque regni ſtatu, religioſi Principes et Epiſcopi Cœnobia iterùm cœperùnt reſtaurare. Et, quia omnes Monachi totius Albionis perempti fuerant, aut fugati, ſupradictâ rabie gentilium, miſerunt egregium

poſſeſſed before; and that it had continued ſo ever after down to the time of Ingulphus. The words of Ingulphus are as follows: *Regnum qaoque Merciorum hoc temporis momento, prævalente contrà Danos Alfredo rege; ſuo regno Weſt-Saxonico ſociatum eſt, et uſque ad præſentem diem deinceps adunatum. Defecit itaque regnum Merciorum, quod ſteterat à primo anno* Pendæ, *regis primi, uſque ad ultima tempora hujus miſeri ſubreguli* Ceolulphi *circitèr per annos ducentos et trigintà.* See Gale's Ingulphus, page 27.

But it is nevertheleſs true that Egbert had acquired a kind of paramount ſovereignty over the kingdom of Mercia, as well as over all the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and, upon this account, has been called by many hiſtorians, *the firſt ſole monarch of all England*, though both *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* continued to be governed by kings of their own, who only paid tribute to the kings of *Weſſex* as their ſuperiour lords, till the time of king Alfred; when, upon the death of Edmund, the king of Eaſt-Anglia, and of *Beorred*, the laſt lawful king of Mercia, (who died in the year 874) and alſo of the wicked wretch *Ceolulph*, whom the Danes had ſet up as king after the death of *Beorred*, and who reigned there but one year, both thoſe kingdoms fell under the immediate government of Alfred. The account given by Ingulphus of the ſubordination of the kings of Mercia to the kings of Weſſex, from the time of king Egbert to that of his grandſon, king Alfred, is as follows: In the year of Chriſt 825, after great confuſions in the kingdom of Mercia for the preceeding ſix years, or ſince the death of the good king *Kenulph*, (who died in the year 819) *Wichtlaf*, a nobleman of great eminence in that country, (whoſe ſon, *Wymund*, had married *Alfled*, a niece of king Kenulph) was choſen king of Mercia by the nobles of the country, and reigned there thirteen years, but in ſubordination to, and as a tributary of, Egbert, king of Weſſex. *Omnium conſenſu* Wichtlafius, *dux Wicciorum, (cujus filius* Wymundus Alfledam, *filiam* Ceolulphi, *quondam regis, et fratris* Kenulphi, *regis nobiliſſimi, duxerat in uxorem) in regem levatus eſt, et tredecim annis regnavit, ſub ditione tamen et tributo* Egberti, *regis Weſt-Saxonum.* This *Wichtlaf*, in the year 833, made a grant of lands to Crowland-Abbey, containing ſome very important privileges, of which he procured a confirmation from king Egbert, (whom he calls his lord) in order to make it more valid and durable. *Et ut iſtud meum privilegium firmiùs et fortiùs ad poſteros perſeveret, per dominum meum* Egbertum, *regem Weſt-Saxoniæ, et Athelwulfum, filium ejus, illud obtinui confirmari.* Upon the death of this king *Wichtlaf*, in the year 838, his brother *Bertulph* ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Mercia, and held it as tributary to *Ethelwulph*, king of Weſſex, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Egbert. *Succeſſit in regnum* Bertulphus, *frater ſuus, et regnavit ſimilitèr tredecim annos,* Athelulphi, *regis Weſt-Saxoniæ, tributarius.* And after the death of Bertulph in the year 851, or 852, *Beorred* ſucceeded to the kingdom of Mercia, and reigned over it twenty-two years, and was ſucceeded by the abovementioned *Ceolulph*, who had been one of his ſervants,

gium juvenem Osvaldum[q] ad Floriacense Cœnobium, quod in Galliâ Leodebodus Aurelianensis construxit suprà Ligerim fluvium tempore Lodovei, filii Dagoberti Regis Francorum. Locus ille admodùm venerabilis est ossibus sancti Benedicti, Patris et Magistri Monachorum, quem Aigulfus Monachus, à Mummolo Abbate destinatus, de Beneventanâ Provinciâ detulit in Aurelianensem pagum. Hoc nimirùm contigit post depopulationem Cassinensis Monasterii, quam beatus Benedictus cum lacrymis prædixerat Theoprobo Monacho, nobili servo Dei; ut in II. Dialogorum libro legimus, quem Petro, Subdiacono, edidit luculentèr insignis Papa Gregorius.

Defuncto Clepone Rege, antequam Antharith filius ejus ad imperandum esset idoneus, et tota gens Langobardorum sine rege subjugata esset trigintà Ducibus, prædones Guinilorum furibundi noctu impetum fecerunt, et Cassinense Monasterium depopulati sunt: sed omnes Monachi, protegente Deo, incolumes cum Bonito, Abbate suo, evaserunt. Deinde centùm et decèm annis eadem desolatio ibidem permansit; donec Petronax, Brixensis Episcopus, Cassinum montem adiit, et ibidem, auxiliante Zachariâ Papa, nobile Cœnobium restauravit: quod usque in hodiernum diem magnificè sublimatum quotidiè crescit. Dum præfata itaque desolatio perduraret, et Cassinus mons cultoribus careret, Flo-

servants, and was set up by the Danes, who at that time were ravaging many parts of England with great fury and success. They shortly after deposed him from this high station, and then were themselves obliged, by the success of king Alfred's arms against them, to evacuate all Mercia, and retire into East-Anglia: after which the kingdom of Mercia fell under the immediate government of king Alfred, and continued ever after to make a part of the dominions of the kings of Wessex.

[q] *Egregium juvenem Oswaldum.* This *Oswald* was born in England of Danish parents, who were settled there, and had embraced the Christian religion. His parents were persons of the highest birth and rank, and of great wealth; and he was educated in the most careful manner, and under the most celebrated preceptors in the kingdom. He had a great turn to learning and piety, and distinguished himself early by the progress he made in virtue and knowledge. He flourished in the reign of king Edgar, and was made bishop of Worcester by him, when St. Dunstan was promoted to the archbishoprick of Canterbury. He was afterwards promoted from the bishoprick of Worcester to the archbishoprick of York. He was reckoned a *saint*, and is so called in the old monkish historians. For a further account of him, see the History of Ramsey-Abbey, Book I. Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.——21, in the third volume of Gale's Collection of old Writers of the English History, pages 391, 392, 393, &c.——401.

riacensis

riacensis domus, volente Deo, ditata est precioso corpore præcipui Patris Benedicti: cujus translationem Cisalpini Cœnobitæ singulis annis solemnitèr et devotè celebrant 5 Idus Julii. Illùc Osvaldus, reverendus adolescens, accessit ut Monachus fieret et Monachilem normam edisceret, suámque vitam secundùm voluntatem Dei salubritèr coerceret, aliósque hujus Ordinis amatores per Apostolorum vestigia supernæ vocationis ad bravium pertraheret. Quod ita factum est.

Osvaldus, nobilis Anglus, et Dunstanus et Ethelwoldus, in restaurando monachali ordine in Angliâ præcipuè laborant.

Post aliquot annos Osvaldus à Floriacense Archimandratâ benignitèr rogantibus Anglis redditus est. Et, quia multiplici tàm sagacitate quàm bonitate pollebat, omnibus Angliæ Cœnobiis præpositus est. Venerabiles quoque viri Dunstanus ac Adelvoldus eum summoperè adjuverunt, et Glastoniam ac Abundoniam primitùs institutis regularibus instruxerunt. His Doctoribus fidelitèr obedierunt Reges Anglorum Adelstanus, Ædredus, Edmundus, et præcipuè Edgarus, Edmundi filius. Quo regnante Dunstanus Dorobherniæ Metropolitanus factus est, ac Adelvoldus Guentoniensis Præsul inthronizatus est. Osvaldus autem priùs Guingornensem Episcopatum, ac posteà rexit Eboracensem Archipræsulatum. Horum precibus Floriacensis Abbo, sapiens atque religiosus Cœnobita, missus est trans mare, et Monasticum usum docuit Ramesiæ, et aliis Monasteriis Angliæ, sicuti tenebatur in Galliâ eodem tempore. Studium sanctitatis et totius honestatis præfatos Antistites illuminavit, et dogmatibus eorum ac miraculis per eos exhibitis commodè irradiavit: multísque vulgaribus et literatis profuit.

Restauratio Monachorum in Angliâ sub Alfredi regis successoribus.

Monasterium Medeshamstede apud vicum dictum *Burg*, sive *Peterborough*, sub Edgaro rege restauratur.

Tunc Cœnobium Medeshamstede, quod pridem tempore Vulferi, Regis Merciorum, Sexvulfus Pontifex construxit, Adelvoldus Præsul sub Edgaro rege in vico, qui modò Burg dicitur, restauravit: et basilicam in honore sancti Petri, Apostolorum principis, editam magnis opibus ditavit. Deinde Torneiense, Eligense, et alia multa Monasteria à pluribus in locis fabricata sunt: et Conventus in illis Monachorum aut Clericorum aut Sanctimonialium solertèr locati sunt. Copia redditiuum singulis Monasteriis largitèr impertiebatur; unde sufficiens victus et vestitus Theoricis administraretur: ne, pro penuriâ rerum necessariarum, in divino cultu aliquatenùs vacillantes frangerentur.

Sic

Sic in Angliâ Monasticus Ordo renovatus est: et in multis Cœnobiis gloriosum agmen Monachorum contrà Satanam virtutum armis munitum est: et perseverantèr dimicare in prælio Domini donec victoriâ potiatur, nobilitèr edoctum est. Verùm post aliquod tempus ad expurgandum triticum, ubi exuberantia zizaniorum nimìs multiplicata est, iterùm sub Egelredo Rege, filio Edgari, gravissima tempestas ab Aquilone Anglis oborta est. Nam vesanus idololatra Suenus, Rex Danorum, Angliæ cum validâ classe paganorum applicuit: ac, ut nimius turbo, supèr improvidos illicò irruit: pavidúsque Rex Egelredus, cum filiis suis Edvardo et Elfredo, et Emmâ Reginâ, in Normanniam aufugit. Non multò pòst Suenus, dum nimìs in Christianos sæviret, à sancto Edmundo, jussu Dei, peremptus est, et Egelredus, auditâ morte inimici, ad sua regressus est. Deinde Chunutus Rex Dacorum *, ut diversos eventus patris sui comperit, duos Reges, Lacmam Suavorum et Olavum Noricorum, sibi ascivit, et cum ingenti exercitu Angliam adiit. Denique, post multas strages, defuncto Egelredo Rege, et Edmundo Irniside, filio ejus, Angliam obtinuit: et ipse postmodùm, filiíque ejus Heraldus et Hardecunutus, plus quàm 40 annis possedit [r].

Dani iterùm Angliam invadunt tempore Ethelredi regis, filii Edgari.

Suenus rex.

Canutus, Sueni filius.

Heraldus, Canuti filius.

Harde Canutus, etiam Canuti filius.

His tempestatibus Cantuaria metropolis obsessa et combusta est: et S. Elfagus Archiepiscopus diversis suppliciis à gentilibus Danis martyrizatus est. Tunc aliæ urbes concrematæ sunt, et Episcopales ac Monachiles Ecclesiæ cum libris et ornamentis destructæ sunt. Grex quoque fidelium per diversa loca tot procellis agitatus est, et luporum dentibus patens variis modis horribilitèr dilaniatus est.

Urbs Cantuariæ à Danis comburitur, et Elphegus archiepiscopus ab iisdem trucidatur.

Prolixam digressionem, sed, nisi fallor, non inutilem, protelavi, et de priscis Annalibus collecta recensui: ut causa manifestè pateat studioso lectori, cur Anglos agrestes et penè illiteratos invenerint Normanni, quos olìm optimis institutionibus solertes instruxerunt Pontifices Ro-

Per invasiones et devastationes Danorum factum est ut Angli penè omnem literarum et liberalium artium cognitionem amiserint ante invasionem Normannicam.

* id est, *Danorum.*

[r] *Plus quam* 40 *annis possedit.* This number of years is greater than the truth; which may, perhaps, be owing to a misprint in *Andrew Du Chesne*'s edition of this author, from which this edition is printed. But, whatever be the cause of it, the number of years, during which the Danish kings reigned in England, is magnified. For from the first invasion of England by *Swein*, king of Denmark, in the year 1013, to the death of *Harde-Canute*, and accession of *Edward the Confessor*, in the year 1042, or 1043, is at most thirty years, and not forty, as our author here represents it.

mani

mani. Gregorius enim et Bonifacius eximios Doctores, cum libris et omnibus Ecclesiasticis utensilibus, Anglis miserunt, ac, ut charissimos filios, ad omne bonum educantes erudierunt. Deinde Vitalianus Papa, tempore Oswii et Egberti Regum, sapientissimos viros Theodorum, Archiepiscopum, et Adrianum, Abbatem, in Angliam misit: quorum peritiâ studióque Anglicus Clerus tam Latinâ quàm Græcâ eruditione affatìm imbutus mirabilitèr viguit. His sequenti tempore florentes Albinus, Abbas, et Adelinus, Præsul, successerunt, quorum solertia et religio multos docuerunt; scriptísque laudabilia virtutum suarum monimenta posteritati effigiaverunt. Hos omnes et plures alios perspicax Beda laudibus extulit, et indagine liberalium artium rerúmque secretarum perfectis æquiparari laboravit. Salutiferum panem veteris et novi Testamenti pueris Ecclesiæ dilucidando confregit: abdita in explanatorum libris plusquam 60 reseravit: et sic, tàm apud suos quàm apud exteros, perennem sibi memoriam promeruit.

Preciosis lapidibus in muro cælestis Hierusalem felicitèr collocatis, triticeísque granis in apothecâ veri Joseph diligentèr reconditis: silices in plateis stratæ sunt, et paleæ in sterquilinium projectæ, et irreverentèr à prætereuntibus conculcatæ sunt. Sic omnipotentis Dei justo nutu, postquam electi de transitoriis ad æterna migrarunt: dum Daci, ut jam descripsimus, divino et humano metu carentes, per Angliam diù debacchati sunt: innumeræ contrà Dei legem prævaricationes temerè patratæ sunt. Humana exercitia (quæ semper ad nefas prona sunt) subtractis Rectoribus cum virgâ disciplinæ, per infandos actus abominabilia facta sunt. Hujuscemodi dissolutio Clericos et laïcos relaxaverat, et utrúmque sexum ad omnem lasciviam inclinaverat. Abundantia cibi et potûs luxuriem nutriebat, levitas et mollicies gentis in flagitium quemquam facilè impellebat. Destructis Monasteriis Monastica religio debilitata est, et Canonicus rigor usque ad Normannorum tempora reparatus non est. Per longum itaque retrò tempus Transmarinorum Monachatus deciderat, et parùm à secularitate conversatio Monachorum differebat. Habitu fallebant, ac professionis vocabulo: dediti ganeæ, peculiis

Et monachi instituta et regulas sui ordinis valdè negligunt.

* *Per longum itaque retrò tempus Transmarinorum Monachatus deciderat, et parùm à secularitate conversatio Mouachorum differebat.* The meaning is, "That for a long time "before the Norman conquest, namely, for about fifty-three years, or ever since the "conquest

peculiis innumeris, fœdísque prævaricationibus. Hic itaque Ordo Guillelmi Regis instinctu ad instituta regularia corrigebatur, ac ad consuetudines beatificas perductus valdè honorabatur. Aliquanti Abbates à Rege novitèr ordinati sunt, et complures Cœnobitæ in Monasteriis Gallicis competentèr edocti sunt, qui, regio jussu Anglis prælati, disciplinam instituebant, et religiositatis exempla proponebant. Cœnobio Beati Petri, Apostolorum Principis, (quod Anglorum primus Doctor construxerat Augustinus [t]) famosus Abbas scientiâ et bonitate pollens, prælatus est Scollandus. Hic ex nominato stemmate in Normanniâ natus, in Monte Michaëlis Archangeli ad periculum maris regularitèr educatus, ad emendationem morum Cantuariis à Normannis est prælatus. Similitèr in aliis Monasteriis cita Magistrorum mutatio facta est, quæ quibusdam utilis, et nonnullis periculosa, tàm magistris quàm subditis, facta est.

Rex Gulielmus eorum disciplinam restaurat, pios et doctos et strenuos abbates in præcipuis monasteriis constituens.

Cantuariensis Cathedra, (in quâ sedens Augustinus decreto Gregorii Papæ præfuit omnibus Episcopis Britanniæ,) deposito Stigaudo decreta est Lanfranco Cadomensium Abbati, Regis et omnium Optimatum ejus benivolâ electione [u]. Hic ex nobili parentelâ ortus, Papiæ [w], urbis Italiæ,

De Lanfranco, monasterii Cadomensis Abbate.

" conquest of England by *Swein*, king of Denmark, in the year 1013, the strict
" rules of the monastick manner of living, which were prescribed by St. *Benedict*,
" the founder of that institution, and which were observed in the convents in France
" and other parts beyond the seas, or on the continent of Europe, had fallen into neg-
" lect amongst the monks and nuns of England, and their conversation, or mode
" of living, had been very little different from that of secular persons."

[t] *Cœnobio Beati Petri, Apostolorum Principis, (quod Anglorum primus Doctor construxerat Augustiuus)*, &c. This was the convent of monks at Canterbury; which was dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul. I find the following passage concerning its foundation in *Ralph Higden's Polychronicon. Rex autem [Cantiæ, Ethelbertus] conversus [ad fidem Christianam] dedit doctori suo locum sedis episcopalis cum multis possessionibus apud ecclesiam salvatoris, sed ad orientem urbis monasterium Petri et Pauli construxit, ubi ipse Augustinus et successores sui, nec non et reges Cantiæ, sepeliri solent.* See Gale's Collection of old English Historians, Volume IIId. page 226.

[u] *Cantuariensis Cathedra, &c. decreta est Lanfranco, Cadomensium Abbati, regis et omnium optimatum ejus benevolâ electione.* From this single passage one would be apt to suppose that the great nobles of the kingdom, *optimates regis*, had a share, conjointly with the king, in electing the bishops. But, from a great number of other passages, both in this and other contemporary authors, it is almost certain that they were appointed by the king alone. And therefore this passage can only mean
" that the great nobles, who were present at this council, highly approved of the
" choice the king made on this occasion of the virtuous and learned *Lanfrank* to
" fill the vacant see of Canterbury."

[w] *Papiæ.* That is, the city of *Pavia* in the north of Italy.

In juventute ad secularium legum studium et officium Advocati, se confert.

Postea fit monachus apud Beccum in Normannia.

Deinde in monasterio Beccensi publicè docet Philosophiam et Theologiam.

civibus, ab annis infantiæ in scholis liberalium artium studuit, et secularium legum peritiam, ad patriæ suæ morem, intentione laïcâ fervidus, edidicit. Adolescentulus oratór veteranos adversantes in actionibus causarum frequentèr præcipitavit, torrente facundiâ appositè dicendo senes superavit. In ipsâ ætate sententias promere statuit, quas gratantèr Jurisperiti, aut Judices, aut Prætores civitatis acceptabant. At cùm in exilio (velut Plato quondam Academicus) philosopharetur, ignis æternus mentem ejus incendit, et amor veræ sapientiæ cordi ejus illuxit. Animadvertebat cum Ecclesiaste, (quod nondum Ecclesiasticæ lectionis usu didicit) quia mundi bona vanitas [x]. Repentino itaque animi contemptu jactans mundum ac* se, arripiénsque religionis professionem, jugo regulari subdidit se. Cœnobiolum Beccense in Normanniâ loci situ et paupertate elegit, quod prudentiâ ipsius vigilantissimáque curâ locupletavit, et in statum pulcherrimi ordinis provexit: dum severâ mitíque disciplinâ regeret fraternum Collegium, humilíque et utili consilio sanctum Abbatem, nomine Herluinum, Neophitum exulem, dum sese viciis et mundo mortificaret, et pro intimis ac supernis maximè laboraret: publicavit Deus, inspector cogitationum, ut lucerna poneretur super candelabrum, Domini̇́que convenientèr illuminaret amplissimam domum. Coactu obedientiæ de claustrali quiete protractus magister processit, quo docente Philosophicarum ac divinarum literarum Bibliotheca effulsit. In utráque nodos questionum solvere potentissimus erat. Hoc Magistro primitùs Normanni litteratoriam artem perscrutati sunt, et de Scholâ Beccensi eloquentes in divinis et secularibus Sophistæ processerunt. Nam anteà sub tempore sex Ducum Neustriæ vix ullus Normannorum liberalibus studiis adhæsit: nec Doctor inveniebatur, donec provisor omnium Deus Normannicis oris Lanfrancum appulit. Fama peritiæ illius in totâ ubertìm innotuit Europâ: unde ad magisterium ejus multi convenerunt, de Franciâ, de Uvasconiâ, de Britanniâ, necne Flandriâ.

Varia ejus Scientia.

Admirandum cognoscerent ingenium sibi studiúmque Lanfranci, Herodianus in Grammaticâ, Aristoteles in Dialecticâ, Tullius in Rhetoricâ,

[x] *Quia mundi bona vanitas.* Here *quia* is used in the sense of *quòd*, meaning "that "the good things of the world are but vanity." The reader must have observed many other instances of this use of the word *quia* in this and the foregoing authors.

* Forte legendum foret, *ab se.*

Augustinus

Augustinus et Hieronymus, aliísque legis et gratiæ expositores, in sacrâ paginâ. Athenæ, quandò incolumes florebant, et excellentissimæ ad præcipiendum sedebant, Lanfranco in omni genere eloquentiæ aut disciplinarum assurgerent: et perceptis ab eo commodis allegationibus instrui cuperent. Studiosus fuit idem Cœnobita gladio verbi perimere sectas, si quæ fidem lacesserent Catholicam. Profectò Beringerium Turonensem (quem nonnulli Hæresiarcham putabant[y], et ejus dogma damnabant, quo de salutis hostiâ mortem animabus propinabat) spiritualis eloquii mucrone confodit in Synodo Romanâ et Vercellensi. Ibi sanctissimè exposuit, veracissimè comprobavit, panem et vinum, quæ Dominicæ mensæ superponuntur, post consecrationem esse veram carnem et verum sanguinem Domini Salvatoris. Profundissimis disputationibus Beringerium Romæ Turonísque palàm evicit, omnémque hæresim anathematizare, scriptóque veram fidem profiteri coëgit. Deinde blasphemus Hæresiarcha, quia mœstus erubuit, quòd libellos perversi dogmatis Romæ suis, ne ipse cremaretur, manibus in ignem conjecerit, discipulis pecuniâ paritèr ac fallaciâ corruptis recens scriptum domi condidit, et per eosdem peregrè transmisit, ut vetus error approbatiùs fulciretur, et in futuros perdurabilior annos porrigeretur. Ad quod destruendum Lanfrancus dilucido edidit venustóque stilo libellum, sacris auctoritatibus ponderosum, et indissolubilitèr constantem consequentiis rationum, veræ intelligentiæ astructione de Eucharistiâ copiosum, facundo sermone luculentum, nec prolixitate tædiosum. Multæ Ecclesiæ Abbatem vel Pontificem incredibili desiderio sibi Lanfrancum petierunt, quem etiàm Roma, Christiani Orbis caput, sollicitavit Epistolis, et precatu retinere conata est et vi. Sic omnibus emicuit honorabilis, quem virtus et sapientia decorârat specialis.

Contrà Berengarium disputat in Synodo Romanâ et Vercellensi, super Eucharistiâ.

Et de eâdem materiâ libellum edit.

[y] *Berengarium Turonensem, quem nonnulli hæresiarcham putabant*, &c. By this expression, *nonnulli putabant*, it seems probable that the clergy of the church of Rome had not yet thoroughly adopted the doctrine of transubstantiation, which they have since so much insisted on, though the balance of opinions was beginning to incline that way. The famous *Hildebrand*, or pope *Gregory the Seventh*, (who lived at this time, and succeeded pope Alexander the IId. in the year 1073, and who is famous for having carried the claims of the papal authority to so extravagant a height;) seems not to have adopted this strange doctrine, and not to have considered Berenger's opinion as heretical, at the time of his teaching it; though afterwards, when it had been condemned in the ecclesiastical synods, or councils, held at *Rome* and *Vercellæ*, he acquiesced in the decision of the church. See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

Confilio et hortatione Sedunenfis Epifcopi, à sede Romanâ legati, ad Archiepifcopatum Cantuariæ promovetur, menfis Augufti die 27mo, A.D. 1070.

Sedunenfis igitur Epifcopus, poftquam Stigaudum, ut jam dictum eft, depofuit, Lanfrancum ad regimen Pontificale invitavit: et in confilio Epifcoporum ac Abbatum Normanniæ, petitionem Ecclefiæ Dei denunciavit[a]. Ille autèm perturbatus tam grave fibi onus extimuit, et inducias ad deliberandum petiit, indubitatum tenens quòd fimùl ire non poffent Monachi ocium et Archipræfulis negocium. Abbas Herluinus imperat, cui obfecundare, velut Chrifto, folebat. Regina, cum filio Principe, precatur[a]. Majores quoque, ideò collecti, ftudiofè hortantur. Non abnuit ille præcipiti fententiâ, quia omne factum et dictum ejus difcretionis dirigebat norma. Obedientiam offendere cavet, fimul tantos qui rogant, favent, hortantur. Mœftus ergò trans mare vadit excufatum fe, fperans jocunditatem in reverfione. Rex cum gaudio adjutorem culturæ Chriftianæ reverentèr fufcepit et excufatione reluctantem humilitate et majeftate pulchrè pugnans devicit.

Anno itaque Dominicæ Incarn. MLXX. Lanfrancus, Cadomenfium primus Abbas, divinitùs Anglis inftitutor datus eft: et honeftiffimâ electione ac fideli confecratione Cantuarienfis Ecclefiæ Archipræful IV.

[a] *Sedunenfis igitur Epifcopus ——— Lanfrancum ad regimen Pontificale invitavit: et in confilio Epifcoporum et Abbatum Normanniæ petitionem Ecclefiæ denunciavit.* The meaning of this paffage feems to be, "that the bifhop of *Sion*, the pope's legate, after "having depofed archbifhop *Stigand* from the offices of archbifhop of Canterbury "and bifhop of Winchefter, quitted England and went over to Normandy, and "there affembled a council of bifhops and abbots of that dukedom, and, in their "prefence, communicated to *Lanfrank*, abbot of *Caen*, the invitation of king William the Conquerour, and the bifhops of England, to go over to England, and "be made archbifhop of Canterbury in *Stigand*'s room." I conceive that the words *petitionem Ecclefiæ* mean "the wifhes of the bifhops and other eminent clergy," and not "the election of the monks of the monaftery of Canterbury," as it does not not appear that the bifhops were ever chofen in that manner, either in this reign or that of king Edward the Confeffor. See above, page 233, note *n*. And in like manner the words *honeftiffimâ electione*, in the next paragraph, muft be underftood to mean "the moft honourable appointment by the king, with the general approbation of his nobles and clergy," and not "the election of the monks of Canterbury."

[a] *Regina, cum filio Principe, precatur.* That is, queen Matilda, and her eldeft fon Robert, the prince, or heir apparent of Normandy, (who were both at this time in Normandy,) join with the other great perfons in Normandy in preffing Lanfrank to accept the archbifhoprick of Canterbury.

Kal.

Kal. Septembris inthronizatus est. Cujus ordinationi multi Præsules et Abbates interfuêre cum maximâ Cleri populísque multitudine [b]. Præsentes et absentes totius Albionis incolæ tripudiarent, atque multùm læti Deo gratias agerent, si quantum boni cælitùs sibi tunc impertiretur agnoscerent.

In Cadomensi Ecclesiâ Guillelmus, Radbodi, Sagiensis Episcopi, filius [c], Lanfranco successit: quem post novem (ut reor) annos indè Rex Guillelmus ad regendam Rothomagensem Metropolim provexit. Hic consobrinus Guillelmi Præsulis Ebroicensium, filii Girardi Fleitelli, fuit; cujus potentia tempore Ricardorum in Neustriâ maximè viguit. Canonicus et Archidiaconus Rotomagensis Maurilio Pontifici paruit: magísque Dei amore fervens, cum Theoderico, Uticensi Abbate, peregrè perrexit, et gloriosum Salvatoris sepulchrum in Hierusalem reverentèr adiit. Inde reversus, pristinos præcavens labores amittere, mundi lenociniis penitùs subtraxit se, et in Beccensi Cœnobio divinæ gratantèr inhæsit militiæ. Dein cum Lanfranco ad instructionem neophitorum, qui in Cadomense castrum ad servitutem Christi confluebant, protractus est: quorum ipse paulò pòst pater et magister laudabilis factus est.

Gulielmus, Radbodi filius, succedit Lanfranco in Abbatiâ monasterii Cadomensis.

[b] *Cujus ordinationi multi Præsules et Abbates interfuêre cum maximâ Cleri populíque multitudine.* William of Malmsbury gives us the names of the bishops by whom Lanfrank was consecrated. They were, *William*, bishop of London, *Siward*, bishop of Rochester, *Walchelm*, bishop of Winchester, *Remigius*, bishop of Lincoln, *Herfast*, bishop of Thetford, *Stigand*, bishop of Selsey, *Herman*, bishop of Sherburn, and *Giso*, bishop of Wells. The words of the original are these: *Consecratus est autem quarto Calendarum Septembris in Sede Metropoli à suffraganeis ipsius Sedis, Willielmo,* Londoniensi *Episcopo, Siwardo, Roffensi, Walchelmo, Wentano, Remigio, Dorcensi sive Lincolniensi, Herfasto, Helmanensi sive Theofordensi, Stigando, Selesiensi, Hermanno, Schireburnensi, Gisone, Wellensi. Cæteri, qui absentes fuerunt, causas suæ absentiæ tàm Legatis quàm Litteris ostenderunt.* See *Scriptores post Bedam,* page 205, line 45, &c.

[c] *Gulielmus, Radbodi, Sagiensis Episcopi, filius.* By this and other passages of this author, in which the sons of bishops and archbishops are mentioned without any expressions of reproach or disapprobation, it is plain that at this time bishops were often married in Normandy and England without incurring any censure or disgrace, and their children were considered as lawfully begotten; though soon after, in the papacy of Gregory the Seventh, (which continued from A.D. 1073 to A.D. 1085,) the church of Rome made the most violent exertions to establish the celibacy of the clergy, in which at last, but after many struggles, it succeeded.

Succeſſiones Epiſcoporum in Eccleſiis Ebroicenſi et Sagienſi.

Defunƈto Guillelmo, Ebroicenſi Epiſcopo, Balduinus, Ducis Capellanus, ſucceſſit, et Præſulatum ferè ſeptem annis regularitèr rexit. Quo defunƈto Giſlebertus, Oſberni filius, Canonicus et Archidiaconus Lexovienſis, ſucceſſit, et Epiſcopatum pluſquam xxx. annis utilitèr tenuit, et res Eccleſiæ multis modis auxit, ſolertiáque ſuâ emendavit. Ivone verò, Sagienſium Præſule, defunƈto, Robertus, Huberti de Riâ filius, ſucceſſit, qui ferè xii. annis prælatui præfuit: et ipſe circà Dei cultum fervens Religioſos multùm dilexit.

Hoc tempore, A. D. 1070, pàx aliquantiſpèr regnat in Angliâ.

His temporibus, opitulante gratiâ Dei, pax in Angliâ regnabat, et ſecuritas aliquanta, procul repulſis latronibus, habitatores terræ refovebat. Civilitèr Angli cum Normannis cohabitabant in burgis, caſtris, et urbibus; connubiis alteri alteros mutuò ſibi conjungentes. Vicos aliquos aut fora urbana Gallicis mercibus et mangonibus referta conſpiceres [d]: et ubique Anglos, qui pridem, amiƈtu patrio compti, videbantur Francis turpes, nunc peregrino cultu alteratos videres. Nemo prædari audebat, ſed unuſquiſque ſua rura tutò colebat, ſuóque compari (ſed non per longum tempus) hilaritèr applaudebat. Fiebant, et reparabantur baſilicæ; et in eis ſacri Oratores obſequium ſtudebant Deo debitum perſolvere. Regnans in Rege diligentia boni vigilabat, et quoſcúmque poterat ferventèr ad bona excitabat. Anglicam locutionem plerúmque ſategit ediſcere; ut ſine interprete querelam ſubjeƈtæ legis poſſet intelligere, et ſcita reƈtitudinis unicuique (prout ratio diƈtaret) affeƈtuosè depromere [e]. Aſt à perceptione hujuſmodi durior ætas illum compeſcebat

[d] *Vicos aliquos aut fora urbana Gallicis mercibus et mangonibus referta conſpiceres.* It ſeems probable that the Normans, at this time, lived moſtly in caſtles and towns, where by their numbers they could be tolerably ſecure from the attempts of the Engliſh, whom they had ſubdued and deprived of their eſtates, and to whom they were conſequently very odious. And hence it has come to paſs that more Norman, or French, words have been introduced into the Engliſh language with reſpeƈt to ſuch things as were exhibited for ſale in towns and markets under the authority of government, than with reſpeƈt to things that related to agriculture and a country life. Thus the bodies of dead ſheep, and oxen, and calves, which were ſold in market-towns, were called *mutton*, *beef*, and *veal*, from the French words, *mouton*, *bœuf*, and *veau*; but the living animals themſelves which were bred in the country, (where there were fewer Normans) continued to be called by their Engliſh names of *ſheep*, *oxen*, and *calves*.

[e] *Ut ſine interprete querelam ſubjeƈtæ legis poſſet intelligere, et ſcita reƈtitudinis unicuique (prout ratio diƈtaret) affeƈtuosè depromere.* By this paſſage, as well as ſome former ones,

compefcebat, et tumultus multimodarum occupationum ad alia neceffariò adtrahebat.

Verùm, quia humani generis àdverfarius, tanquam leo rugiens, circumit, quærens quem dente crudelitatis fuæ comminuere poffit; iterùm ingens turbatio Anglis oritur atque Normannis, atque ad multorum detrimentum diù perfida fævit erinnys. Nam Rex Guillelmus confilio pravorum malè ufus, laudi fuæ damnum ingeffit, dum fraudulentèr inclytum Comitem Morcarum in Elienfi infulâ conclufit, fibíque confœderatum, et nil mali machinantem vel fufpicantem obfedit [f]. Verfipelles autem

Mox novi tumultus oriuntur in Angliâ.

Gulielmus, rex, Morcarum, Comitem Anglum, in infulâ Elienfi obfidet;

ones, it appears that William the Conquerour did fometimes hear and determine the caufes and complaints of his fubjects in his own perfon, inftead of fending them to be tried in his courts of juftice. But this practice of the kings of England has been laid afide for many centuries, and is now generally underftood to be againft law. And God forbid it fhould ever be revived!

[f] *Sibíque confœderatum, et nil mali machinantem vel fufpicantem, obfedit.* That is, king William fhut up and befieged earl Morcar in the ifle of Ely, from unjuft fufpicions entertained of him, at a time that Morcar was in reality very well affected to the king (*fibi confœderatum,*) and neither contriving any mifchief againft him, nor fearing any from him.

It is remarkable that Ingulphus informs us, that this earl *Morcar* and his brother *Edwin* were both murdered in a treacherous manner by fome of their own followers, *Prædicti germani Comites Edwinus et Morkarius ambo à fuis per infidias trucidati*; whereas, according to *Ordericus*, *Morcar* was thrown into prifon by king William, and detained in that fituation during the king's whole reign; and *Edwin*, (who had concealed himfelf for fome time, while he was endeavouring to procure affiftance from Wales and Scotland, and from fome of his friends and dependants in England, to make war upon the king, and force him to fet his brother *Morcar* at liberty,) was difcovered by the treachery of three brothers, who profeffed an attachment to him, and were highly in his favour, to a party of Norman foldiers, who fell upon him and killed him with twelve of his followers, after a brave and obftinate refiftance. *William* of *Malmfbury* agrees with *Ingulphus* in faying that both Edwin and Morcar were murdered at this time by their own followers, *fuorum perfidiâ trucidati.* See *Scriptores poft Bedam*, page 104, line 10.

This difagreement amongft thefe ancient writers concerning the fate of two fuch eminent perfons, is fomewhat furprizing. However, they all agree that at this time, A. D. 1071, both the brothers difappeared, and were no longer in a fituation that could give the king any uneafinefs. And this we muft confider as the completion of the conqueft of England by the Normans, which had been only begun by the battle of Haftings, in October 1066. For we have feen that from that time to the death of earl Edwin the Englifh were continually endeavouring to throw off the Norman

autem inter eos nuncii discurrerunt, et dolosam conditionem nequitèr pepigerunt: "scilicet, ut se Comes Regi redderet, eúmque Rex paci-"ficè, ut fidum amicum, susciperet." Obsessus nempe diù poterat sese ibidem inaccessibilitate loci defendere, aut, nimiâ vi accidente, per circumfluens flumen usque ad Oceanum navigio diffugere. Sed ille falsis allegationibus simplicitèr acquievit, et cum suis ad Regem pacificè de Insulâ exivit. Rex autem, metuens ne Morcarus injurias sibi et compatriotis suis nequitèr illatas ulcisceretur, et per eum aliquæ seditiones in regno Albionis implacabiles orirentur, illum sine manifesto reatu vinclis injecit, omníque vitâ suâ in ergastulo coërcuit; et cautelæ Ro-

et posteà eundem, in suam potestatem fraudulentér illectum, in vincula conjicit et per omnem vitam suam detinet.

Norman yoke, and inviting the Welsh, and the Scots, and the Irish, and the Danes, to assist them in so doing; and at some times, and particularly, when the Danish army came to their assistance, they were very near being succesful. But, from this time, that is, after the death of *Edwin*, and the death, or imprisonment, of *Morcar*, the submission to the Norman government seems to have been compleat and uninterrupted. The conquest of England. therefore, was not effected (as some writers have asserted,) by a single battle, but by a series of contests with, and victories over, the English, which continued during the space of five years.

And with this important event, the death of earl *Edwin*, our author tells us that William of Poictiers concluded his history of the *Gesta Gulielmi*, or exploits of William the Conquerour. Thus much, therefore, of this fourth book of *Ordericus Vitalis* is all that is necessary to supply the loss of the latter part of the manuscript of that curious history. But, as the remaining part of this fourth book of Ordericus's work contains many important particulars concerning the Conquerour's government of England after he had compleated the conquest of it, I shall here present the reader with a new edition of it. The following books of our author's history (the whole of which is divided into thirteen books) are likewise full of interesting matter, and very fit to be republished with marginal abstracts of the contents, and with explanatory notes, in the same manner as this fourth book, in order to render them inviting and agreeable to the lovers of English history. But this would be an expensive and tedious work, which it will not be convenient to me to undertake. I hope, however, that some other gentlemen that are fond of these researches into our ancient history, may be hereby induced to compleat this new edition of our author, or at least to carry it on to the end of the seventh book, or the death of William the Conquerour. For I believe there is no other book extant that gives so full and authentick an account of the transactions of that important reign. If one gentleman would republish in this manner the remaining part of the reign of William the Conquerour, and another would give us the reign of William Rufus, and a third those of Henry the First and king Stephen, to the year 1141, (with which the history concludes,) the labour and expence, being thus divided, would not be very great, and the work would, I presume, be thought a matter of great accommodation and real benefit by all curious inquirers into the ancient history of England.

gerii

gerii, oppidani Belmontis, mancipavit. Quod formosissimus juvenis, Edvinus, Comes, ut audivit, emori quàm vivere peroptavit, nisi Morcarum, fratrem suum, injustè captum liberâsset, aut uberrimo sanguine Normannorum sese vindicâsset. Sex igitùr mensibus à Scotis et Guallis vel Anglis auxilia sibi quæsivit. Intereà tres fratres, qui ei familiares præcipuíque satellites erant, Normannis eum prodiderunt, et ipsi eundem cum xx equitibus toto nisu sese defendentem occiderunt. Tunc ad hoc facinus exæstuatio marina Normannos adjuvit, quæ ad rivulum quendam Edvinum morari coëgit, eíque fugam penitùs ademit. Auditâ per Angliam Edvini morte, luctus ingens non solùm Anglis, sed etiam Normannis et Francis ortus est; qui eum, velut socium et amicum, seu cognatum, cum multis fletibus planxerunt. Nam idem (ut suprà dictum est) fuerat ex religiosâ parentelâ natus, multísque bonis deditus, proùt poterat inter tanta secularium curarum impedimenta positus. Corpus pulchritudine in multis millibus eminebat, et Clericorum atque Monachórum, pauperúmque, benignus amator erat. Rex autem Guillelmus, compertâ proditione quâ sæpe fatus Merciorum Consul perierat, pietate motus flevit; et proditores, qui pro favore illius ei caput Domini sui deferebant, severus in exilium expulit.

Edwinus, Comes, pro libertate fratris Morcari bellum inferre regi parat.

Sed à Normannis, strenuè pugnans, occiditur.

Mors ejus multùm lugetur tàm à Normannis quàm ab Anglis.

Huc usque Guillelmus Pictavinus Historiam suam texuit, in quâ Guillelmi gesta (Crispi Sallustii stilum imitatus) subtilitèr et eloquentèr enucleavit. Hic genere Normannus, de vico Pratellensi fuit; ibíque sororem (quæ in Monasterio S. Leodegarii præerat Sanctimonialibus) habuit. *Pictavinus* autem dictus est quia Pictavis fonte Philosophico ubertìm imbutus est. Reversus ad suos omnibus vicinis et consodalibus doctior enituit: et Lexovienses Episcopos Hugonem et Gislebertum Archidiaconatûs officio in Ecclesiasticis rebus adjuvit. In rebus bellicis ante Clericatum asper extitit, et militaribus armis protectus terreno Principi militavit, et tanto certiùs referre visa discrimina potuit, quantò periculosiùs inter arma diris conflictibus interfuit. In senectute suâ taciturnitati et orationi studuit, et plus in dictando seu versificando quàm sermocinando valuit. Subtiles et concinnos versus atque ad recitandum habiles frequentèr edidit, studióque juniorum, quibus ipsi emendarentur, sine invidiâ erogavit. Contextionem ejus de Guillelmo et ejus pedissequis brevitèr in quibusdam secutus: non tamen omnia quæ dixit,

De Gulielmo Pictaviensi, Historico.

 nec

nec tam argutè prosequi conatus sum. Amodò, juvante Deo, ea quæ succedente tempore evenerunt nostris in viciniis, notabo; indubitantèr ratus, quòd, sicut ego ea quæ à prioribus edita sunt libentèr evolvo, sic juniores, eósque qui nondum nati sunt, præsentis temporis eventus solertèr inquisituros existimo*.

Gulielmus Rex terras Angliæ adjutoribus suis distribuit. A. D. 1071.

Rex Guillelmus, dejectis, ut diximus, Merciorum maximis Consulibus, Edvino, scilicet, interfecto, et Morcaro in vinculis constricto, adjutoribus suis inclytas Angliæ regiones distribuit[g]: et ex infimis Normannorum

* This sentence is ungrammatical. To make it agreeable to the rules of grammar, it should be as follows: *quod, sicut ego ea quæ à prioribus edita sunt, libentèr evolvo, sic ii qui nondum nati sunt, præsentis temporis eventus solertèr inquirent.*

[g] *Rex Guillelmus, dejectis, ut diximus, Merciorum maximis consulibus, Edwino, scilicet, interfecto, et Morcaro in vinculis constricto, adjutoribus suis inclytas Angliæ regiones distribuit.* Here we have a most curious account of the manner in which king William the Conquerour gave away the estates of the English nobility and gentry amongst his followers.

To *William Fitz-Osbern*, the great companion of his victories, he gave the whole isle of *Wight*, and likewise the whole county of *Hereford*, in the neighbourhood of Wales; and he gave settlements in the same neighbourhood to *Walter de Lacey*, and other brave warriours, that they might keep the Welsh in awe.

To *Gherbod*, a nobleman of Flanders, who had done him great service ever since his invasion of England, he had given the city of Chester, together with the whole adjoining county of Cheshire. This great man was obliged by some important concerns he had in Flanders to go thither, with king William's leave, to take care of them; and he there fell into the hands of some of his enemies and was thrown into prison by them, and kept there for a long time, probably during his whole life: which made it impossible for him to return to England and re-enter on his government of Chester. Upon which king William gave his government and estate to *Hugh* of *Avranches* in Normandy, who is also often called *Hugh Lupus*. This person, our author tells us, was a most luxurious and prodigal nobleman. His attendants, whenever he travelled, were so numerous that they looked more like an army than a family of servants. He gave away vast sums of money without reason or measure, and was equally extravagant in the bribes and presents he extorted from people under his authority. He was excessively fond of the country sports of hunting and hawking, in the pursuit of which he destroyed the fences, and laid waste the arable lands, of his county of Cheshire in a miserable manner, having no regard to the interest of the farmers who occupied them, or to the remonstrances of the clergy, but being governed entirely by the hawkers and huntsmen who were his companions in those sports. He was also an excessive glutton, and indulged himself so much in the pleasure of eating and drinking that he grew enormously fat and heavy, so as to be hardly able to walk. He

rum clientibus Tribunos et Centuriones ditiffimos erexit. Willelmo, Dapifero Normanniæ, Ofberni filio, infulam Vectam et Comitatum Herfordenfem

Gulielmus, filius Ofberni.

He was alfo a great whoremafter, and had a great number of illegitimate children by feveral different women, who almoft all came to untimely deaths; and he had one lawful fon by his wife, Ermentrude, the daughter of *Hugh* of *Clermont* in the country of *Beauvais* in France, by whom he had a fon named *Richard*, who fucceeded him in the poffeffion of the county of Chefter, and died a young man and without children, in the reign of king Henry the Firft, being drowned in the fame fhip with William called *Adeling*, or the prince-royal of England, the only fon and heir apparent of that king. This is the account our author gives of Hugh, earl of Chefter. As he appears to have been a perfon of fuch very little merit, it feems rather furprizing that a prince of fo much prudence and difcernment as William the Conquerour fhould have raifed him to fo high a ftation. But we may fuppofe that he was very brave, and had done the king great fervice againft the Englifh.

The next great warriour mentioned on this occafion by our author is *Roger de Montgomery*. King William had formerly given him the caftle of Arundel in Suffex, and the city of Chichefter in the fame county; and he now gave him the earldom of Shrewfbury; which feems to have comprehended not only the city of that name, but the adjoining county of Shropfhire; for the author fpeaks of that county by the expreffion *provinciam totam fibi commiffam*. This great man was of quite a different character from the laft, being prudent and moderate in his behaviour, a lover of juftice, and fond of the fober and polite converfation of men that were diftinguifhed for their wifdom and difcretion. He kept about him three clergymen of this defcription, named *Godebald*, *Odeler*, and *Herbert*; whofe advice he often followed with great advantage to his affairs. He gave the command of the garrifon of Shrewfbury-caftle (*præfidatum Scrobefburiæ*) to a warriour named *Warin* the Bald, who was a very little man, but was diftinguifhed for a high degree of courage, and who had married his niece, *Aimeria:* and by the affiftance of this brave man he repulfed the Welfh and other enemies, and maintained his province in peace and fecurity. And he gave other commands in Shropfhire to *William* furnamed *Pantulf*, and to *Picold* and to *Corbat*, and to *Roger* and *Robert*, the fons of *Corbat*, and to other faithful and eminent warriours; by whofe valour and advice in all the exigencies that occurred in his government he maintained himfelf in a high degree of reputation and profperity. Here we fee the origin of the families of *Waring*, *Pigot*, and *Corbet*, which have long been eminent in Shropfhire. It is probable that Roger de Montgomery gave to each of the warriours whom he thus employed under him, large eftates in Shropfhire, to be holden, of him and his heirs, to them and their heirs for ever, by fome military fervices, as he himfelf held the whole county of Shropfhire of king William.

The next great perfon to whom king William on this occafion gave a large tract of land in England, was *Waltheof*, an Englifhman, the fon of *Siward*, the powerful earl of *Northumberland*, (or the northern part of England, fituated to the north of the river Humber,) in the reign of king Edward the Confeffor. To this great perfon

 king

Walterus de Laceio.

Herfordensem dedit: eúmque, cum Gualterio de Laceio, aliisque probatis pugilibus, contrà Britones bellis inhiantes opposuit. Horum audacia

king William gave the county of Northampton, and also consented that he should marry his niece *Judith*, a daughter of his (king William's) half-sister the countess of Albemarle, who was a daughter of king William's mother *Harlotta*, or *Harleva*, by her husband *Herluinus*, whom she married after the death of *Robert*, duke, or earl, of Normandy, the father of the Conquerour. *Waltheof* had two daughters by his wife *Judith*, but no son. He fell under the suspicion of high treason a few years afterwards, and was beheaded by king William's order. He seems to have been almost the only Englishman to whom king William gave any considerable estate in England after the death of earl Edwin.

The king gave on this occasion the whole county of Buckingham to *Walter Giffard*, and the whole county of Surrey to *William of Warren*, who had married *Gundred*, the sister of *Gherbod*, the great nobleman of Flanders abovementioned, to whom the king had given the earldom of Chester before *Hugh de Avranches*, or *Hugh Lupus*. He also gave to *Odo of Champagne* in France, the nephew of Theobald, earl of Champagne, the earldom of *Holderness* in Yorkshire: and to *Ralph de Guadar*, (who had married a daughter of William Fitz-Osbern,) the earldom, or county of *Norwich*, which, it is probable, comprehended either the whole, or a great part of, the county of Norfolk.

He gave also to *Hugh de Grentemaisnil* the command of the garrison of *Leicester*, (which was probably accompanied with a great estate in the neighbourhood); and to *Henry de Ferrers*, (the son of *Gualchelin de Ferrers*,) the castle of *Stutesbury*, which had before been given to *Hugh de Avranches*, or *Hugh Lupus*, before his promotion to the earldom of Chester. This Hugh de Grentesmaisnil had three years before had the command of the country about Winchester, *presidatum Guentanæ regionis*, but had been deprived of it in the year 1068 upon his returning, at his wife's desire, into Normandy, at a time when new preparations were making in England to disturb king William's government.

Besides these men of eminence, who received estates from king William, our author tells us that two Norman bishops tasted largely of his bounty, namely, *Odo*, bishop of *Bayeux*, the king's half-brother, (who was the son of *Harlotta*, or *Harleva*, the king's mother, by her husband *Harluinus*,) and *Godfrey*, bishop of *Constance*, or *Coutances*, in Normandy. Odo was made earl of Kent, and is called by our author *an earl Palatine*, by which expression he seems to mean that the said earl enjoyed some very high privileges that distinguished him from other earls in England, though he does not explain what they were. But he tells us expresly that he was a sort of *second-king*, or vice-roy, and was superiour to all other earls and great men in the kingdom, and possessed the county of Kent with the treasures of the ancients, *cum thesauris antiquorum*, that is, as I conjecture, with all the revenues of the ancient kings of Kent (when Kent was a separate kingdom) assigned to him to support his dignity. The other bishop, *Godfrey*, bishop of *Coutances*, had been present at the battle of *Hastings*, or *Senlac*, to encourage the Norman soldiers to fight bravely, and had on many other occasions been

dacia Brachaviannos [h] primitùs invasit, et Guallorum Reges Risen et Caducan, ac Mariadoth, aliósque plures prostravit. Castrum et Comitatum ejus Gherbodo, Flandrensi, jamdudùm Rex dederat: qui magna ibi et difficilia tam ab Anglis quàm à Guallis adversantibus pertulerat. Deinde legatione coactus suorum, quos in Flandriâ dimiserat, et quibus hereditarium honorem suum commiserat, eundi citóque redeundi licentiam à Rege acceperat: sed ibi adversâ illaqueatus fortunâ in manus inimicorum inciderat, et in vinculis coërcitus, mundanáque felicitate privatus, longæ miseriæ threnos depromere didicerat. Intereà Rex Cestrensem Consulatum Hugoni de Abrincis, filio Ricardi, cognomento Goz, concessit: qui, cum Rodberto de Rodelento [i] et Rodberto de Malo-passu, aliísque Proceribus feris, multum Guallorum sanguinem effudit. Hic non dapsilis, sed prodigus erat: non familiam secum, sed exercitum semper ducebat. In dando vel accipiendo nullam rationem tenebat. Ipse terram suam quotidiè devastabat, et plus aucupibus ac venatoribus, quàm terræ cultoribus, vel cæli oratoribus applaudebat. Ventris ingluviei serviebat; unde, nimiæ crassiciei pondere prægravatus, vix ire poterat. E pellicibus plurimam sobolem utriusque sexûs genuit, quæ, diversis infortuniis absorpta, penè tota periit. Ermentrudem, filiam Hugonis de Claromonte, Belvacensi, uxorem duxit, ex quâ Ricardum Cestrensis Comitatûs heredem, genuit: qui juvenis adhùc liberísque carens cum Guillelmo Adelino, Henrici, Regis Anglorum, filio, et multâ nobilitate vii. Kalend. [k] Novembris naufragio periit.

Gherbodus, Flandrensis.

Hugo de Abrincis. Rodbertus de Rodelento. Rodbertus de Malo passu.

been very active and zealous in king William's service; for which he was now rewarded by a grant of no less than two hundred and eighty manors, or gentlemen's country-houses, or seats, with the estates belonging to them, which were given to him, not for his own life only, but to be enjoyed by his heirs as well as himself, and which he left at his death to his nephew, *Robert de Molbraio*, or *Mowbray*.

Our author in the last place mentions five great French and Norman earls, to whom the Conquerour on this occasion gave large tracts of land in England, to wit, *Eustace*, earl of *Boulogne*, *Robert*, earl of *Moritol*, (the son of king William's mother by her husband *Herluin*,) *William*, earl of *Evreux* in Normandy, *Robert*, earl of *Eu* in Normandy, and *Godfrey*, the son of *Rotro*, earl of Mortagne. But he does not inform us in what parts of England the lands granted to them were situated.

[h] *Brachavianos* means the inhabitants of *Brecknockshire* in Wales, which is contiguous to Herefordshire.

[i] *Rodberto de Malopassu.* From this *Robert de Malopassu* probably is derived the name of the town of *Malpas* in the southern part of Cheshire, next to Flintshire.

[k] *Kalendis Novembris naufragio periit.* This misfortune happened in the year 1119. See Ordericus Vitalis, book 12, page 868.

2 Rex

Rogerus de Monte Gomerici.

Rex Guillelmus Rogerio de Monte-Gomerici in primis castrum Arundellum et urbem Cicestram dedit: cui posteà Comitatum Scrobesburiæ, quæ in monte super Sabrinam fluvium sita est, adjecit. Hic sapiens, et moderatus, et amator æquitatis fuit, et comitatem sapientum atque modestorum dilexit. Tres sapientes Clericos, Godebaldum, Odelerium, ac Herbertum, diutiùs secum habuit; quorum consiliis utilitèr paruit. Warino autem Calvo, corpore parvò, sed animo magno, Aimeriam neptem suam, et Præsidatum Scrobesburiæ dedit: per quem Guallos alióſque sibi adversantes fortitèr oppressit, et Provinciam totam sibi commissam pacificavit. Guillelmum cognomento Pantulfum, et Picoldum atque Corbatum, filióſque ejus, Rogerium et Rodbertum, alióſque fideles, fortissimóſque viros, Comitatui suo præfecit: quorum sensu et viribus benignitèr adjutus inter maximos Optimates maximè effloruit.

Warinus Calvus.

Gulielmus Pantulfus.
Picoldus.
Corbatus.

Guallevus, sive Waltheof, nobilis Anglus, filius Siwardi, Comitis Northumbrorum.
Walterus Giffard.
Gulielmus de Warennâ.
Odo, Campaniensis.
Radulfus de Guader.

Rex Guillelmus Guallevo Comiti, filio Sivardi, potentissimo Anglorum, Comitatum Northantoniæ dedit, eique Iudith neptem suam, ut firma inter eos amicitia perduraret, in matrimonio conjunxit: quæ duas filias speciosas marito suo peperit. Gualterio quoque, cognomento Gifardo, Comitatum Buchingeham, et Guillelmo de Guarennâ, qui Gundedram, sororem Gherbodi, conjugem habebat, dedit Surregiam. Odoni verò, Campaniensi, nepoti Theobaldi Comitis, qui sororem habebat ejusdem Regis, (filiam, scilicet, Rodberti Ducis) dedit idem Comitatum Hildernessæ: et Radulfo de Guader, genero Guillelmi filii Osberni, Comitatum Northwici. Hugoni verò de Grentemaisnilio municipatum Legrecestræ commendavit; aliisque nobilibus viris municipatûs urbium et Præsidatûs cum magnis honoribus et potestatibus providè distribuit. Henrico, Gualchelini de Ferrariis filio, castrum Stutesburiæ (quod Hugo de Abrincis priùs tenuerat) concessit: aliisque advenis, qui sibi cohæserant, magnos et multos honores contulit, et in tantum quosdam provexit, ut multos in Angliâ ditiores et potentiores haberent clientes, quàm eorum in Neustriâ fuerant parentes.[1]

Hugo de Grentemaisnilio.

Henricus de Ferrariis.

Quid

[1] *Et in tantum quosdam provexit ut multos in Angliâ ditiores et potentiores haberent clientes quàm eorum in Neustriâ fuerant parentes.* That is, king William raised some of his favourite Normans to such a high degree of affluence by the estates he granted them in England, that some of them had subordinate tenants who held lands under them, or

to

Odo, Episcopus Baiocensis.

Quid loquar de Odone, Baiocasino Præsule, qui Consul Palatinus erat, et ubique cunctis Angliæ habitatoribus formidabilis erat, ac, veluti secundus Rex, passim jura dabat? Principatum super omnes Comites, et Regni Optimates habuit, et cum thesauris antiquorum Cantiam possedit, in quâ jamdudum Edilbertus, Irminrici filius, Eadbald, et Ercombertus, et Egbert atque Lotheris, frater ejus, regnaverunt: primique Regum Anglorum à discipulis Gregorii Papæ fidem Christi susceperunt, et divinæ legis observatione perennis vitæ bravium mercati sunt. Permixta, ni fallor, in hoc viro vitia erant cum virtutibus: sed plus mundanis inhærebat actionibus, quàm spiritualis theoriæ charismatibus. Cœnobia Sanctorum valdè conqueruntur, quòd multa eis Odo detrimenta fecerit, et fundos sibi antiquitùs datos à fidelibus Anglis, violentèr et injustè abstulerit.

Gaufredus, Episcopus Constantiniensis.

Gaufredus quoque, Constantiniensis Episcopus, de nobili Normannorum progenie ortus; qui certamini Senlacio fautor acer et consolator interfuit, et in aliis conflictibus, qui postmodùm advenas et indigenas utrinque contriverant, Magister militum fuit, dono Guillelmi Regis ducentas et octogintà villas (quas à manendo *maneries* vulgò vocamus) obtinuit:[m] quas omnes nepoti suo de Molbraio, propter nequitiam et temeritatem suam non diù possessuro, moriens dereliquit.

Eustachius

to whom they had under-granted some parts of the lands which the king had granted to themselves, and who were richer, by means of those under-grants, than the parents of the grantors themselves had been in Normandy before the conquest of England.

[m] *Ducentas et octogintà villas, (quas à manendo* maneries *vocamus,) obtinuit.* Here we have the derivation and original meaning of the word *manor*, namely, the *mansion-house* of a country-gentleman. The French use the word *manoir* in the same sense at this day. But in England the word *manor* now denotes a parcel of land, (with, or without a house upon it,) of which a part remains in the lord's, or owner's hands, and is called his *demesne land*, *terra dominica*, or *terra domini*, and another part has been granted away before the eighteenth year of the reign of king Edward I. or the year of Christ 1290, to two or more other persons to hold to them and their heirs for ever of the grantor, or lord, and his heirs for ever, either by knight's service or in free and common Socage. In that year the statute of *Quia emptores terrarum* was passed, which prohibited the making of these under-grants of land to be holden of the grantor, (which were found to be attended with many inconveniences) and ordained that all lands that should afterwards be granted away to be holden in inheritance by the grantees, should be holden of the same upper lord of whom the grantor himself had held them before the new grant.

Eustachius, Comes Boloniæ. Rodbertus, Comes Moritolii.

Eustachius quoque Boloniensis, et Rodbertus Moritoliensis, Guillelmus Ebroicensis, et Rodbertus Aucensis, atque Goiffredus, Rotronis filius,

grant. In consequence of this statute it has been impossible to create a new manor ever since the year 1290, which is now near 500 years ago. But before that time any man that was possessed of freehold lands of inheritance might have converted them into a manor whenever he pleased, by granting two, or more, portions of them to two, or or more, other persons to be holden to them and their heirs for ever of him and his heirs for ever, either by the tenure of military service (called in the law books *knight's service*) or in free and common socage. Thus, for example,, if a man had had three hundred acres of land lying together in any county holden to him and his heirs for ever, either of the crown or of some inferiour lord, by some free service, and had granted twenty-five acres a-piece out of the said three hundred acres to eight different persons, to hold the same to them and their heirs for ever of him and his heirs for ever in free and common socage, doing fealty to him and his heirs for the same, and paying him a quit-rent of a penny a year for each of the said lots of 25 acres, the said three hundred acres of land would thereby have been converted into *a manor*, of which the said grantor would have been the *lord*, and the hundred acres which he would have reserved to himself after he had thus granted away the other two hundred acres to the said eight persons in lots of twenty-five acres a-piece, would have been the *demesne-land*; and he would have had a right of holding a court-baron in his said manor to determine actions of debt and some other civil suits between his said eight tenants, or grantees, and more especially to hold plea of a writ of right brought against any one of them concerning his right to the land he held in such manor. And this right of holding such a court-baron would have belonged to the lord of such a new manor *of common right*, as the law expresses it, or without any grant of the crown, and would have been the natural and necessary consequence of his having thus granted away a part of his three hundred acres to other persons to be holden in inheritance of himself by a free tenure. In this court-baron the *suitors* of the court, or those who are bound to follow (from the French word *suivre*,) or attend, it, that is, in the example just now given, the eight grantees above-mentioned, are the judges who are to determine the matters that are contested in it, and the lord, or his steward, is only the register of the court, and is bound to adopt the decisions of the said *suitor* or grantees, and to cause them to be executed. These suitors of the court, or freehold tenants of the same lord, are sometimes called each other's *peers*, or equals, or *the peers* of the court, *pares curiæ*, and sometimes, in very old records, the *barons* of the court, *barones curiæ*, or the barons of the lord, *barones domini*.

There are also oftentimes, and indeed most usually, some other tenants of lands in a manor, who do not hold their lands by any free tenure, but at *the will* of the Lord. These tenants are admitted to the possession of their lands, either by the lord of the manor, or his steward (called in old Latin records *Seneschallus*,) by the ceremony of the lord's, or steward's, presenting a rod, or staff, to the tenant, which the tenant takes hold of at one end, while the lord, or steward, holds it by the other, and in this position the lord, or his steward, pronounces the words of admission of the tenant to his land; and then a *memorandum* is made in the court-rolls (or register book of the transactions

lius, Mauritaniensis, aliique Comites et Optimates, quos singillatim nominare nequeo, magnos redditus et honores in Angliâ receperunt à Rege Guillelmo. Sic extranei divitiis Angliæ ditabantur, pro quibus filii ejus nequitèr interficiebantur, vel extorres per extera regna irremeabilitèr fugabantur.

Rodbertus, Comes Aucensis. Godfredus, Comes Mauritaniensis.

tions of the lord's court,) of such admission, and a copy of this *memorandum* is afterwards delivered by the lord, or his steward, to the tenant so admitted. And this *copy of the court-roll*, (as it is called) is the tenant's title-deed to the land to which he has been so admitted, and answers to the deed of grant, or deed of feoffment, or other regular law-conveyance, of land to a free-hold tenant. And from this circumstance, of holding their lands by virtue of these copies of the court-rolls, the said tenants at will are usually denominated *copy-holders*, or *copy-hold tenants*; and from the former circumstance of their being admitted to their lands with the aforesaid ceremony of the rod, or staff, they are also sometimes called *tenants by the verge*. These tenants, it seems probable, might in former days have been turned out of their lands whenever the lord pleased, seeing that they hold them at the lord's will. But for some centuries past the courts of justice have controuled the lords in the exercise of this power, insomuch that they can now no more dispossess a copy-hold tenant, or molest him in the enjoyment of his copy-hold land, than they can a free-hold tenant, provided the copy-hold tenant performs all the duties, and observes all the restrictions, belonging to his tenure, which are greater than those belonging to free-hold tenures. For a copy-holder is not at liberty to pull down any building upon his copy-hold land without his lord's leave, but is bound to keep them all in good repair: and, for the most part, he is not at liberty to cut down any of the trees upon his tenement. And when he aliens his land to another, it must be done in the lord's court by surrendering it up to the lord for the use of the purchaser, or to the end that the lord may grant it to the purchaser: and on these occasions the lord is at liberty to take from the purchaser, for his new grant to him of the copy-hold tenement, a sum of money not exceeding two years full rent of the land. This sort of tenants is to be found in most manors in the kingdom, but not in all. In the royal manor of *East Greenwich* in Kent there are none but free-hold tenants.

I have dwelt the longer upon this explanation of the modern meaning of the word *manor* in our law, because I have observed that many people have but a confused notion of it, and are apt to suppose that every manor is founded on a grant of the crown conferring certain honourable privileges, (such as rights of hunting, or hawking or fishing, or the like,) to the grantees. But this is not essential to a manor, though in ancient times many grants of *free-warren* undoubtedly were made to particular great land-holders, of which grants some are in being at this day, but many more have been lost, and yet the privileges granted by them have been constantly used and enjoyed, and continue to be so now, by virtue of ancient usage and prescription of time.

Magnæ divitiæ, seu redditus, ipsius regis Gulielmi.
Rex totam terra Angliæ describim facit; et eandem militibus distribuit per militare servitium tenendam.

Ipsi verò Regi, ut fertur, mille et sexaginta libræ sterilensis monetæ, solidíque trigintà et tres oboli et justis redditibus Angliæ per singulos dies redduntur; [n] exceptis muneribus regiis, et reatuum redemptionibus, aliisque multiplicibus negociis quæ Regis ærarium quotidiè adaugent. Rex Guillelmus omne regnum suum diligentèr investigavit, et omnes fiscos ejus, sicut tempore Edvardi Regis fuerant, veracitèr describi fecit. Terras autem militibus ita distribuit, et eorum ordines ita disposuit, ut Angliæ regnum LX millia militum indesinentèr haberet, ac ad imperium Regis, prout ratio poposcerit, celeritèr exhiberet [o].

Adeptis

[n] *Ipsi verò Regi, ut fertur, mille et sexaginta libræ sterilensis monetæ, solidique trigintà et tres oboli ex justis redditibus Angliæ per singulos dies redduntur*, &c.

This is an immense revenue. For the pound sterling in the Conquerour's reign was a pound weight of silver, and therefore contained more than three times as much silver as a pound sterling at this day. Therefore the sum, here mentioned, of 1060l. 30s. 1½d. or 1061l. 10s. 1½d. must have contained more silver than 3184l. 10s. 4½d. or, in round numbers, 3185l. sterling, contain at this day. Therefore the king's revenue for the whole year must have been 365 times 3185l. or 1,162,525l. sterling of our present money. And, if we suppose the value of money at this time to have been only about 20 times as great as it is in the present year 1787, so that an ounce of silver would have bought only twenty times as much bread, or corn, or meat, as it will at this day, (which I take to be a very reasonable and moderate supposition, and rather under, than over, the true difference of the value of money then and now,) this revenue will have been equivalent to a revenue of 20 times 1,162,525, or 23,250,500l. a year at this day. Our author tells us that this revenue was the regular, fixed, or permanent revenue of king William, arising from his settled rents in England, *ex justis redditibus*, and was exclusive of the presents made to him on various occasions, and the fines paid him by criminals, as compositions, or commutations, for the punishments of their crimes, *reatuum redemptionibus*, (which in these times were very numerous and very great, and must have produced a very great sum of money,) and various other contingent profits which contributed to fill the royal treasury. If this account is true, king William must have enjoyed a revenue equivalent to 27 or 28 millions of pounds sterling *per annum* at this day. This seems to be hardly credible; and yet, from the minute exactness with which the author states the permanent part of the king's revenue to be 1061l. 10s. 1½d. *per diem*, one would be apt to think he spoke from some known and approved account of it. *Ideò quære.*

[o] *Rex Guillelmus omne regnum suum diligentèr investigavit, et omnes fiscos ejus, sicut tempore Edvardi Regis fuerant, veracitèr describi fecit. Terras autem militibus ita distribuit, et eorum ordines ita disposuit, ut Angliæ regnum LX sexagintà millia militum indesinentèr haberet, ac ad imperium regis, prout ratio poposcerit, celeritèr exhiberet.* Here we have an account of king William's ordering the whole kingdom of England to be surveyed,

Adeptis itaque nimiis opibus, quas alii aggregârant, Normanni furentes immoderatè tumebant, et indigenas, divino verbere pro reatibus suis percuſſos,

Superbia et inſolentia Normannorum.

ſurveyed, and the lands that belonged to the crown, or that had belonged to it in the time of king Edward the Confeſſor, to be particularly deſcribed, or ſet down in writing, to the end that they might not be loſt to the crown by the falſe claims which might otherwiſe be made to them. The word *fiſcos* (which uſually means *the king's treaſury*, or *office of receipt* of taxes and other dues,) is here uſed for *the lands belonging to the crown*, or *the lands of the king's demeſne*, or (as they were afterwards called) *the lands of the ancient demeſne of the crown*, or *terræ dominicales regis*, or *terræ de antiquo dominio coronæ*. It was therefore, at this time, that is, in the fourth, or, perhaps, the fifth year of the conquerour's reign, that this famous ſurvey, (of which the original record, ſo well known by the name of *Domeſday-book*, is ſtill extant,) begun to be made. But it probably took ſeveral years in making.

In this paſſage we have alſo an account of the introduction of military tenures into England. For it appears that king William, at this time, (that is, in the fourth or fifth year of his reign, after the death of earl Edwin, and the complete ſuppreſſion of all reſiſtance to the conquerour's authority,) diſtributed the lands of England amongſt the Normans, and other ſoldiers who had aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of the kingdom, in ſuch a manner, and upon ſuch conditions, that he could at any time, (by calling them together to perform the ſervices by which their lands were holden of him,) raiſe an army of ſixty thouſand men. Before this reign there are no traces of any ſuch military holdings of lands in England, or, at leaſt, no *clear* traces of them, though I know ſome learned antiquarians have been inclined to think they were known here before the conqueſt. But I never could find any tolerable reaſons for ſuch an opinion; and the above paſſage of our author ſeems to fix their introduction to the time here mentioned, or the fifth year of the Conquerour's reign, A. D. 1071.

Ingulphus (who was abbot of Crowland-abbey in the reign of king William the Conquerour, and who therefore is a writer of the higheſt authority with reſpect to the tranſactions of that reign) agrees with our author in fixing the beginning of the general ſurvey of England, which is recorded in *Domeſday-book*, to the fourth, or fifth, year of the Conquerour's reign, after the defeat and expulſion of the Daniſh army that had invaded the north of England, and the death of earl Edwin, and the complete ſubjugation of the Engliſh nation. His account is as follows:

—*Quum rex Daciæ*, Cnutus, *congregatâ maximâ claſſe invadere* Angliam *paráſſet, inclytus rex* Willielmus, *undique de* Franciâ, Almaniâ, *atque* Hiſpaniâ *ſoldariis conductis, univerſos per monaſteria totius regni diviſit, moraturos maximè per illa monaſteria quæ de militiâ non exhibendâ ſua dominia tenebant de rege. Unde ad* Croylandiam *ſex milites, et* xxviii *baliſtarios [moraturos] deſtinabat. Quo tempore ducens exercitum in* Northumbriam, *ubi* Dani *applicare ſæpiùs ante ſolebant, univerſam patriam abraſit, ac ferè in terram deſertam abſumens, multis milliariis inhabitalem poſteà longò tempore reddidit, ne hoſtis veniens et victualia inveniens moràm prolixaret, ſed, fame et inediâ fugere de patriâ campulſus, pro victualium penuriâ citiùs ad propria remearet. Pertranſiens etiàm tunc,*

tunc, et ultrà progrediens inclytus rex Willielmus *in* Scotiam, *eam sibi subjecit, et* Malcolmum, *regem ejus, sibi hominium facere et fidelitatem jurare apud* Abernithi *co-egit.*

Reversúsque in Angliam apud Londonias *hominium sibi facere, et contrà omnes homines fidelitatem jurare omnem Angliæ incolam imperans, totam terram descripsit: nec erat bida in totâ Angliâ quin valorem ejus et possessorem suum scivit; nec lacus, nec locus aliquis, quin in regis rotulo extitit descriptus, ac ejus redditus et proventus, ipsa possessio et ejus possessor regiæ notitiæ manifestatus juxtà taxatorum fidem, qui, electi de quâlibet patriâ, territorium proprium describebant. Isti, penès nostrum monasterium benevoli et amantes, non ad verum pretium, nec ad verum spatium, nostrum monasterium librabant, misericorditèr præcaventes in futurum regiis exactionibus, et aliis oneribus piissimâ nobis benevolentiâ providentes. Iste rotulus vocatus est* Rotulus Wyntoniæ, *et ab Anglicis, pro suâ generalitate omnia tenementa totius terræ integræ continente,* DOMESDAY *cognominatur. Talem rotulum et multùm similem ediderat quondam rex* Alfredus, *in quo totam terram* Angliæ *per comitatus, centurias, et decurias, descripserat, sicut prænotatur: qui quidem* Rotulus Wyntoniæ *vocatus est, quia deponebatur apud* Wyntoniam *conservandus; quæ civitas caput* [erat] West-Saxonici *regni sibi hæreditarii, porrò tunc inter omnia regna* Angliæ *particularia nobilissimi et præclari. In illo verò* rotulo Wyntoniæ, *(sic maximè vocato, eo quòd ad illius rotuli exemplum editus erat,) descripti sunt non tantùm totius terræ comitatus, centuriæ, et decuriæ, sylvæ, saltus, et villæ universæ; sed in omni territorio quot carucatæ terræ, quot jugera, et quot acræ, quæ pascua et paludes, et quæ tenementa, et qui tenentes, continebantur.*

By this passage it appears that the great king *Alfred* had (about two hundred years before the time here spoken of,) caused a general survey of all England to be made, and a record of it in writing to be kept at Winchester, which was the chief town of the kingdom of Wessex, to which Alfred had succeeded by an hereditary succession of long standing, and which was the most powerful and distinguished of all the seven kingdoms into which England had, till some few years before that time, been divided. This *roll*, or *record*, made by king Alfred, obtained the name of *The Winchester Roll*, from the place in which it was deposited: and it contained a description of the kingdom according to the districts into which king Alfred had caused it to be divided for the better government of it, and preservation of the peace throughout it, to wit, *counties*, *hundreds*, and *tythings*; but it did not contain an account of the several quantities of land possessed by the several tenants of the crown, or principal landholders of the kingdom, as the record made afterwards by king William did. This last record was likewise called by king William *the Winchester Roll*, on account of its resemblance to the former roll, which had been made by king Alfred, and had been called by that name. But, by reason of its great extent and minuteness, in setting down the quantities of every man's land, with the different kinds of it, whether arable or pasture, or woodland, &c. and of its great importance in ascertaining and determining men's claims, this latter record obtained amongst the English the significant name of *Doomesday-book*, as being (as I understand the author to mean) of the same importance in settling the claims of all men in the kingdom, the great and rich as well as the poor, to their possessions in this world, as the final judgement of mankind at the last day will be in determining their future condition of happiness or misery in the other world.

It

percussos, impiè mactabant. Manciadæ [p] Maronis disticon completum in illis cernimus.

Nescia mens hominis fati sortisque futuræ,
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis.

Nobiles puellæ despicabilium ludibrio armigerorum patebant, et ab immundis nebulonibus oppressæ dedecus suum deplorabant [q]. Matronæ verò

It appears likewise by this passage of Ingulphus, that this survey of the kingdom, made by king William's oader, was made from the accounts given by select persons in every district, who were called together by the king's commissioners, and required to inform them, (probably upon oath, like jurymen upon inquisitions of various kinds) of all the particulars that were to be recorded: and we likewise are told that these select persons, or jurymen, did not always give true accounts of the possessions that belonged to the several landholders of their respective districts, but sometimes represented them as less, both in the rents, or profits, arising from them, and in the extent of ground they consisted of, than they really were. In particular this is said to have been the case with respect to the possessions of the abbey of Crowland, of which Ingulphus himself became abbot in the year 1076: the jurymen, summoned before the king's commissioners to inform them of the state of the possessions in that district, being well affected towards that monastery, (*penès nostrum Monasterium benevoli et amantes,*) did not estimate, or value, it (for so I understand the word *librabant*) according to the full value of it, or to the true extent of it, (*non ad verum pretium, nec ad verum spatium, nostrum Monasterium librabant,*) or did not make known to the commissioners the full value of the yearly rents enjoyed by it, nor the true number of acres of which the lands belonging to it consisted, but represented both as less than they really were, through a friendly desire of lessening the taxes and burthens that might be laid upon the monastery in future times by the king's commands, *misericorditèr præcaventes in futurum regiis exactionibus, et aliis oneribus piissimâ nobis benevolentiâ providentes*; which Ingulphus seems to have considered as a kind of pious fraud, or laudable manner of eluding the future rapacity of the crown. This very ancient and curious record has lately been printed by order of the parliament at the public expence in two volumes folio.

[p] *Manciadæ Maronis.* This word *Manciadæ* was probably intended to express the native place of Virgil, which was *Mantua*, from which it seems to be derived in a corrupt, irregular, manner.

[q] *Nobiles puellæ despicabilium ludibrio armigerorum patebant, et ab immundis nebulonibus oppressæ dedecus suum deplorabant.* This account of the insolence and violence of the Norman officers and soldiers towards the English women of good character and condition, after the complete conquest of the country, is confirmed by the following passage in *Eadmerus*'s history of his own times, [*Historia Novorum*] Lib. iii. page

verò, elegantiâ et ingenuitate ſpectabiles, deſolatæ gemebant: maritorum, et omnium penè amicorum, ſolatio deſtitutæ magis mori quàm vivere optabant. Indociles paraſiti admirabantur, et quaſi vecordes è ſuperbiâ efficiebantur, unde ſibi tanta poteſtas emanâſſet, et putabant quod, quicquid vellent, ſibi liceret. Inſipientes et maligni cur cum totâ contritione cordis, non cogitabant, quòd non ſuâ virtute, ſed Dei, gubernantis omnia, nutu hoſtes vicerant; et gentem majorem, et ditiorem, et antiquiorem ſeſe ſubegerant; in quâ plures ſancti prudentéſque viri, Regéſque potentes micuerant, multíſque modis domi militiæque nobilitèr viguerant? Sententia veritatis jugitèr eis timenda, et cordi medullitùs inſerenda eſſet dicentis: *Eâdem menſurâ qua menſi fueritis, remetietur vobis.*

Eccleſiaſtici viri, ut ambitioni ſuæ indulgeant et dignitates in Eccleſiâ cum magnis divitiis ſibi comparent, regi et principibus Normannorum nimiùm aſſentantur.

Nonnulli etiàm Eccleſiaſtici viri, qui ſapientes et religioſi videbantur, Regali Curiæ pro dignitatibus cupitis obnixè famulabantur, et diverſis aſſentationum modis, non ſine dedecore religioſæ opinionis, adulabantur. Sicut Tironibus ſuæ à Principibus erogabantur ſtipendia militiæ, ſic quibuſdam coronatis pro famulatu ſuo dabantur à laicis Epiſcopatus et Abbatiæ, Eccleſiarum Præpoſituræ, Archidiaconatus et Decaniæ, aliæque poteſtates et dignitates Eccleſiæ, quas meritum ſanctitatis et ſapientiæ doctrina ſolummodò debent obtinere. Clerici et Monachi nunc terreno Principi pro talibus ſtipendiis inhærebant, et pro temporali commodo multiplex ſervitium, quod divino cultui non competit, indecentèr impendebant. Priſci Abbates ſecularis comminatione poteſtatis terrebantur, et ſine ſynodali diſcuſſione de Sedibus ſuis injuſtè fugabantur[r]: pro

page 57, of Selden's edition. *Nam quando ille magnus Willielmus hanc terram primò devicit, multi ſuorum, ſibi pro tantâ victoriâ applaudentes, omniáque ſuis voluntatibus atque luxuriis obedire et ſubdi debere autumantes, non ſolùm in poſſeſſiones victorum, ſed et in ipſas matronas et virgines, ubi eis facultas aſpirabat, nefandâ libidine coeperunt inſanire. Quod nonnullæ prævidentes, et ſuo pudori metuentes, monaſteria virginum petivêre, acceptóque velo ſeſe inter ipſas à tantâ infamiâ protexêre.*

[r] *Priſci Abbates ſecularis comminatione poteſtatis terrebantur, et ſine ſynodali diſcuſſione de ſedibus ſuis injuſtè fugabantur.* By this paſſage it appears that the abbots of convents could not at this time be lawfully removed from their dignities, or offices, of abbots otherwiſe than by the judgement, or ſentence, of a ſynod, upon a charge of ſome offence or breach of duty: but that, notwithſtanding the law was ſuch with

reſpect

pro quibus stipendiarii non Monachi, sed tyranni, contrà sanctorum scita Canonum intrudebantur. Conventio et profectus fiebat inter commis-

respect to them, they yet often were, in fact, removed from their said offices by the king's power, against the rules of law and justice; and other abbots were appointed in their stead by the same overbearing authority; and that the said abbots thus irregularly obtruded upon the convents, often governed the monks committed to their charge in a very oppressive and tyrannical manner, or (according to the author's expression) as wolves would govern sheep. Of this oppressive government our author gives us a signal instance in the case of the monks of the famous abbey of *Glastonbury* in Somersetshire, over whom one *Turstin*, (a monk of the abbey of *Caen* in Normandy) was, by king William's authority, made abbot. This new and haughty abbot required the abbots of this convent to leave off singing the hymns and anthems which they had been used to sing from their youth, and which had been taught to the first English monks in the time of pope Gregory the Ist, when the Christian religion was first introduced into England by Austen and the other monks that pope Gregory had sent thither for that purpose: these hymns and anthems this abbot *Turstin* required the monks of Glastonbury to lay aside, and, in their stead, to learn to sing some other hymns and anthems which were in use in Normandy and Flanders, and which he had brought over some Norman and Flemish monks to teach them. This was thought a great hardship by the monks, and they refused to comyly with their new abbot's orders. Upon which he collected together a good body of the tenants who held lands of the monastery, (and who were much under his power,) and armed them with javelins, and with them he attacked his monks on a sudden at a time that they were all met together in a body to perform some of the duties of the convent, and killed and wounded several of them. And this, our author tells us, was but one of many such instances that might be given of the insolent and oppressive behaviour of the Normans towards the conquered and unhappy English.

This story of the quarrel between the abbot of *Glastonbury* and his monks is related also by *William of Malmesbury*, who was contemporary with *Ordericus Vitalis*. His account of it is in these words: *Veruntamen, quia alea fortunæ incertis jactibus volvitur, multa tunc temporis adversa pervenerunt. Foeda inter abbatem Glastoniæ et monachos ejus discordia: ita ut, post verborum lites, ad arma ventum sit. Co-acti ergò intrà ecclesiam monachi sancto altari miserias suas applorabant. Sed irruentibus militibus, duo ex eis interfecti, decèm et quatuor vulnerati, cæteri repulsi. Nam et furor militum etiàm crucifixum sagittis inhorrere fecerat. Hujus noxæ crimine infamatus abbas totâ vitâ regis exilio deportatus est, eòque defuncto, pro redemptione peccati auxiliaribus annumeratâ pecuniâ, honori restitutus est.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 110, line 21, *et seq*.

By this account it appears that two of the monks of Glastonbury were killed on this occasion, and fourteen were wounded. But king William did not permit this atrocious act of violence to go wholly unpunished, but deprived the abbot of his dignity, or office, of abbot of Glastonbury, and banished him from the kingdom, without ever permitting him to return to it during the whole remainder of his reign, which continued during sixteen years after this event, to wit, from the year 1071 to the year 1087.

sos-

Superbia Turstini, (monachi Cadomensis monasterii in Normanniâ) adversùs monachos Glastonienses, super quos est factus abbas.

sos greges et Archimandritas hujusmodi, qualis inter lupos et bidentes sine defensore solet fieri. Quod facilè probari potest ab his qui interfuerunt in Turstino Cadomensi et Conventu Glestoniensi. Nam dum protervus Abbas cogeret Glestonios cantum quem Angli à discipulis be ti Gregorii Papæ didicerant, relinquere, et ignotum sibi nec auditum anteà cantum à Flandrensibus seu Normannis ediscere, orta est lis acerrima, quam mox secuta est sacri Ordinis contumelia. Dum enim Monachi nova nollent suscipere instituta, et contumacis Magistri persisteret pe inacia, laici hero suo suffragati sunt ferentes spicula. A quibus ex insperato Monachorum concio est circundata, et pars eorum est crudelitèr percussa, ac, ut fertur, lethalitèr sauciata. Multa his similia referri possent, si Lectoris animum salubritèr ædificarent. Verùm, quia hæc sunt minùs læta, his omissis stilum vertam ad alia.

De Guitmundo, venerabili monacho monasterii Crucis Heltonis.

Guitmundus venerabilis Monachus Cœnobii, quod Crux Heltonis dicitur, (ubi gloriosus Confessor Christi, Leudfredus, tempore Hildeberti et Hilperici, juniorum Regum [s], Domino feliciter XLVIII. annis militâsse legitur,) regio jussu accersitus, pontum transfretavit: et oblatum sibi à Rege et Proceribus Regni onus Ecclesiastici regiminis omninò repudiavit. Erat enim ævo maturus, et religiosus, ac scientiâ litterarum eruditissimus, cujus ingenii præclarum specimen evidentèr patet in libro de corpore et sanguine Domini contrà Berengarium [t], et in aliis opusculis ipsius. Hic itaque cum à Rege rogaretur ut in Angliâ

Rejicit dignitates Ecclesiasticas in Angliâ favore Gulielmi regis sibi oblatas.

[s] *Tempore Hildeberti et Hilperici, juniorum, regum.* That is, as I conceive, in the reign of *Childebert the Second* and *Chilperic the Second*, kings of France, or *Childebert and Chilperic the younger of their respective names.* Childebert the Second began his reign A. D. 698; and Chilperic the Second began his reign A. D. 722.

[t] *In libro de corpore et sanguine Domini contrà Berengarium.* This book of the venerable monk *Guitmund*, in support of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, (which had been then lately introduced into the Church of Rome, and was strongly opposed by *Berenger*, the worthy and learned archbishop of *Tours* in Touraine, on the western side of France,) was still more famous, according to *William of Malmesbury*, than the book of archbishop *Lanfrank* on the same subject. The words of Malmesbury are as follows: *Responderunt ei* [Berengario] *libris* Lanfrancus *archiepiscopus, sed præcipuè et fortitèr* Guimundus, *priùs monachus* de sancto Leofredo *Normanniæ, posteà episcopus* Aversanus *Apuliæ, nostri temporis eloquentissimus.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 113, line 31. Concerning the great virtues and merit of *Berenger*, see above page 92, note *y*.

secum

ſecum moraretur, et congruum tempus eum promovendi præſtolaretur, ſecum ſubtilitèr deliberavit, ſuíque votum propoſiti aliud eſſe demonſtrans, Regi reſpondit:

" Multæ cauſæ me repellunt ab Eccleſiaſtico regimine, quas omnes " ſingulatìm nolo nec decet exprimere. In primis infirmitates meas, " quibus in corpore et animâ inceſſantèr premor, conſidero: quibus " diligentèr perſpectis divinum examen vehementèr pertimeſco, mœ- " rens quod in viâ Dei quotidiè laboro, et à veritate vacillo. Et dum " meipſum ſalubritèr moderari nequeo, qualitèr aliorum vitam ad " ſalutis viam dirigere valeo? Omnibus vigili mente perluſtratis, non " video, quâ lege dignitèr præeſſe valeam illorum cuneo quorum ex- " traneos mores, barbarámque locutionem neſcio: quorum patres " charóſque parentes et amicos occidiſtis gladio, vel exheredatos " opprimitis exilio, vel carcere indebito, vel intolerabili ſervitio. " Scrutamini Scripturas, et videte ſi quâ lege ſancitur, ut Dominico " gregi Paſtor ab inimicis electus violentèr imponatur. Eccleſiaſtica " electio priùs debet ab ipſis ſubjectis fidelibus cum ſinceritate fieri: " ac poſtmodùm aſtipulatione Patrum et amicorum (ſi Canonica eſt) " reverentèr confirmari. Alioquin cum charitate debet emendari*. " Quod

Oratio ejus ad regem, referta animadverſionibus et exhortationibus liberrimis.

* *Eccleſiaſtica electio priùs debet ab ipſis ſubjectis fidelibus cum ſinceritate fieri, ac poſt modum aſtipulatione patrum et amicorum (ſi canonica eſt) reverentèr confirmari: alioquin cum charitate debet emendari.* Here we have an account of the regular, legitimate, method of appointing abbots to govern monaſteries, in the Chriſtian ſtates of Europe, at this period, according to the canons and ordinances of the church. They were to be choſen by the free ſuffrages of the monks, over whom they were to preſide, but out of perſons duly qualified for the office according to the laws, or canons, of the church: and, when they had been thus freely choſen, they were to be preſented to the biſhop to be confirmed by him, with certain ſolemn ceremonies, in the poſſeſſion of the office [*reverentèr confirmari*], in caſe they were duly qualified, according to the canons of the church, to hold it, and in caſe the election had been carried on in the legal and regular manner preſcribed by the canons of the church. In theſe caſes it ſeems to have been the duty of the biſhop to confirm the election, though he ſhould not have been pleaſed with the perſon that had been elected. But, if the election had been made in an irregular manner, (as for example, with circumſtances of tumult or violence, or with circumſtances of groſs corruption, by giving bribes to the monks for their votes, or without the proper interval of time to give an opportunity for proper candidates to offer themſelves, or for ſufficient deliberation concern- ing

"Quod bello et effusione multi cruoris truculentèr rapuistis, quâ
"ratione mihi aliisque contemptoribus mundi, qui sponte pro Christo
"nudati sumus propriis, sine culpâ impartiri potestis? Generalis om-
"nium Religiosorum lex est, à rapinis abstinere, et de prædâ (etiàm
"si offertur) pro justitiæ observantiâ nolle recipere. Dicit enim
"Scriptura: *Immolans ex iniquo, oblatio est maculata.* Et paulò post:
"*Qui offert sacrificium ex substantiâ pauperum, quasi qui victimat filium*
"*in conspectu patris sui.* Hæc et his similia divinæ legis præconia per-
"tractans expavesco: et totam Angliam quasi amplissimam prædam
"dijudico, ipsámque cum gazis suis, velut ignem ardentem, contin-
"gere formido. Et, quia Deus jubet, ut quisque proximum suum
"diligat sicut seipsum; sine dolo dicam vobis id quod mihi cælitùs est
"inditum. Quod mihi utile reor, vobis quoque salutare arbitror.
"Ergò quod amicabilitèr loquar non videatur amarum: sed tu, strenue
"Princeps, et commilitones tui, qui grave tecum inierunt periculum,
"nostræ admonitionis benigno corde suscipite eloquium. Opera Dei
"cunctis diebus vitæ vestræ sagacitèr considerate: et judicia ejus, quæ
"incomprehensibilia sunt, in omnibus operibus vestris timete: et sic
"vestram vitam æquâ lance moderari ad voluntatem Dei satagite, ut
"ipse arbiter æternus, qui omnia justè disponit, placabilis sit vobiscum
"in nullo discrimine. Non vos decipiant adulatores vanâ securitate:
"nec insolentèr pro secundis eventibus præsentis vitæ vos lethalitèr
"obdormire suadeant in mundanâ prosperitate. Si vicistis Anglos in
"congressione, super hoc superbire nolite: sed spiritualis nequitiæ

ing their respective merits, or without the proper prayers, or other religious ceremonies prescribed by the canons of the church to be used on those occasions,) or if the person chosen was not qualified according to the canons of the church to hold the office (as for example, if he was a married man), it was the duty of the bishop to set the election aside as irregular and contrary to the canons. And one would be apt to imagine, from the words used on this occasion by our author, to wit, *Alioquin cum charitate debet emendari*, that in these cases of irregular and uncanonical elections made by the monks, the bishop had a power, not only of setting aside the abbot so irregularly chosen by the monks, but of *amending the bad choice the monks had made, by appointing another abbot in his stead. Tamen quære.*

But at this time *William the Conqueror* took upon him, both in England and in Normandy, to appoint the abbots of monasteries by his own authority, without any previous election by the monks; and his predecessor *Edward the Confessor*, and some former kings of England, for near a hundred years together, had done the same thing. See above, page 233, note [a].

"gravius

" gravius ac periculosius certamen caustius agite, quod restat adhuc et
" imminet vobis quotidiè. Mutationes regnorum frequentèr factæ
" sunt in orbe terrarum, sicut sparsim legimus multiplicium per
" campos Scripturarum, quibus liberalium à Deo impertita est notitia
" litterarum. Babylonii, sub Nabugodonosor Rege, Judæam et
" Ægyptum et alia regna sibi plurima subegerunt: sed post LXX. annos
" ipsi cum Balthasar Rege suo à Medis et Persis, quibus præerant
" Darius et Cirus nepos ejus, victi et subjugati sunt. Deinde sub
" Alexandro Magno Macedones post CCXXX. annos Darium, Regem
" Persarum, cum multis legionibus devicerunt: et ipsi nihilominùs,
" post aliquot annos, Romanis per totum orbem phalanges suas de-
" stinantibus, cum Perseo, Rege suo, devicti sunt. Græci sub Aga-
" memnone et Palamede Trojam obsederunt, et Priamum Regem,
" Laomedontis filium, ac liberos ejus, Hectorem et Troilum, Paridem
" et Deiphobum Amphimachúmque trucidaverunt; et famosum Phrygiæ
" regnum post decennem obsidionem flammâ et ferro depopulati de-
" struxerunt. Trojanorum una pars sub Ænea Duce regnum Italiæ
" obtinuit: alia pars cum Antenore per longum iter ac difficile Daciam
" adiit: ibique sedem ponens usque in hodiernum diem habitavit.
" Romani regnum Hierosolymorum, (quod David, aliíque potentes
" successores ejus spoliis allophylorum ditaverunt, et, subactis barbaris
" gentibus, quæ in circuitu erant, sublimaverunt,) sub Vespasiano et
" Tito subverterunt; et nobile templum post primæ ædificationis ejus
" annos MLXXXIX. diruerunt, quando undecies centena millia Judæ-
" orum ferro seu fame perierunt. Franci Gallis tempore Sunnonis
" Ducis associati sunt, et, Romanorum jugo de cervice suâ viriliter
" excusso, super eos regnare cœperunt. Angli-Saxones, Ducibus
" Hengist et Horsâ, Britonibus (qui nunc Gualli vocantur) imperium
" dolis et fortitudine jam ferè sexcentis annis abstulerunt. Guinili,
" qui de Scandinaviâ insulâ sorte ejecti sunt, regnante Albuino Rege,
" filio Audonis, partem Italiæ, quæ nunc Langobardia dicitur, inva-
" serunt: et Romanis diutiùs resistentes nunc usque tenuerunt.
" Omnes hi, quos victoriâ turgentes recolui, paulò pòst miseræ sub-
" jacuerunt perniciei, paríque cum victis contritione torti, irremedi-
" abilitèr gemunt in cloacis erebi. Normanni sub Rollone Duce
" Neustriam Carolo Simplici subtraxerunt: jámque CXC. annis, con-

 " tradi-

" tradicentibus Gallis, et cum bellico tumultu sæpè calumniantibus [x],
" tenuerunt. Quid de Gepidis et Vandalis, Gothis et Turcis, Hunis
" et Herulis; quid de aliis loquar barbaris? quorum conatus ad nihil
" est aliud nisi furari et rapere, et, conculcatâ pace, jugitèr furere?
" Terram turbant, ædes concremant, orbem vexant, opes dissipant,
" homines jugulant, omnia fœdant & inquietant. His itaque signis
" mundi portenditur finis, sicut ipsius patentèr edocemur voce Veritatis:
" *Exurget gens contrà gentem, et regnum adversùs regnum: et erunt ter-*
" *ræ motus magni per loca, et pestilentiæ, et fames, terroresque de cælo,*
" *et signa magna erunt.*

" *Cladibus innumeris premitur sic jugitèr orbis.*

De regis Gulielmi invasione Angliæ.

" His et multis hujuscemodi rotatibus in rebus humanis solertèr
" inspectis, non in se glorietur victor de ruinâ comparis: quia nec ipse
" stabit, nisi quantum jusserit dispositio conditoris. Conversionem lo-
" cutionis meæ nunc ad te, ô Rex, faciam: quam tu (quæso) tibi be-
" nignitèr haurias propter salutem æternam. Nullus patrum tuorum
" ante te regale stemma gessit; nec hæreditario jure tantum decus tibi
" provenit, sed gratuitâ largitione omnipotentis Dei, et amicitiâ Ed-
" vardi, consanguinei tui. Edgarus Adelinus, aliique plures ex li-
" neâ regalis prosapiæ orti, secundùm leges Hebræorum aliarúmque
" gentium, propinquiores sunt hæredes diadematis Anglici. Illis ni-
" mirùm remotis sors tibi cessit provectionis: sed Dei judicium quantò
" occultius, tantò terribilius imminet tibi ad reddendam rationem com-
" missæ villicationis. Hæc benigno ex corde sublimitati vestræ lo-
" cutus sum, humilitèr deposcens, ut mens vestra semper sit memor
" novissimorum, nec vos nimìs implicet prosperitas præsentium, quam

[x] *Et cum bellico tumultu sæpe calumniantibus.* The word *calumniantibus* here and in many other passages of this and other authors of this period, signifies *claiming*, not *slandering*, which latter word is the sense of it in the ancient classic writers; and the meaning of this passage is, " That the Normans, under their general and first duke
" *Rollo*, extorted from *Charles the Simple*, king of France, a surrender of the province
" of *Neustria*, that has been since called *Normandy*, and have kept possession of it for
" one hundred and ninety years, notwithstanding the unwillingness and opposition
" of the French nation, from whom it had been taken, and their having *reclaimed* it
" as their territory many different times, and endeavoured to enforce their claim to it,
" and drive the Normans out of it, by arms."

" sequi

"sequi solet intolerabilis dolor, et ingens luctus ac stridor dentium.
"Gratiæ Dei vos, et amicos atque fideles vestros, commendo: Nor-
"manniámque cum vestrâ licentiâ redire dispono, et opimam Angliæ
"prædam amatoribus mundi, quasi quisquilias, derelinquo. Liberam
"paupertatem Christi amo, (quam Antonius et Benedictus amplexati
"sunt,) magis quàm divitias mundi, quas Crœsus et Sardanapalus
"nimìs amaverunt, et postmodùm miserè pereuntes hostibus suis de-
"seruerunt. Christus enim, pastor bonus, væh divitibus hujus mundi
"minatur, qui voluptatibus vanis et superfluis hic perfruuntur; Pau-
"peribus verò spiritu promittit beatitudinem in regno cœlorum:
"quam nobis det ipse qui vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculo-
"rum. Amen."

Guitmundus redit in Normanniam.

Admiratus Rex cum Proceribus suis insignis Monachi constantiam, supplex ac devotus impendit ei decentem reverentiam, et competentèr honoratum jussit eum remeare in Neustriam, ibique, quo vellet, suam præstolari præsentiam. Auditum est passìm, postquam Guitmundus ad septa Monasterii sui remeavit, quod ipse Monachilem pauperiem divitiis Episcoporum præposuerit, et quod obtentum Angliæ in præsentiâ Regis et Optimatum ejus *rapinam* appellaverit, et quod omnes Episcopos vel Abbates, qui nolentibus Anglis in Ecclesiis Angliæ prælati sunt, rapacitatis redarguerit. Verba igitur ejus per Angliam latè divulgata sunt, et subtilitèr ventilata multis displicuerunt: qui, sequaces ejus esse spernentes, contrà eum ingenti livore exarserunt. Non multò pòst, defuncto Joanne Rothomagensium Archiepiscopo, Rex et alii plures Guitmundum ad Archiepiscopatum elegerunt: sed æmuli ejus, quos idem vituperaverat, ne Archipræsul fieret, quantum potuerunt, impedierunt. In tanto viro nil objiciendum invenerunt, nisi quòd filius esset Presbyteri. Ille autem ab omni avaritiâ purgari volens; et inter exteros paupertate premi, quàm inter suos dissensiones fovere malens, Odilonem Monasterii sui Abbatem reverentèr adiit, et humilitèr ab illo licentiam peregrinandi petiit, et accepit. Porrò illiteratus Abbas metiri nesciebat, quantus sapientiæ thesaurus in præfato Doctore latebat. Ideò desiderabilem Philosophum de Monasterio suo facilè dimisit: quem Gregorius VII, Papa, venientem ad se gaudens suscepit, et Cardinalem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ præfecit: et Urbanus Papa, jam probatum

Et paulò pòst ad Archiepiscopatum Rothomagensis Ecclesiæ à rege Gulielmo designatur; sed nolens hanc dignitatem accipere, à Normanniâ ad Romam pergit.

Ibi fit Cardinalis Ecclesiæ Romanæ, et episcopus urbis *Adversis* in Italiâ.

batim in multis, Metropolitanum Adversæ urbis solemniter ordinavit. Hæc urbs tempore Leonis IX. Papæ, à Normannis, qui primò Apuliam incoluerunt, constructa est: et à Romanis, quia ab adversis sibi cœtibus ædificabatur, *Adversis* dicta est. Hæc utique, divitiis opulenta Cisalpinorum, promptâ strenuitate bellicosâ, hostibus metuenda, fidis clientibus sociisque colenda, Normannorum optione soli Papæ gratanter obedit, à quo Guitmundum Sophistam mystici decoris pallio insigniter redimitum Pontificem accepit. Præfatus Archipræsul Ecclesiam sibi commissam diu rexit, et Apostolicis privilegiis ab omni mortalium exactione liber plausit. Plebem studiosè docuit, meritis et orationibus protexit, atque post multos agones in virtutum exercitiis ad Dominum perrexit.

Dissentio inter filios Baldwini Comitis Flandriæ.

Anno quinto regni sui Guillelmus Rex Guillelmum Osberni filium misit in Normanniam, ut cum Mathilde Reginâ tueretur Provinciam. Tunc nimia dissentio inter Principatûs hæredes in Flandriâ surrexit. Balduinus enim, gener Rodberti Regis Francorum, fortissimus Flandrensium Satrapa fuit, et ex Hadalâ, conjuge suâ, filios et filias plures multimodâ indole pollentes habuit. Rodbertus Fresio, Arnulphus, Balduinus, Udo Treverorum Archiepiscopus, et Henricus Clericus, et Mathildis Regina, atque Judith, uxor Tostici Comitis, soboles Balduini et Hadalæ fuit. De quorum moribus et variis eventibus Sophistæ magna volumina componere possunt. Rodbertus primogenitus jamdudùm patrem offenderat, à quo repulsus et ejectus ad Florentium, Ducem Fresionum, patris sui hostem, secesserat: eique favorabilitèr serviens filiam ejus in conjugium acceperat. Unde Flandrensis Dux vehementèr iratus infremuit, *Fresionem* eum præ irâ cognominavit, et, eum omninò extorrem denuncians, Arnulfum juris sui hæredem constituit[y]. Non multo post Balduinus Dux defunctus est:

et

[y] *Unde Flandrensis dux vehementèr iratus infremuit,* Fresionem *eum præ irâ cognominavit et, eum omnino extorrem denuncians, Arnulphum juris sui hæredem constituit.* By this passage we see that *Baldwin* earl of Flanders, (the father-in-law of William the Conqueror,) took upon him to disinherit his eldest son *Robert*, and appoint his next son *Arnulph* to be heir to the earldom of Flanders in his stead. But this does not prove a right in him to chuse which of his sons should be his heir, as one might be apt at first to imagine; because he did not thus exclude his son Robert through mere dislike

of

et Arnulfus Morinorum Ducatum parvo tempore nactus est. Nam Rodbertus Freso ingentem Fresonum, aliarumque gentium catervam aggregavit, et Flandriam obnixè expugnavit. Philippus autem Rex Francorum (qui consanguineus erat eorum) ad auxilium Arnulfi exercitum Gallorum adunavit, et Guillelmum Comitem, Normanniæ custodem, accersiit. Ille verò cum decèm solummodò militibus Regem adiit, et cum eo alacritèr, quasi ad ludum, in Flandriam accessit. Rodbertus autem Fresio exercitum Henrici Imperatoris cuneis suis sociavit: et Dominico Septuagesimæ, x. Kal. Martii mane imparatos præoccupavit, et, Philippo Rege cum Francis fugiente, Arnulsum fratrem suum, et Balduinum nepotem suum, et Guillelmum Comitem, telis suorum occidit. Posteà Morinorum Ducatum diù tenuit, moriénsque filiis suis, Rodberto Jerosolymitano, et Philippo, reliquit. Guillelmi verò Comitis corpus in Normanniam à suis delatum est, et in Cœnobio Cormeliensi, cum magno suorum luctu, sepultum est. Duo quippe Cœnobia Monachorum in suo patrimonio construxerat in honore sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ. Unum quidem erat Liræ secùs Risellam fluvium; ubi Adeliza uxor ejus tumulata est: aliud verò Cormeliis, ubi ipse (ut diximus) conditus est. Normannorum maximum strenuitate Baronem valdè omnes planxerunt, qui largitates ejus et facetias, atque mirandas probitates noverunt. Hæreditas ejus à Rege Guillelmo filiis ejus distributa est. Willelmus, major natu, Britolium, et Paceium, et reliquam partem paterni juris in Normanniâ obtinuit, et omni vitâ suâ, ferè xxx. annis,

Prælium inter eosdem. Februar. 18, A. D. 107½.

Mors Gulielmi, Osberni filii, militis fortissimi.

of him and partiality to his next son Arnulph, but on account of his adhering to, and serving under *Florence* duke of Friesland, the enemy of earl Baldwin. This conduct of Robert seems to have been considered by his father, earl Baldwin, as a sort of high treason against him, and therefore to have given him a legal right to exclude him from the succession to the government of Flanders, and from every right he had been possessed of in that country; after which the appointment of his next son Arnulph to succeed him was a natural and almost necessary measure. And from the success with which Robert, the elder brother, invaded Flanders after his father Baldwin's death, it seems probable that the people of Flanders did not heartily support Arnulph against him, but paid a great regard to the claim of Robert founded on the right of primogeniture, notwithstanding the forfeitue he had incurred by adhering to duke Florence, his father's enemy. So that it seems reasonable to conclude that the right of primogeniture in succeeding to earldoms and other feudal possessions (though not yet perhaps fully established,) was at this time very much respected.

tenuit.

tenuit. Rogerius autem, junior frater, Comitatum Herfordensem, totúmque fundum patris in Angliâ obtinuit[*]: sed paulò post propter perfidiam et proterviam suam (ut in sequentibus enodabitur) perdidit.

Reginæ

[*] *Hæreditas ejus à rege Guillelmo filiis ejus distributa est. Willelmus, major natu, Britolium et Paceium et reliquam partem paterni juris in Normanniâ obtinuit, et omni vitâ suâ, ferè trigintà annis, tenuit. Rogerius autem, junior frater, Comitatum Herefordensem, totúmque fundum patris in Angliâ, obtinuit.* Here we see how the estates of a great baron both of England and Normandy, who was killed in battle, and does not appear to have done any act to determine the succession to them, were disposed of. Upon the death of this great warriour *William Fitz-osborn*, king William distributed them amongst his two sons *William* and *Roger*, giving to *William*, the eldest son, the lands at *Breteuil* and *Pacey* in Normandy, and all the other estates which his father had held in Normandy, and to *Roger*, the younger son, the earldom of *Hereford* with the lands thereunto belonging, and all the other lands which his father had held in England. It should seem by this passage that these sons of William Fitz-osborn did not succeed to these estates of their father by the mere operation, or course of the law, but received them from king William as free gifts, proceeding from his favour and bounty. But it is probable that a custom had prevailed for some time in Normandy, and had been introduced by the Conquerour into England, for the sovereign to distribute the lands that had been held of him by his deceased vassals, or feudal tenants, amongst their children, which afterwards, when confirmed by time and frequent repetitions, gave rise to the law of inheritance to possessions of this nature.

It is also worth observing that William, the eldest son of William Fitz-osborn, did not on this occasion succeed to all his father's lands, but only to those which were situated in Normandy, the English estates being assigned to his younger brother Roger; so that it should seem that the right of succession by primogeniture had not yet been established in England in the same extent in which it has since taken place; for then the eldest son must have inherited the estates in England as well as those in Normandy. But king William, in making this distribution of William Fitz-osborn's estates, seems to have followed the spirit of that which was afterwards, and perhaps even at that time, the law of succession to feudal possessions in Normandy, which was a less extensive law of inheritance by primogeniture than that which afterwards was established, and still prevails, in England. For, if a man had several sons, and several distinct fiefs, or tracts of land, in Normandy, holden of the duke of Normandy by knight's service, or military tenure, they did not by the law of Normandy all descend to the eldest son, as they would do by the law of England; but the eldest son was entitled to chuse such one of the said fiefs as he should think fit, after which the second son was to chuse one, and then the third son was to chuse, and then the fourth, and fifth, and other following sons were to chuse one a-piece till all the fiefs were exhausted; and, if the fiefs were more in number than the sons of the deceased vassal, the eldest son was to chuse a second fief out of those that remained, after each

Reginæ Mathildi (licet potentèr regnaret, et innumeris opibus abundaret) luctus ingens ortus est de mòrte patris, de desolatione matris, de crudelitate unius fratris, quâ ruina subitò facta est alterius fratris et chari nepotis cum multis amicis. Sic omnipotens Deus immemores sui terrigenas percutit, superbos dejicit, et "quòd dominetur excelsus super omnem terram" lucidè ostendit. Rodbertus itaque Fresio totam sibi Flandriam subegit, et ferè xxx. annis possedit, amicitiámque Philippi, Regis Francorum, facilè promeruit. Ipsi

each of his brothers had chosen one; and then the second, and third, and other sons were in like manner to chuse each of them a second fief, in the order of their seniority, as before, until the fiefs were all exhausted.

As this is a curious subject, the reader, I presume, will not be sorry to see the following extracts relating to it, taken from the royal revisal and emendation of the ancient customs of Normandy, published in the year 1587, by the authority of Henry the Third, king of France, under the title of "*La Coûtume réformée de Normandie*;" to wit:

Article 319.

En Normandie il y a héritage partable, et héritage non-partable.

Article 320.

Touts fiefs nobles sont impartables et individuz. Néant moins, quand il n'y a que des filles héritières, le fief de Haubert peult estre divisé jusques en huict parties: chacune desquelles huict parties peuvent avoir droit de court, et usage, jurisdiction, et gaige-plege.

Article 321.

Le fils aisné, au droit de son aisneesse, peut prendre et choisir par préciput tel fief, ou terre noble, que bon lui semble, en chacune des successions, tant paternelles que maternelles.

Article 322.

Et au cas que l'aisné choisisse le dit fief noble par préciput, il laisse le reste de toute la succession à ses puis-nez.

Article 323.

Et, si en chacune des dictes successions il y a encores autres fiefs nobles, les autres frères s peuvent choisir par préciput selon leur aisneesse, chacun en leur reng.

Article 324.

Après le choix faict du fief, ou fiefs nobles, par l'aisné, ou par les aisnez, par droit de préciput, les puis-nez partageront entre eux tout le reste de la succession.

Article 330.

Quand il n'y a qu'un fief pour tout en une succession, sans autres biens; touts les puisnez ne peuvent prétendre que provision du tiers à vie sur le dit fief, les rentes et charges de la succession desduictes.

nempe majorum origine erant consobrini, et ambo conjuges habebant filias Florentii, Fresionum Marchisi: et filii eorum vinculo hujusmodi necessitudinis huc usque tenentur constricti. Porrò inter Normannos et Flandritas recidiva dissensio prodiit, et propter necem fratris Reginæ, aliorúmque affinium, et maximè pro casu Guillelmi Comitis, diù perduravit. Turbatis in Normanniâ rebus Rex Angliæ regnum optimè disposuit, et ipse in Normanniam, ut ibidem omnia rectè et utilitèr edomaret, properavit. Audito undique Regis adventu pacis amatores lætati sunt, sed filii discordiæ et fœdi sceleribus, ex conscientiâ nequam[a], adveniente ultore contremuerunt. Tunc Cenomanensium et Normannorum majores congregavit, et omnes ad pacem et justitiam tenendam regali hortatu corroboravit. Episcopos quoque et Ecclesiasticos viros admonuit ut benè viverent, ut legem Dei jugitèr revolverent, ut Ecclesiæ Dei communitèr consulerent, ut subditorum mores secundùm scita Canonum corrigerent, et omnes cautè regerent.

Dissensio inter Normannos et Flandrenses.

Rex Gulielmus transit in Normanniam. A. D. 1072.

Anno igitùr ab Incarnatione Domini MLXXII. congregatum est Concilium[b] in Metropolitanâ Rotomagensis urbis Sede, in Basilicâ beatæ et gloriosæ Dei genitricis, semper Virginis, Mariæ; cui Joannes, ejusdem urbis Archiepiscopus, præerat: et, vestigia Patrum secutus, utilitati

Concilium Ecclesiasticum apud Rothomagum in Normanniâ. A. D. 1072.

[a] *Ex conscientiâ nequam.* That is, *Ex conscientiâ sceleris*; or *from the consciousness of their crimes, or guilt.*

[b] *Congregatum est Concilium.* Here we see what members the national or provincial councils, or synods, of Normandy were composed of. *John*, archbishop of *Roan*, was the president of this council; and the other members of it were his suffragan bishops, to wit, *Odo*, bishop of *Bayeux*, *Hugh*, bishop of *Lisieux*, *Robert*, bishop of *Sens*, *Michael*, bishop of *Avranches*, and *Gilbert*, bishop of *Evreux*. These were the secular clergy that were members of this council, without any mixture of delegates, or *proctors*, (as they are called in the convocation of England according to its present constitution) from the inferior clergy, either parochial, or belonging to the cathedral churches, or the deans and prebendaries. But there were several abbots in this council, as appears from the following passage at the end of the author's account of the canons that were made in it, to wit, *Huic concilio consenserunt Joannes, archiepiscopus Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, Odo, Baiocensium episcopus, Michael, Abrincatensis episcopus, Gislebertus, Ebroicensis episcopus; et quamplures etiàm venerabiles abbates, quibus eo tempore cœnobia Normanniæ nobilitèr pollebant et monachicum rigorem servabant.* It should seem therefore that at this time the secular clergy under the order of bishops, and the regular clergy, or monks, were considered as bound to obey the canons passed in these ecclesiastical councils, or synods, (though consisting solely of bishops and abbots, without any delegates chosen by themselves,) by virtue of the canonical obedience

utilitati Ecclesiasticæ omnimodis consulebat, cum suffraganeis suis, Odone Baiocensi, Hugone Lexoviensi, Rodberto Sagiensi, Michaële Abrincatensi, et Gisleberto Ebroicensi. In primis disputatum est de fide sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis, quam secundùm Statuta sanctorum Conciliorum, (scilicet, Niceni, Constantinopolitani, primi Ephesini, et Chalcedonensis, Concilii) corroboraverunt, sanxerunt, se toto corde credere professi sunt. Post hanc Catholicæ fidei professionem, annexa sunt hæc subscripta Catholicæ fidei doctrinæ Capitula.

Canones in eodem statutæ.

De consecratione chrismatis et olei.

" In primis statutum est à nobis, ut secundùm Statuta Patrum, " chrismatis, et olei, baptismatis, et unctionis consecratio, compe- " tenti horâ, id est, post Nonam, secundùm statuta sanctorum Pa- " trum, fiat. Hoc etiàm debet Episcopus prævidere, ut in ipsâ " consecratione XII. sacerdotes sacerdotalibus vestibus indutos, vel " quamplures secum habeat.

" Item, in quibusdam Provinciis mos detestabilis inolevit, quòd " quidam Archidiaconi Pastore carentes ab aliquo Episcopo parti- " culas olei et chrismatis accipiunt, et ita oleo suo commiscent: " quod et damnatum est. Sed unusquisque Archidiaconus chrisma " et oleum suum totum Episcopo, à quo consecrabitur, ut proprio " Episcopo, præsentet.

De distributione chrismatis et olei.

" Item, chrismatis et olei distributio à Decanis summâ diligentiâ et " honestate fiat; ita ut interìm dum distribuerint, albis sint induti:

obedience the former owed to the bishops, and the latter to the abbots who presided over their respective monasteries. The proctors from the prebendaries of cathedral churches and from the parochial clergy, were not admitted into the English convocation till the latter part of the reign of King Edward the first, to wit, the 23d year of his reign, or at the same time as the cities and boroughs of England were permitted to send deputies, or representatives, to the parliament, which (whatever some eminent persons, from their attachment to the cause of civil liberty, have been tempted to imagine concerning its much greater antiquity,) was the real original of the house of commons. But an excellent institution, calculated to preserve the civil liberties of the nation, is not the less valuable for being only five hundred years old, instead of a thousand or twelve hundred.

" et talibus vasculis distribuatur, ut nihil indè aliquâ negligentiâ
" pereat.

De celebratione Missæ.

" Item, statutum est vel * nullus Missam celebret, qui non com-
" municet.

De baptizatione infantium.

" Item, nullus sacerdos baptizet infantem, nisi jejunus et indutus
" albâ et stolâ, nisi necessitate.

De viatico et aquâ benedictâ.

" Item, sunt quidam, qui viaticum et aquam benedictam ultrà
" octavum diem reservant: quod et damnatum est. Alii verò non
" habentes hostias consecratas iterùm consecrant; quod terribilitèr in-
" terdictum est.

De modo conferendi sacros ordines.

" Item, donum sancti spiritûs ut non detur nisi jejunis et à jejunis,
" neque ipsa confirmatio absque igne fiat, statutum est. Hoc etiàm
" statutum est, ne in dandis sacris Ordinibus Apostolicæ auctoritatis
" violatores inveniamur. Legitur enim in Decretis Leonis Papæ,
" quòd non passìm diebus omnibus sacri Ordines celebrentur: sed
" post diem sabbati, in ejus noctis exordio quæ in primâ sabbati
" lucescit his qui consecrandi sunt jejunis à jejunantibus sacra bene-
" dictio conferatur. Quod ejusdem observantiæ erit, si mane ipso
" Dominico die, continuato sabbati jejunio, celebretur. A quo tem-
" pore præcedentis noctis initium non recedit: quò diem resur-
" rectionis, sicut etiàm in Pascha Domini declaratur, pertinere non
" dubium est.

De observatione quatuor temporum.

" Item, quatuor Temporum observatio competenti tempore secun-
" dùm divinam institutionem communi observantiâ à nobis servetur;

* Pro *vel* forte legendum foret, *ut*.

" id

" id eſt, prima hebdomada Martii, ſecunda Junii, tertia Septembris,
" eadem Decembris, ob reverentiam Dominicæ Nativitatis, In-
" dignum enim valdè eſt ut Sanctorum inſtitutio aliquibus occupa-
" tionibus vel mundiali ſollicitudine deſtituatur.

De Clericis per errorem ordinatis.

" Item, Clerici, qui non electi, nec vocati, aut neſciente Epiſpopo
" ſacris Ordinibus ſe intromittunt: aliquibus verò Epiſcopus, ut Dia-
" conibus, manum imponit: alii ceteros Ordines non habentes Dia-
" cones aut Preſbyteri conſecrantur: hi digni ſunt depoſitione.

De tempore ordinationis Clericorum.

" Item, qui Coronas benedictas habuerunt et reliquerunt, uſque ad
" dignam ſatisfactionem excommunicentur. Clerici qui ordinandi
" ſunt, in v. feriâ veniant ad Epiſcopum.

De Monachis et Sanctimonialibus fugitivis.

" Item, Monachi et Sanctimoniales, qui relictis Eccleſiis per orbem
" vagantur, alii pro nequitiis ſuis à Monaſteriis expulſi, quos paſtorali
" auctoritate oportet compellere ut ad Monaſteria ſua redeant: et, ſi
" expulſos Abbates recipere noluerint, victum eleemoſynæ eis tribuant,
" quæ etiàm manuum labore acquirant, quouſque ſi vitam ſuam emen-
" daverint videantur *.

De emptione beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum.

" Item, emuntur et venduntur Curæ Paſtorales, ſcilicet, Eccleſiæ
" parrochianæ, tam à laicis quàm à Clericis, inſuper etiàm à Mona-
" chis: quod ne amplius fiat, interdictum eſt.

De celebratione nuptiarum.

" Item, nuptiæ non in occulto fiant, neque poſt prandium: ſed
" ſponſus et ſponſa jejuni à ſacerdote jejuno in Monaſterio benedi-

* Forte legendum foret, *videatur*.

" cantur,

" cantur, et antequam copulentur, progenies utrorúmque diligentèr
" inquiratur. Et si intrà septimam generationem aliqua consan-
" guinitas inventa fuerit, et si aliquis eorum dimissus fuerit, non con-
" jungantur. Sacerdos qui contrà hoc fecerit, deponatur.

De Sacerdotum coelibatu.

" De Sacerdotibus, et Levitis, et Subdiaconibus, qui feminas sibi
" usurpaverunt, Concilium Luxoviense observetur: ne Ecclesias per
" se, neque per suffraganeos, regant, nec aliquid de beneficiis habeant.
" Archidiaconi, qui eos regere debent, non permittantur aliquam ha-
" bere nec concubinam, nec subintroductam mulierem, nec pel-
" licem: sed castè et justè vivant, et exemplum castitatis et sancti-
" moniæ subditis præbeant. Oportet etiam ut tales Decani eligantur,
" qui sciant subditos redarguere et emendare, quorum vita non sit
" infamis, sed meritò præferatur subditis.

Prohibitio nuptiarum inter adulterum et adulteram.

" Item, interdictum est, ne aliquis, qui vivente suâ uxore de adul-
" terio calumniatus fuerit; post mortem illius unquam de quâ calum-
" niatus fuit accipiat. Multa enim mala indè evenerunt; nam plurimi
" de causâ hâc suas interfecerunt.

De marito cujus uxor facta est sanctimonialis.

" Item, nullus, cujus uxor velata fuerit, ipsâ vivente unquam aliam
" accipiat.

De uxore cujus maritus ab eâ diù absens fuerit.

" Item, si uxor viri, qui peregrè, aut aliàs, profectus fuerit, alii viro
" nupserit quousque prioris mortis certitudinem habeat, excommuni-
" cetur usque ad dignam satisfactionem.

De Clericis in peccata publicè lapsis.

" Item, statutum est, ne hi, qui publicè lapsi in criminalibus pec-
" catis inveniuntur: citissimè in sacris Ordinibus restituantur. Si

" enim lapsis (ut ait B. Gregor.) ad suum Ordinem revertendi licentia
" concedatur, vigor Canonicæ proculdubio frangitur disciplinæ, dum
" per reversionis spem pravæ actionis desideria quisque concipere non
" formidat. Unde hoc ratum manere oportet, ut in crimine publicè
" lapsus, ante peractam pœnitentiam in pristino gradu nullatenùs resti-
" tuatur, nisi summâ necessitate post dignam quidem longæ pœni-
" tentiæ satisfactionem.

De depositione Clericorum peccantium.

" Item, si aliquis lapsus dignus depositione repertus fuerit, et ad
" eum deponendum tot Coëpiscopos quot auctoritas postulat: scilicet,
" in Sacerdotis sex, in Diaconi depositione tres: unusquisque, qui
" adesse non poterit, Vicarium suum cum suâ auctoritate trans-
" mittat.

De horâ prandendi in tempore Quadragesimæ.

" Item, statutum est, ut nullus in Quadragesimâ prandeat, ante-
" quàm, horâ nonâ peractâ, vespertina incipiat. Non enim jejunat,
" qui antè manducat.

De horâ officii incipiendi in Sabbato Paschæ.

" Item, statutum est, ut in sabbato Paschæ officium ante Nonam
" non incipiatur. Ad noctem enim Dominicæ Resurrectionis res-
" picit, ob cujus reverentiam *Gloria in excelsis Deo et Alleluia* can-
" tatur: quod etiàm in officii initio, cerei, scilicet, benedictione,
" monstratur. Narrat Liber Officialis quòd in hoc biduo non fit Sa-
" cramenti celebratio. Vocat autem hoc biduum sextam feriam et
" sabbatum, in quo recolitur luctus et mœstitia Apostolorum.

De tempore celebrandi sanctorum festivitates.

" Item, si alicujus Sancti festivitas in ipsâ die evenerit, in quâ cele-
" brari non possit: non ante, sed infrà octavum diem celebretur.

De temporibus baptizationum generalium.

" Item, juxtà sanctorum Patrum decreta, scilicet, Innocentii Papæ
" et Leonis, statuimus, ne generale baptisma nisi sabbato Paschæ et

" Pentecostes

" Pentecostes fiat. Hoc quidem servato, quòd parvulis quocumque
" tempore, quacumque die petierint, regenerationis lavacrum non
" negetur. Vigiliâ vel die Epiphaniæ, ut nullus nisi infirmitatis ne-
" cessitate baptizetur, omninò interdicimus."

Huic Concilio consenserunt Joannes, Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis Ecclesiæ, Odo Baiocensium Episcopus, Michaël Abrincatensis Episcopus, Gislebertus Ebroicensis Episcopus; et quamplures etiàm venerabiles Abbates, quibus eo tempore Cœnobia Normanniæ nobilitèr pollebant, et Monachicum rigorem servabant.

De præcipuorum Monasteriorum in Normanniâ abbatibus, tempore Gulielmi regis.

Operæ pretium esse reor Patrum memoriam posteris intimare, qui Normanniæ Monasteria sub Rege Guillelmo prudentèr rexêre: et æterno Regi, qui incommutabilitèr regnat, studuerunt usque ad mortem diligentèr obsecundare. Sequaces eorum multa de eis (ut reor) scripta posteritati dimisêre; sed tamen quosdam, quos præ ceteris amo, non pro temporali mercede, sed prò solo amore sapientiæ et religionis sibi cælitùs inditæ, dulce est mihi cum Magistris meis in hac saltèm paginâ nominare.

Abbates monasterii Fiscannensis.

Fiscannense Cœnobium in prospectu maris positum, creatrici omnium, sanctæ et individuæ Trinitati, dicatum, à Ricardo primo, Duce Normannorum, nobilitèr fundatum, à secundo multis honoribus et divitiis largitèr ampliatum, post Guillelmum Divionensem, virum sapientem et in religione ferventissimum, Joannes venerabilis Abbas annis quinquaginta et uno rexit: post quem Guillelmus de Roz, Baiocensis Clericus, sed Cadomensis Monachus, ferè XXVII. annis tenuit. Hic ut mystica nardus in domo Domini fragravit caritate, largitate, multimodáque probitate. Opera quæ palàm sedulò fecit, vel in occulto coràm paucis arbitris omnipotenti Deo libavit, attestantur quis spiritus in illo habitavit, ipsúmque totum possidens ad solium Domini Sabaoth coronandum perduxit.

Abbates monasterii Fontanellæ.

De Fontanellæ Monasterio Guntardus, Cœnobita, electione sapientum assumptus est, et post obitum Rodberti, Abbatis, Gemmeticensibus Rector datus est. Spiritualis doctrinæ pabula commissis ovibus curiosè

curiosè impendit: et rigorem Monastici Ordinis viriliter tenuit. Mansuetos et obedientes, ut pater filios, mulcens honoravit: in reprobos autem et contumaces, Regulaéque contemptores, ut severus magister disciplinæ virgam exercuit. Denique ad Concilium quod Urbanus Papa anno ab Incarnatione Domini MXCV. Indict. III. apud Clarummontem tenuit, præfatus Pater cum cæteris Collegis suis, Normanniæ Pastoribus, perrexit, ibique, jubente Deo, finem vitæ VI. Kal. Decembris accepit: cui Tancardus, Fiscannensis Prior, ferus ut leo, successit.

Abbates monasterii Beccensis. Herluino, primo abbati, succedit Anselmus, vir doctissimus et celeberrimus.

Defuncto Herluino, (qui fundator et primus Abbas Beccensis Monasterii extitit, et multis carismatibus florens, Ecclesiæ filiis in vitâ suâ sine dolo profuit:) venerabilis Anselmus, multiplici litterarum scientiâ pleniter imbutus, successit, et præfatum Cœnobium doctis ac devotis fratribus, donante Deo, laudabiliter replevit. Dein aucto servorum Dei numero copia rerum non defuit, sed, confluentibus amicis nobilibus ac necessariis, fratribus necessaria ubertas honorificè provenit. Ad consilium probatissimi Sophistæ Clerici et laici concurrebant; et dulcia veritatis verba, quæ de ore ejus fluebant, fautoribus justitiæ, quasi sermones Angeli Dei, placebant. Hic, natione Italus, Lanfrancum secutus Beccum expetiit, et, instar Israëlitarum, auro divitiisque Ægyptiorum, id est, seculari eruditione Philosophorum, onustus, terram repromissionis desideranter adiit. Monachus autem factus cælesti theoriæ omnimodis inhæsit, et de uberrimo fonte sophiæ melliflua doctrinæ fluenta copiosè profudit. Obscuras sacræ Scripturæ sententias solerter indagavit, strenuè verbis aut scriptis dilucidavit, et perplexa Prophetarum dicta salubriter enodavit. Omnia verba ejus utilia erant, et benivolos auditores ædificabant. Dociles discipuli Epistolas typicósque sermones ejus scripto retinuerunt: quibus affatìm debriati[c] non solùm sibi, sed et aliis multis non mediocriter profecerunt. Hoc Guillelmus

Anselmo succedunt Gulielmus et Boso.

[c] *Quibus affatìm debriati.* The word *debriati* means the same as *inebriati*, or *imbuti*, or *omninò pleni*; so that the sense of this passage is, "That the disciples of "Anselm, having their minds fully impregnated with the learning they had "acquired from reading his epistles, and from hearing and taking down in writing "his discourses, or lectures, derived great benefit to themselves, and were also "highly useful to others by the instructions they were thereby enabled to give "them." See Du Cange's Glossary, tom. 2, voce, *debriatus.*

et Boſo, ſucceſſores ejus, multiplicitèr ſenſerunt, qui tanti Doctoris ſyntagmata inſignitèr ſibi hauſerunt, et ſitientibus inde deſiderabilem potum largitèr propinaverunt. Anſelmus affabilis et manſuetus erat, et cunctis ſimplicitèr interrogantibus charitativè reſpondebat. Inquirentibus amicis piè libros edidit miræ ſubtilitatis ac profunditatis de Trinitate, de veritate, de libero arbitrio, de caſu diaboli, et Cur Deus homo factus eſt [d]. Fama ſapientiæ hujus didaſcali per totam Latinitatem [e] divulgata eſt, et nectare bonæ opinionis ejus Occidentalis Eccleſia nobilitèr debriata eſt. Ingens in Eccleſiâ Beccenſi liberalium artium et ſacræ lectionis ſedimen per Lanfrancum cœpit, et per Anſelmum magnificè crevit: ut indè plures procederent egregii Doctores, et providi nautæ, ac ſpirituales aurigæ, quibus ad regendum in hujus ſeculi ſtadio divinitùs habenæ commiſſæ ſunt Eccleſiœ. Sic ex bono uſu in tantum Beccenſes Cœnobitæ ſtudiis litterarum ſunt dediti, et in quæſtione ſeu prolatione ſacrorum ænigmatum utiliúmve ſermonum inſiſtunt ſeduli, ut penè omnes videantur Philoſophi: et ex collocatione * eorum etiàm qui videntur inter eos illiterati, et vocantur ruſtici, poſſint ediſcere ſibi commoda ſpumantes Grammatici [f]. Affabilitate mutuâ, et caritatis dulcedine in Domini cultu gaudent, et infatigabili religione, ut vera docet eos ſapientia, pollent. De hoſpitalitate Beccenſium ſuffi-

Anſelmus edit libros profundos de variis dogmatibus Religionis Chriſtianæ.

[d] *De Trinitate, de Veritate, de libero arbitrio, de caſu Diaboli, et cur Deus homo factus eſt.* That is, Anſelm wrote learned treatiſes upon the following queſtions of divinity, to wit, 1ſt, the Trinity; 2dly, the truth, that is, I ſuppoſe, the truth of the Chriſtian religion—*tamen quære*; 3dly, the nature of free-will; 4thly, the fall of *Satan* from the high ſtate of glory he had once enjoyed in heaven; and, 5thly, the reaſon why God the Son, the ſecond perſon of the Trinity, thought fit to become a man, or take human nature upon him. Theſe were, moſt of them, as deep and difficult ſubjects as this learned perſon could well chuſe for the exerciſe of his ſubtlety and ſagacity.

[e] *Per totam Latinitatem.* That is, "through all the Roman, or weſtern, church, "or all that part of Europe which adhered to the church of Rome or Latin church, "in oppoſition to the Greek church."

[f] *Spumantes grammatici.* The word *ſpumantes* means, I imagine, in this place, *talkative*, *conceited*, and *arrogant*, and the meaning of the paſſage is, "that ſuch was "the learning and knowledge diffuſed amongſt the monks of the abbey of *Bec*, by "means of their learned abbot *Anſelm*, that the moſt talkative and boaſting gram-"marians might receive uſeful inſtructions, with which they were before unac-"quainted, from even the leaſt learned and eminent of theſe monks."

* Forte legendum foret, *collocutions*.

cientèr eloqui nequeo. Interrogati Burgundiones et Hifpani, aliíque de longè feu de propè adventantes, refpondeant: et quantâ benignitate ab eis fufcepti fuerint, fine fraude proferant, eófque in fimilibus imitari fine fictione fatagant. Janua Beccenfium patet omni viatori, eorúmque panis nulli denegatur charitativè petenti. Et quid plura de eifdem loquar? Ipfos in bonis perfeverantes cuftodiat, et ad portum falutis incolumes perducat, qui gratis cœpit peragítque bonum quod in eis corufcat.

Gerbertus Fontinellenfis, et Ainardus Divenfis, ac Durandus Troarnenfis, quafi tres ftellæ radiantes in firmamento cœli, fic ifti tres Archimandritæ multis modis rutilabant in arce Adonai [g]. Religione, et caritate, multiplicíque peritiâ pollebant, ftudióque divinæ laudationis in templo Dei jugitèr inhiabant. Inter præcipuos Cantores fcientiâ Muficæ artis ad modulandum fuavitèr potiti funt: et dulcifonos cantus Antiphonarum atque Refponforiorum ediderunt. De fummo Rege, quem laudant Cherubin et Seraphin, et omnis militia cœlorum: de intactâ virgine Mariâ, quæ nobis peperit Salvatorem feculorum: de Angelis, et Apoftolis, ac Martyribus, de Confefforibus ac Virginibus; mellifluas laudes ex dulciffimo corde manantes prompferunt: et Ecclefiæ pueris ad concinnendum Domino cum Afaph et Eman, Ethan et Idithum, et filiis Chore fidelitèr tradiderunt.

Gerbertus, Abbas Fontinellenfis; Ainardus, Abbas Divenfis; Durandus, Abbas Troarnenfis. Cantus Antiphonarum et Refponforiorum edunt.

Nicolaus, Ricardi tertii, Ducis Normannorum, filius, à puero Fifcannenfis Monachus, Cœnobium fancti Petri, Principis Apoftolorum, in fuburbio Rothomagenfi ferè LX. annis rexit, miraéque magnitudinis et elegantiæ Bafilicam cœpit; in quâ corpus fancti Audoëni, ejufdem urbis Archiepifcopi, cum multis aliis Sanctorum reliquiis, requiefcit. Alii quoque plures tunc erant Monachorum Patres in Neuftriâ, quorum numerofa præterire compellor charifmata [h], ne lectori generet faftidium prolixitas nimia.

Nicolaus, abbas monafterii Rothomagenfis.

[g] *In arce Adonai.* That is, *in arce Domini*, or, "in the citadel, or temple, of "the Lord."

[h] *Numerofa præterire cogor charifmata.* The word *charifmata* means *graces*, or virtues, beftowed on them by the grace, or favour, of Almighty God.

Mors Alexandri secundi, Papæ Romani. A. D. 1073.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MLXXIII. Indictione XI. Alexander Papa secundus, postquam Romanam & Apostolicam Sedem XI. annis rexit, è mundo migravit: et Gregorius VII. qui in baptismate Hildebrannus dictus est, successit, et in Cathedrâ Pontificali XVII. annis sedit. Hic à puero Monachus in lege Domini valdè studuit, multúmque fervidus propter justitiam multas persecutiones pertulit. Passìm per orbem Apostolica edicta destinavit, et, nulli parcens, cælestibus oraculis terribilitèr intonuit, omnésque ad nuptias Regis Sabaoth minis precibúsque invitavit.

Illi succedit in Episcopatu Romano Hildebrandus, sive Gregorius Septimus.

Odo, Prior monasterii Cluniacensis, per Gregorium, Papam, ad episcopatum Hostiensis Ecclesiæ promovetur.

Poscenti Papæ, venerandus Hugo, Cluniacensis Abbas, Odonem præfati Monasterii Priorem (qui Remensis Ecclesiæ Monachus * fuerat) cum aliis idoneis Cœnobitis Romam transmisit: quos Papa velut à Deo sibi missos adjutores ovantèr suscepit. Odonem nempe præcipuum sibi Consiliarium elegit, et Hostiensi Ecclesiæ Pontificem constituit: cujus Sedis prærogativa est à Romano electum Clero suscipere, et Papam benedicere. Alios quoque Monachos Papa, prout ratio dictabat, promovit, et diversarum Ecclesiarum tutelæ dignitèr præfecit.

Mors Ernaldi, Episcopi Cenomannorum. A. D. 1073.

Defuncto Ernaldo, Cœnomanorum Episcopo, Guillelmus Rex dixit Sansoni Baiocensi, Capellano suo: " Cœnomanensis Episcopatûs " sedes suo viduata est Antistite, in quâ, volente Deo, te nunc volo " subrogare. Cœnomanis à caninâ rabie dicta [1], urbs est antiqua, et " plebs ejus finitimis procax et sanguinolenta, Dominísque suis

[1] *Cœnomanis à caninâ rabie dicta.* This derivation of the word *Cœnomanis*, or the name of the city of *Mans*, the capital of the country, or county (as it was then called,) or (as it is now called,) dutchy, of *Maine*, seems to be very fantastical and groundless. It supposes the first two syllables *cœno* to be derived from the Latin word *canis*, which signifies a dog, and the last two syllables *manis* to be derived from the Greek word *μανία*, which signifies *madness*. This is not at all likely to have been the origin of the word; and, if it had been, it is not probable that William the Conquerour had knowledge enough of those two learned languages to have remarked it: so that this part of king William's speech to his chaplain *Sanson*, seems to have been the invention of our author, or of some other monk, from whom he might have received it.

* Canonicus.

semper

" semper contumax et rebellionis avida. Pontificales igitur habenas
" tibi tradere decerno, quem à pueritiâ nutrivi, et amavi sedulò:
" et nunc inter maximos regni mei Proceres sublimare desidero."
Sanson respondit: " Secundùm Apostolicam traditionem oportet
" Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse. Ego autèm in omni vitâ meâ
" sum valdè reprehensibilis: omnibúsque mentis et corporis ante
" conspectum Deitatis sum pollutus flagitiis, nec tantum decus
" contingere possum pro sceleribus meis miser et déspicabilis." Rex
dixit: " Callidus es, et perspicacitèr vides, quòd tu ritè peccatorem
" te confiteri debes. Fixam tamen in te statui sententiam, nec à te
" statutum convellam, quin Episcopatum suscipias, aut alium, qui
" pro te Præsul fiat, porrigas." His auditis gavisus Sanson ait:
" Nunc, Domine mi Rex, optimè locutus es, et ad hoc agendum
" adminiculante Deo me promptum invenies. Ecce in Capellâ tuâ
" est quidam pauper Clericus, sed nobilis et benemorigeratus. Huic
" Præsulatum commenda in Dei timore, quia dignus est (ut æstimo)
" tali honore." Regi autem percunctanti quis esset, Sanson respondit:
" Hoëlus dicitur, et est genere Brito; sed humilis est, et reverâ
" bonus homo. Mox jubente Rege Hoëlus accersitur, ignarus adhuc
" ad quid vocaretur. Cúmque Rex juvenem in humili habitu
macilentum vidisset, despexit; et, conversus ad Sansonem, dixit:
" Isténe est, quem tu tantoperè præfers?" Sanson respondit: " Etiàm,
" Domine. Hunc sine dubio fidelitèr effero, hunc mihi meíque
" similibus jure præpono. Mitis est et benignus, unde magìs Præ-
" sulatu dignus. Pro macie corporis non sit contemptibilis. Ha-
" bitus humilis gratiorem eum assignat sapientibus. Ad exteriora
" tantùm non respicit Deus, sed intuetur ea quæ latent intrinsecùs."
Rex igitùr prudens, sapientis verba intentè percepit, et sagacitèr exa-
minare cœpit. Diffusas autem cogitationes suas in se reversus rationis
ligamine paulatìm restrinxit, nominatúmque Clericum statìm ad se
accersiit, eíque curam et seculare jus Cœnomanensis Episcopatûs com-
misit [k]. Decretum Regis Clero insinuatum est, et præfati Clerici
bonæ

[k] *Nominatúmque clericum statìm ad se accersiit, eíque curam et seculare jus Cœnomanensis ecclesiæ commisit.* By this passage it appears clearly that king William, as earl of *Maine*, made this *Höel*, or *Howel*, bishop of *Mans* by his own single authority.
Nor

Ernaldo succedit in Episcopatu Cenomanniæ Hoëlus, pauper Clericus, in comitatu Britanniæ natus, unus ex capellanis regis Gulielmi. A. D. 1073.

bonæ vitæ testimonium ab his qui noverunt ventilatum est. Pro tàm purâ et simplici electione devota laus à fidelibus Deo reddita est, et electus Pastor ad caulas ovium suarum ab Episcopis et reliquis fidelibus, quibus hoc à Rege jussum fuerat, honorificè perductus est. At ille non minùs obstupuit in tam subitâ promotione ad Præsulatum, quàm David, reprobatis à Samuële primogenitis fratribus, in provectione ad regnum. Sic Hoëlus Cœnomanensium Præsul factus est, et Pontificali stemmate per xv. annos sanctè perfunctus est. Episcopalem Basilicam, in quâ corpus sancti Juliani Confessoris, primi Cœnomanorum Præsulis, requiescit, et alia bona opera Ecclesiæ Dei necessaria, condere cœpit, et, pro temporis opportunitate, quæ cœpta erant perficere studuit. Quo defuncto egregius versificator, Hildebertus, successit [l], et ferè xxx. annis Præsulatum laudabilitèr tenuit. Basilicam verò Episcopii [m], quam prædecessor

Hoëlo succedit Hildebertus, egregius versificator. A. D. 1088.

Nor does it appear, by the context, that the clergy of the diocese, or of the cathedral church of *Mans*, or the monks of any monastery there, had any share in the appointment of him, by electing him after the king's recommendation. And yet in the next sentence this appointment is called an *election*, and the bishop is said to have been *elected*. *Pro tàm purâ et simplici electione devota Laus à fidelibus Deo reddita est, et electus Pastor ad caulas ovium suarum ab Episcopis et reliquis fidelibus, quibus hoc à rege jussum fuerat, honorificè perductus est.* In this passage the words *electione* and *electus* plainly relate only to the king's nomination of this person to the bishoprick of Mans; and therefore we ought to be cautious in other passages in these old writers relating to the same subject, not to conclude hastily from the use of the word *electus*, that the bishop, or abbot, to whom it is applied, was elected to the office of bishop, or abbot, by the clergy or the monks over whom he was to preside, (though that was the original mode of appointing them, and had been prescribed by the canons of the church,) but to examine the context, or some other passages of the same, or some contemporary, author, to know whether the said word *electus* relates to an election properly so called, or simply to a nomination by the king, or other sovereign, of the country, as it does in the present instance.

[l] *Egregius versificator, Hildebertus, successit.* The reader has had a specimen of the poetry of this *Hildebert*, bishop of *Mans*, in the encomium on the learned and pious priest *Berenger*, given above in pages 93 and 94, from the history of *William* of *Malmesbury*.

[m] *Basilicam verò Episcopii.* That is, "the church of the bishoprick, or the "cathedral church;" the word *episcopii* being equivalent to *episcopatûs*; of which we have had an instance or two before. See above, page 235, where we find this sentence; *Augustinus enim et Laurentius, aliique primi prædicatores Anglorum, Monachi fuerunt, et in* Episcopiis *suis, vice canonicorum, (quod vix in aliis terris invenitur) Monachos piè constituerunt.*

ejus

ejus inchoaverat, consummavit, et cum ingenti populorum tripudio veneranter dedicavit. Qui non multò pòst, anno, scilicet, ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXV. Indictione IV.[a] ut Gislebertus, Turonensis Archiepiscopus,

[a] *Indictione* IV. Concerning the method of computing time by *indictions* see Spelman's Glossary and Du Cange's Glossary, at the word *Indictio*. Spelman's account of the matter (if I understand it right,) is as follows: The emperor *Constantine the Great* embraced the Christian religion in the year of Christ 312; from which time the Christian religion was, for the most part, triumphant, or supported by the secular power, throughout the Roman empire. The time therefore that has elapsed since the year of Christ 312 is the time of the temporal prosperity of the Christian religion. This time has been divided, by the authority of the church of Rome, into equal periods of fifteen years each, which are called *indictions*; so that there have been as many indictions since the year of Christ 312 as there have been periods of fifteen years each in the said time. And, in fixing the date of any event that has happened since the said year 312, it has been usual with writers, and more especially with ecclesiastical writers, to mention not only the year of Christ in which the event happened, but the year of the current *indiction*, or period of fifteen years, in which it happened; and the event has been said to happen in the 3d, or 4th, or 5th, or 6th, or other, year of the said indiction, or of *the indiction* generally, and sometimes, (by an inaccurate mode of expression,) in the 3d, or 4th, or 5th, or 6th, or other, indiction, using the word *indiction* for a single year of the whole period of fifteen years, to which the name of *an indiction* more properly belongs.

The way of finding in what year of an indiction any particular event has happened, is to divide the whole number of years that have elapsed between the year of Christ 312 and the time of the proposed event, by the number 15, and then to observe how many years there will be remaining over and above the exact number of indictions, or periods of 15 years each, that are contained in it. For the last year of the said remainder will express the year of the current indiction in which the proposed event will have happened. Thus, if the event has happened in the year of Christ 1073, (as was the case with the death of Pope Alexander the Second, mentioned by our author in page 283) we must take 312 from 1073, and the difference will be 761; which is therefore the number of years that has elapsed between the year of Christ 312 and the proposed event. This number 761 must then be divided by 15, and the quotient will be 50, with a remainder of 11 years; which shews that there have elapsed between the year of Christ 312 and the death of Pope Alexander the Second 50 compleat indictions, or periods of 15 years each, and 11 years of another indiction, and consequently that the event of the said Pope's death must be referred to the 11th year of the 51st, or current, indiction. And accordingly we see that our author's words on this occasion are such as express this event to have happened in the said eleventh year of the indiction, being as follows, to wit, *anno ab incarnatione Domini* 1073, *indictione XI.*

The year of the indiction may likewise be found by adding three years to the year of Christ in which the event has happened, and then dividing the sum by fifteen

Archiepiſcopus, cum Calliſto II. Papâ Romæ obiit, ſub Honorio Papâ Metropolitanam Sedem Turonicæ urbis, ſanctâ Eccleſiâ precibus et juſſis cogente, aſcendit, ibíque laudabilibus ſtudiis et actibus adhuc inſiſtit.

Sicut

fifteen, and obſerving the number of years that will be remaining after ſuch diviſion. For this ſum will be greater than the number of years elapſed between the year of Chriſt 312 and the year in which the propoſed event happened by 315 years, that is, by exactly 21 indictions, or periods of 15 years each; and conſequently the remainder of years that will be left after dividing this ſum by 15 will be the ſame as the remainder that is left after dividing the number of years elapſed between the year of Chriſt 312 and the year of the propoſed event, by 15. Thus, in the foregoing example of the death of Pope Alexander the Second, if we add 3 years to 1073 (the year of Chriſt in which the ſaid event happened) the ſum will be 1076, which exceeds 761, or the number of years elapſed between the year of Chriſt 312 and the death of Pope Alexander the Second, by 315 years, or exactly 21 indictions. Therefore, if we divide 1076 years by 15, the quotient will be greater than the quotient of the diviſion of 761 years by 15, or than 50 indictions, by exactly 21 indictions, or will be 71 indictions; and conſequently the remainder will be the ſame in both caſes, to wit, 11 years. Theſe diviſions are as follows:

15)761(50	15)1076(71
75	105
———	———
.11	..26
	15
	———
	11

Each of theſe methods of finding the year of the current indiction in which an event has happened, is ſufficiently eaſy, and nearly equally ſo. But the latter, "by "adding 3 years to the year of Chriſt in which the propoſed event has happened, "and then dividing the ſum thereby obtained," is that which is generally preſcribed by writers on this ſubject; and it has been expreſſed (though not with the greateſt perſpicuity) in the three following Latin verſes:

Si per quindenos Domini diviſeris annos,
His tribus adjunctis, indictio certa patebit.
Si nihil excedit, quindena indictio currit,

Theſe lines, I conceive, are to be thus tranſlated: "If you add three years to the "years of our Lord Chriſt, and then divide the ſum by fifteen years, you will thereby "diſcover with certainty the year of the current indiction. If, after making this "diviſion, it is found that there is no exceſs above an exact number of indictions, or

periods

Cenomannenses contrà Gulielmi regis auctoritatem rebellant. A. D. 1073.

Sicut mare numquam tutum certâ soliditate quiescit, sed inquietudine jugi turbatum more suo defluit, et, quamvis aliquando tranquillum obtutibus spectantium appareat, solitâ tamen fluctuatione et instabilitate suâ navigantes territat: sic præsens sæculum volubilitate suâ jugitèr vexatur, innumerísque modis, tristibus seu lætis, evidentèr variatur. Inter protervos mundi amatores (quibus ipse mundus non sufficit) immanis altercatio sæpe oritur, et in immensum crescit. Et dum quisque superior esse, æmulúmque suum proterere nititur, æquitatis immemor legem Dei transgreditur: et pro adipiscendo quod unusquisque ambit, humanus cruor crudelitèr effunditur. Hoc Historicorum antiqui Codices copiosè referunt, hoc moderni rumores per vicos et plateas indesinentèr asserunt: unde quidam ad præsens lætantur, alii nihilominùs flent et contristantur. De casibus hujusmodi quædam in hoc nostro libello brevitèr tetigi, et veracitèr adhuc addere libet alia, prout à senioribus didici.

De Herberto, Cenomanniæ Comite, qui cognominatus est *Evigilans canem*.

Herbertus, Cœnomannorum Comes °, ex prosapiâ (ut fertur) Caroli Magni originem duxit: et vulgò, sed parum Latinè, cognominari *Evigilans-*

periods of fifteen years each, the last of the said exact number of indictions must be concluded to be still in being, or not to be expired, at the time of the proposed event's happening; and consequently the year in question, (in which the proposed event has happened,) must be considered as the fifteenth year of the said last indiction, or (in a less correct way of expression) as the fifteenth indiction, and as being still current, or going on, at the time of the said event's happening.

° *Herbertus, Cœnomannorum comes*, &c. According to Monsieur Brunet's *Abrégé Chronologique des Grands Fiefs de la Couronne de France*, (which seems to be a very learned historical collection,) this Herbert, earl of Maine, (who was surnamed *Evigilans-canem*, or *Eveille-chien*) succeeded to the government of that territory in the year of Christ 995, and held it till his death, which happened in 1010. According to the same author, *Fulk* the elder, earl of *Anjou* (the father of the famous warriour *Geoffrey Martel*,) succeeded to the earldom of Anjou in the year 987, and died in the year 1040. Therefore the said Herbert was contemporary with him in the former part of his reign, and might make many expeditions by night (as Ordericus Vitalis here relates,) against the cities and fortresses of Anjou. He seems by his valour to have recovered his earldom of Maine out of the hands of this *Fulk*, who (as Ordericus here tells us) had subdued his father *Hugh*, (*post mortem Hugonis, patris sui, quem Fulco senior sibi violentèr subjugârat,*) and, we may suppose, had at the same time taken possession of his territories. But it seems probable from what our author relates in the next paragraph but one, concerning the grant made of the earldom

Evigilans-canem pro ingenti probitate promeruit. Nam post mortem Hugonis patris sui, quem Fulco senior sibi violentèr subjugârat, in eundem arma levans nocturnas expeditiones crebrò agebat, et Andegavenses homines et canes in ipsâ urbe, vel in munitioribus oppidis terrebat, et horrendis assultibus pavidos vigilare cogebat.

Hugo, filius Herberti.

Hugo filius Herberti, postquam Alanus, Britannorum Comes, à Normannis in Normanniâ impotionatus[p] occubuit, Bertam ipsius relictam, Tedbaldi, Blesensium Comitis, sororem, in conjugium accepit: quæ[q] filium, nomine Herbertum, et tres filias ei peperit. Una earum

earldom of Maine by *Geoffrey Martel*, earl of *Anjou*, (the nephew and successor of the great warriour of that name, and the grandson of this *Fulk the elder*.) to *Robert*, the eldest son of William the Conquerour, and of the homage and fealty received from the said Robert upon making him the said grant; I say, it seems probable from these circumstances that this brave earl Herbert, though he recovered his earldom of Maine out of the hands of this Fulk the elder, yet continued to hold it in subjection to him as his vassal, or homager, and that this subordination continued in the time of his successors at least down to the time of the said grant of the territory to Robert of Normandy, excepting only the short reign of the second earl Herbert, (from about A. D. 1058, to A. D. 1063,) who transferred his homage to William duke of Normandy. See above, page 70.

[p] *Impotionatus.* That is, *veneno, seu potione veneno infectâ, necatus*, or, in English, *poisoned.* According to Monsieur Brunet's *Abrégé Chronologique des Grands Fiefs de France* abovementioned, this *Alan*, duke, or earl, of *Britany*, died in the year 1036, that is, one year after the death of Robert the 2d, duke of Normandy, and when William the Conquerour, the son of the said Robert, was only nine years old. The said Alan had been appointed by duke Robert to be guardian of his infant son and successor *William*, and acted faithfully in the execution of this great trust; and and therefore, if it be true that he was poisoned, (as our author seems here to assert without any hesitation,) it must probably have been by some of those ambitious Normans who endeavoured to set aside the young duke of Normandy from the succession to the government of that dukedom on account of his being a bastard, and to make themselves dukes of Normandy in his stead; which could not easily be effected while his powerful and faithful guardian, *Alan*, duke of Britany, continued alive to protect him. Concerning the dukes of Britany see above, page 219, note *w*.

[q] *Quæ filium, nomine Herbertum, et tres filias ei peperit.* From this passage we may collect, with a sufficient degree of exactness for the purpose of understanding the events alluded to in this history, the age of this second earl *Herbert*. For, since his father *Hugh*, earl of *Maine*, married *Berta*, the widow of *Alan* earl of *Britany*, who was killed by poison in the year of Christ 1036, it is probable that he was born

earum data eſt Azſoni, Marchiſo Liguriæ. Alia, nomine Margarita, Rodberto, filiò Guillelmi Ducis Neuſtriæ, deſponſata eſt, quæ virgo in

Herbertus, Junior, filius hujus Hugonis.

born about the year 1038, or 1339. He ſucceeded his father, earl Hugh, in the government of the territory of Maine, during the life of the brave and inſolent Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, and conſequently before the year 1060, in which that earl died. This appears from William of Poictiers in the *Geſta Gulielmi*; ſee above, page 70. He muſt therefore have been a young man of not more than 20 or 21 years of age at the time of his ſucceeding to the government. The firſt ſtep he took, after he ſucceeded to the government, was to withdraw himſelf from his dependence upon Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, (of whom he held the earldom of Maine by homage, or feudal ſubjection,) and to transfer his homage, or dependance, to William duke of Normandy, that he might obtain his protection againſt the tyranny and oppreſſion of Geoffrey Martel. He likewiſe engaged to marry one of duke William's daughters, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be of a fit age for marriage, and alſo to leave him the earldom of Maine in poſſeſſion, in caſe he ſhould die without children; neglecting, or ſuperſeding, the right which his ſiſters might have to it in that event. In a year or two after this earl Herbert's ſucceſſion to this earldom, to wit, in the year 1060, his father's oppreſſor Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, died; and in three years more, to wit, in the year 1063, this earl Herbert himſelf died, before he had married duke William's daughter, and after a reign (as I conjecture,) of five years. Upon his death the inhabitants of the city of *Mans* and country of *Maine* called in *Walter*, earl of *Mante*, (a large town on the river *Seine*,) who had married earl *Herbert's* aunt, a ſiſter of his father, earl *Hugh*, to be their earl, or ſovereign, in preference to William, duke of Normandy, to whom earl Herbert had bequeathed it: and this *Walter* immediately took poſſeſſion of the country, and did homage for it to *Geoffrey Martel*, the then Earl of *Anjou*, who had ſucceeded his uncle, the great warriour *Geoffrey Martel*, in the government of that earldom. But duke William inſiſted on the validity of earl *Herbert's* donation to him, and invaded the country of *Maine* with a powerful army, and beſieged and took the city of *Mans*; and reduced the whole earldom to ſubjection. Nevertheleſs, in order to ſtrengthen his title to it, he thought it prudent to propoſe to the inhabitants a marriage between his eldeſt ſon Robert, (who was then a boy of nine years of age,) and the lady Margaret, a ſiſter of the late earl Herbert, who, according to *Gulielmus Pictavienſis*, was at that time very nearly of a fit age to marry, and therefore we may ſuppoſe was about 15 years old. And, in proſecution of this intention, he cauſed this lady Margaret to be ſafely kept, and maintained in a ſplendid manner, in divers caſtles and ſtrong places, under the care of faithful and honourable perſons, with ladies of ſuitable rank and quality to aſſociate with her. But ſhe died a very little time before the day appointed for her marriage. See above, page 72. This we may reaſonably ſuppoſe to have been when her intended huſband, Robert of Normandy, was about 18 years of age, or in the 1072, or about a year before the preſent rebellion of the inhabitants of the earldom of Maine againſt king William, in the year 1073, of which our author is going to give us an account. And if

Hujus Herberti tres sorores.

in tutelâ ejusdem Ducis defuncta est. Tertia verò Joanni, Domino castri quod Flecchia dicitur, nupsit: quæ marito suo tres liberos, Goisbertum, Heliam, et Enoch peperit.

De Comitibus Andegaviæ. Goisfredus Martellus, magnus bellator.

Defuncto Goisfredo Martello, fortissimo Andegavensium Comite, successerunt ex sorore duo nepotes ejus, filii Alberici, Comitis Wastinensium; è [r] quibus Goisfredus (qui simplex et tractabilis moribus erat)

it seems probable that the death of this lady might give occasion to this rebellion. For it seems reasonable to suppose that, while they retained the hope of being under the government of a princess of their own country by means of this intended marriage with prince Robert, they might be willing to remain subject to the duke of Normandy; but that, when this expectation failed them by the death of this lady, they would no longer submit to what they considered aa a foreign yoke. This, however, I mention only as a conjecture, as I do not observe any hint of it in our author.

The abovementioned lady Margaret was a woman of eminent virtue and piety. See her character in *Gulielmus Pictaviensis*, above in page 72.

Besides this lady Margaret our author, *Ordericus Vitalis*, informs us that this second earl Herbert had two other sisters, of whom the elder was married to *Azson*, marquis of *Liguria*, or the country about *Genoa* in Italy, and the younger was married to *John de la Fleche*, a great Norman baron, by whom she had three sons, *Goisbert*, *Helias*, or *Elias*, and *Enoch*. But he does not mention the names of these ladies. *Monsieur Brunet*, in his *Histoire des Grands Fiefs*, says that the eldest of these ladies was named *Hermengard*, and was twice married, namely, first, to *Theobald the Third*, earl of *Champagne*, from whom she was afterwards separated on account of their too near consanguinity, and, secondly, to *Azon*, marquis of *Malespine*, (who, I suppose, was the same person that is here called *Azson*, marquis of *Liguria*,) and that by this second husband she had a son of the name of *Hugh*, and who for some time was earl of Maine, or of a great part of it, in spite of the efforts of William, duke of Normandy, and is known in history by the name of *Hugh the Third*, earl of *Maine*. But from what ancient author *Monsieur Brunet* has taken this account, I know not.

[r] *E quibus Goisfredus, Jure primogeniti, obtinuit principatum.* Here we see that, upon the death of the great warriour, Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, without children, his eldest nephew, who was called by the same name of *Geoffrey Martel*, succeeded him in the earldom of Anjou in preference to his brother *Fulk Rechin*, or *the Surly*. From which it seems probable that the law of inheritance by primogeniture had at this time begun to prevail in France with respect to counties or earldoms, or lands holden by homage or military service; though it does not seem to have been thoroughly established till a good many years, perhaps a whole century after. At this time, that is, about the year of Christ 1060, it seems to have been only an inducement, or ground of preference, by which those persons, upon whose will and pleasure the succession to the vacant fief depended, were actuated in determining, or directing,

erat) jure primogeniti obtinuit Principatum. Guillelmus autem, Normannorum Princeps, post mortem Herberti juvenis, hæreditatem ejus

Goisfredus Martellus Secundus, primi ex sorore nepos.

directing, the succession to it. There were three wills which were concerned in this determination, to wit, 1st, the will of the last holder of the fief, who seems to have often directed the succession to it by his last appointment, or nomination, either by word of mouth or by writing, on his death-bed; and, 2dly, the will of the people, or holders of fiefs contained in, and making part of, the vacant fief; and, 3dly, the will of the next upper lord of the vacant fief, of whom the late possessor of it held it. When these three wills concurred in determining the succession to a vacant fief in favour of the same person, his right to it seems to have been compleat and incontestable. But when one of these wills pointed out a different person from the other two for the successor to the vacant fief, there seems to have been some reason to doubt of the validity of the claim of him who actually took possession of the fief; and wars, or other contests, were often the consequences of such a possession. And this was the case, in a still higher degree, when each of the said three wills pointed out a different successor to the fief from either of the other two. Of the influence of the first of these wills, to wit, that of the last possessor of the fief, we have seen an instance above in the *Gesta Gulielmi*, &c. of William of Poictiers, page 70, in the nomination of William, duke of Normandy, by Herbert the Second, earl of Maine, on his death-bed, in the year 1063, to be his successor in the possession, or government, of the earldom of Maine. For, in consequence of this nomination, (though it was not approved of and confirmed by the people of the country,) duke William invaded the country and kept possession of it for many years. It is true indeed that impartial people seem to have thought that his conduct in so doing was unjust, and that such a nomination by earl Herbert ought only to have been considered as a recommendation to his feudal tenants, or the people, or, rather, nobles, of Maine, to chuse him for their earl or governour, which they were at liberty either to follow or reject, as they thought best. Yet it served at least as a plausible pretext to duke William to invade and take possession of the country upon earl Herbert's death, which it is probable he would not have thought of doing without such a nomination. And we have seen above that his invasion of England was founded on an allegation (though, probably, a false one,) of a like nomination or appointment, by king Edward the Confessor, to be his successor on the throne of England. And king Harold's succession to the crown of England was brought about by a real nomination of that kind made of him by king Edward on his death-bed, and an election (somewhat hasty indeed and irregular,) made by the great nobles of England, or some of them, in consequence of such nomination. And even in the present instance of the succession of this second Geoffrey Martel to the earldom of Anjou upon the death of his uncle, the famous warriour of the same name, there was, (according to the account given by William of Malmesbury,) a nomination of him by the last possessor, that celebrated earl, which was the principal cause of his succession. The words of Malmesbury are as follows: *Is [Gaufridus Martellus senior] moriens Gaufrido, sororis filio, hæreditatem contradidit, sed industriam seculi transfundere non*

ejus obtinuit: et Goisfredus, Comes, Rodberto juveni cum filiâ Herberti totum honorem concessit, et hominium debitámque fidelitatem

non potuit. Nam ille, simplicium morum Juvenis, magìs in ecclesiis orare quàm arma tractare consuetus, homines regionis illius qui quietè vivere nescirent, in contemptum sui excitavit. Quarè, totâ terrâ prædonibus expositâ, Fulco, frater illius, ultrò ducatum corripuit. Fulco Rhetin *dictus, quòd, germani simplicitati crebrò infrendens, ad ultimum, honore spoliatum, perpetuâ custodiâ co-ercuerit.* Lib. iii, page 98. And many other instances might be given of the influence of the will, or nomination, of the last possessor of a fief, in these early times, in determining the succession to it.

The influence of the second of the three wills abovementioned, that is, of the will of the people, or holders of inferiour fiefs contained within, and making part of, the vacant fief, in determining the succession to it, appears from the histories of these old times to have been still greater than that of the first will, or the will of the last possessor of it. For, whenever they thought fit, they appear to have elected their own governours, without adhering to the law of primogeniture, or any other rule of succession, by which they were directed on ordinary occasions. And their free and unanimous election seems to have been considered as conferring the title, or right, to the government in the fullest and clearest manner. And this was more particularly the case in very large and powerful fiefs, which had but a slight degree of dependence on the upper lords, of whom they were holden by fealty and homage; such as the dukedoms of Normandy and Britany, and the earldoms of Anjou and Maine. Thus, for example, in the dukedom of Normandy Robert the Second, the father of William the Conquerour, prevailed upon the nobles of Normandy, in the year 1034, or 1035, to declare that they would admit his young son William, (who was then only 7 or 8 years old) to be their earl, or duke, or governour, after his, duke Robert's, death, notwithstanding his being a bastard. This was plainly an election of him to the dukedom, though made before his father's death; and it took place (though not without several struggles from the great Normans of the ducal family during the minority of duke William,) in opposition to the claims of the legitimate princes to whom, without such an extraordinary exertion of the will of the people, the dukedom would have devolved. And in the earldom of Anjou we find that, even after the nobles of Anjou had admitted, or elected, the second, or pacifick, Geoffrey Martel to be their earl in the year 1060, in consequence of the nomination, or recommendation, of his uncle, the great warriour of that name, they afterwards grew tired of his government on account of the weakness of it, and deposed him, and elected his brother *Fulk Rechin* to be their earl, or governour, in his stead. For, though it is not expressly said that this was done by the people, or nobles, of Anjou, yet it is plain that it must have been so, since this *Fulk Rechin* could not have deposed and confined his brother Geoffrey without either their assistance, or that of a foreign army, which does not appear to have been made use of. And in neither of these instances of Normandy and Anjou do the kings of France, (of whom those countries were holden by fealty and homage,) appear to have interfered at all to controul those elections as irregular, or to support the more regular

tem ab illo in præsentiâ patris apud Alencionem recepit. Non multo post Fulco, cognomento Richinus, contrà Goisfredum fratrem dominúmque

regular or legitimate claimants of these powerful territories. So great was at this time the influence of the people, or nobles, of the great fiefs in determining who should be their governours.

And, if this was the case in great fiefs, which had but a small degree of dependance on the upper lords of whom they were holden by fealty and homage, it is evident that it must have been still more so in *sovereign territories*, (whether called kingdoms or by any other name,) which were not held of any upper lord at all; such as the kingdoms of England and France, the crowns of which are therefore said to be *imperial*, the sovereigns of them having power, or *imperium*, or being commanders, or governours, over many subordinate lords, but not being themselves subject, or subordinate in any degree, to any other person whatsoever. In these territories the succession could depend only on the two first of the three wills above-mentioned, to wit, the will of the last possessor of the crown, or government, and the will of the nobles of it, or holders of the fiefs of which it was composed; there being no superiour lord to interfere in the matter. And of these two wills, to wit, the will of the last possessor, and that of the nobles, or holders of the fiefs, the former seems only to have operated as a recommendation to the latter, which the latter might either adopt or reject, as it thought fit; or, in other words, the crown was at this time elective. Of this we have a number of instances in the English history about this time, that are indisputable. Thus, for example, *Edward the Confessor*, (whose title to the crown of England has never been in the least disputed,) was elected by the great nobles of England to be king upon the death of *Harde Cnute*, though Edward, the son of the Confessor's elder brother, the valiant king *Edmund Ironside*, was then living and had several children, namely *Edgar Atheling* and his two sisters *Matilda* and *Christiana*. It is true they were then in *Hungary*, under the protection of the king of that country. But, when king Edward sent for them over to England in the year 1057, in order to provide for the succession to the crown, no person seemed to thinkthat his title to the crown was at all weakened by their presence, or that he was under any obligation in law or conscience to resign the crown to his nephew Edward, as being the true heir of it in quality of eldest son of Edmund Ironside. In like manner Harold was elected king of England after the death of Edward the Confessor, in preference to the claim of blood of Edgar Atheling; and Edgar Atheling was elected king of England at London in November, 1066, after the death of Harold at the battle of Hastings; and king William the Conquerour himself was elected king of England on the Christmas-day following, A. D. 1066. And, after the death of William the Conquerour, his second son, William Rufus, was elected king of England by the nobles of England, under the direction of the good Archbishop Lanfrank, in preference to his eldest son, Robert, duke of Normandy; and after the death of William Rufus, king Henry the 1st was elected king of England in preference to the same Robert, duke of

minúmque ſuum rebellavit, eúmque per proditionem cepit, et plus quam xxx. annis in carcere Chinonis caſtri clauſum tenuit. In tantâ permutatione res mundanæ in Andegavenſi Provinciâ et in confiniis ejus turbatæ ſunt: et Proceres patriæ ad diverſa ſtudia, prout quemque propria voluntas agitabat, converſi ſunt.

Fulco Richinus, Goisfredi ſecundi frater.

Fulcone

of Normandy, his eldeſt brother. And other inſtances might be brought to prove that in theſe times, the election, or will, of the nobles, or great land-holders of the kingdom, was the beſt title, or rather, the only valid title, to the crown.

It remains that we ſay ſomething of the laſt of the three wills which we mentioned above as having an influence in determining the ſucceſſion to a vacant fief, to wit, the will of the upper lord, of whom it was holden. Now, though the will of the upper lord, of whom the fief is holden, had but little influence in determining the ſucceſſion to great fiefs, which had but a ſmall degree of dependance on the ſaid upper lords, yet in all other caſes it was of great importance. For, where the upper lord was very powerful in compariſon of the tenants who held fiefs under him, (as was the caſe of king William the Conquerour with reſpect to his Engliſh barons, or holders of lands by military ſervice,) that claimant only could get poſſeſſion of a vacant fief to whom he pleaſed to grant it; and the upper lords, eſpecially if they were ſovereigns, or had no ſuperiour lords above them, (as was the caſe with the kings of France and England,) ſeem oftentimes in theſe caſes to have granted the vacant fiefs to ſuch of the ſeveral claimants of them as they thought fit, almoſt as freely as if they had been making original grants of them. Thus, for example, upon the death of the famous William Fitz-Oſborne, we have ſeen above in our author, that king William the Conquerour granted the caſtle of *Breteuil*, and all his other lands in Normandy, to his eldeſt ſon *William de Breteuil*, and all his great poſſeſſions in England to his ſecond ſon, *Roger*, earl of Hereford. *Hæreditas ejus à rege Gulielmo filiis ejus diſtributa eſt. Willelmus, major natu, Britolium et Paceium, et reliquam partem paterni Juris in Normanniâ obtinuit, et omni vitâ ſuâ, ferè trigintà annis, tenuit. Rogerius autem, junior frater, Comitatum Herefordenſem, totúmque fundum patris in Aúgliâ, obtinuit.* From the expreſſions uſed by our author in this paſſage, *hæreditas ejus à rege diſtributa eſt*, and *Willelmus Britolium, &c. obtinuit*, and *Rogerus autem Comitatum Herefordenſem, &c. obtinuit*, it ſeems probable that king William, in diſtributing the poſſeſſions of William Fitz-Oſborne between his two ſons William and Roger, was not tied down by any fixed rule, or law, upon the ſubject, but was governed by his own judgement and diſcretion, though he ſeems to have followed the ſpirit of a law of inheritance which afterwards took place, and, perhaps, at that time was beginning to take place, in Normandy. See above, page 272, note [a].

But in all theſe three ways of determining the ſucceſſion to a vacant fief, the circumſtance of primo-geniture ſeems about this time, A. D. 1060, to have been conſidered as a juſt ground for preferring the claimant to whom it belonged to the other claimants of the vacant fief. When there was no objection of criminality, or

4 inſufficiency

Fulcone Richino inſtigante, permulti Cenomanni Normannos milites ex comitatu Cenomanniæ armis expellunt.

Fulcone nimiùm mœſto, quòd Normanni Cœnomanicis imperarent, ét Conſulatum ſui juris illo nolente poſſiderent[a]; ſeditioſi cives et oppidani confines, gregariíque milites in exteros unanime conſilium ineunt, arcem urbis et alia munimina viritèr armati ambiunt, et Turgiſum de Traceio, Guillelmúmque de Firmitate, alióſque Regis

inſufficiency for the ſtation, (ariſing either from the weakneſs of infancy, or imbecillity of character,) to be made to the claimant to whom this circumſtance of primogeniture belonged, it ſeems to have been an inducement to the dying poſſeſſor of the fief to nominate, or appoint, ſuch claimant for his ſucceſſor in it, or to recommend him both to his upper lord for his tenant, and to his inferiour feudal tenants for their lord; and it ſeems alſo to have been an inducement to the upper lord to admit ſuch claimant for his tenant by receiving homage from him for the fief, and to the inferiour feudal tenants to admit him, or elect him, for their upper lord, or governour, by performing homage to him for their fiefs. And thus, by degrees, this circumſtance of primogeniture, from being at firſt only a recommendation, or ground of preference, to induce the perſons upon whoſe will and pleaſure the ſucceſſion to vacant fiefs depended, to chuſe the eldeſt ſons, or eldeſt nephews, of the laſt poſſeſſors of them to ſucceed to them, grew up, by the frequent repetition of the inſtances of ſuch a preference, to be at laſt a ſettled legal right, by which the courſe of ſucceſſion to feudal poſſeſſions was afterwards uniformly regulated.

[a] *Et Conſulatum ſui Juris illo nolente poſſiderent.* Our author here informs us that *Fulk Rechin*, earl of Anjou, (who had depoſed and impriſoned his elder brother Geoffrey Martel the ſecond, and ſucceeded him in the poſſeſſion of that earldom,) was full of indignation at ſeeing the Normans in poſſeſſion of the earldom of Maine without his conſent. This paſſage ſeems difficult to be reconciled with what our author has told us a few pages before, to wit, that Geoffrey Martel the ſecond, (the elder brother of Fulk Rechin, and who was the laſt poſſeſſor of the earldom of Anjou,) had granted to Robert of Normandy, the eldeſt ſon of William the Conquerour, conjointly with Robert's betrothed wife the Lady Margaret, daughter of the former earl Herbert, the whole Honour, or earldom, of Maine, to be holden of him, the ſaid earl Geoffrey, and his heirs, the ſucceeding earls of Anjou, and had received homage from Robert for the ſame in the preſence of his father king William the Conquerour, in the town of Alençon in Normandy. *Gulielmus autem, Normannorum princeps, poſt mortem Herberti Juvenis, hæreditatem ejus obtinuit: et Goisfredus, Comes, Rodberto Juveni cum filiâ Herberti totum honorom conceſſit, et hominium debitámque fidelitatem ab illo in præſentiâ patris apud Alencionem recepit.* See above, pages 293, 294, 295.

From this paſſage it appears that the earldom of Maine was held by Robert of Normandy with the conſent of Geoffrey Martel the ſecond, earl of Anjou, and as a fief or dependency of Anjou, and not of Normandy. What then was there in his holding it to give ſo much offence to Fulk Rechin, the ſucceſſor of the ſaid Geoffrey, in the earldom of Anjou? The text of our author affords no direct anſwer

Regis municipes expugnant et ejiciunt. Quoſdam fortitèr ſibi reſiſtentes perimunt, alióſque vinculis crudelitèr injiciunt, et cum libertate talem de Normannis ultionem triumphantes aſſumunt. Deinde regio tota turbatur, et ibidem Normannica vis offuſcatur, ac penè ab omnibus, quaſi generalis lues, paſsìm impugnatur. Goisfredus Meduanenſis, aliíque Optimates Cœnomannorum pari conſpiratione contrà Normannos inſurgunt: aliqui tamen, licèt pauci, pro variis eventibus et cauſis Guillelmo Regi favent et obediunt.

Sed aliqui, licet pauci, ex Cenomannis Gulielmo regi adhærent.

Rex Gulielmus cum magno exercitu Normannorum et Anglorum invadit Cenomanniam.

Magnanimus Rex Guillelmus, diris rumoribus de trucidatione ſuorum auditis, iratus eſt, ac, ad compeſcendum hoſtium invaſionem et proditorum rebellionem, armis meritam ultionem facere molitus eſt. Regali juſſu Normannos et Anglos celeritèr aſcivit, et multas armatorum legiones in unum conglomeravit: prudentèr ad bellum milites peditéſque cum Ducibus ſuis diſpoſuit, et cum eis Cœnomanenſem

anſwer to this queſtion. But I conjecture that the offence aroſe from Robert of Normandy's continuing to hold the ſaid earldom of Maine after the death of his betrothed wife, the Lady Margaret, which happened a little before the day appointed for her marriage with Robert. See above in the *Geſta Gulielmi*, page 72. The dates of theſe events are not mentioned by theſe authors. But the grant of the earldom of Maine to Robert of Normandy and the Lady Margaret was probably made in the year 1063 or 1064, ſoon after duke William had taken the city of Mans, and reduced the whole earldom of Maine to his obedience. And the death of the Lady Margaret may be ſuppoſed to have happened in the year 1072, when Robert of Normandy was 18 years of age. Fulk Rechin might alledge that Robert of Normandy could hold the earldom of Maine only in right of his intended wife, the Lady Margaret, and that conſequently, as ſhe had died before the marriage had taken place, he ought to have relinquiſhed it, and that it ſhould then have devolved either to him, *Fulk Rechin*, as the upper Lord of it, of whom it was holden by fealty and homage, or to ſome of the other relations of the laſt rightful poſſeſſor of it, earl Herbert. Or he might diſapprove even of the grant made of it by his brother earl Geoffrey, to Robert of Normandy and the Lady Margaret, as being the effect of violence and the ſucceſs of the duke of Normandy's arms in his invaſion of the earldom upon the death of earl Herbert. Fulk Rechin was a proud and ambitious man, and he wiſhed either to poſſeſs the earldom of Maine himſelf, or to have ſome perſon put into poſſeſſion of it, as his feudatary, who would be more ſubſervient to his will and pleaſure than he could expect to find Robert of Normandy, who was heir-apparent of the powerful dutchy of Normandy.

We

manensem pagum terribilis adivit. In primis Fredernaicum*[t] castrum phalange suâ obsedit, ibíque Roberto de Belesmiâ cingulum militiæ præcinxit. Hubertus autem oppidanus pacem cum Rege pepigit, castra sua Fredernaicum et Belmontem reddidit[u], eíque aliquantò tempore postmodùm servivit. Deinde Rex Silleium obsedit[w]; sed castrensis

We may further observe that the people of the earldom of Maine itself were not very well pleased with being under the Norman Government, as appears from their joining so generally in the present insurrection against them, and even from king William's keeping garrisons of Normans in the principal strong places of the country, which would not have been necessary if they had been well satisfied with his government. And we may likewise observe, that, though Robert of Normandy, the eldest son of king William, had been invested with the possession of the earldom of Maine by the last Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou, yet the government was carried on by king William, and this present rebellion, or insurrection, is said to be a rebellion against the king, and not against his son Robert, who was really earl of Maine. This, I presume, was owing to the nonage of Robert of Normandy at the time of his being admitted by Geoffrey Martel the second to the earldom of Anjou, in A. D. 1063, or 1064, when he was only nine or ten years old. His incapacity to govern the earldom at that time, by reason of his youth, gave his father, duke William, a pretence to govern it for him, or in his name, and as his guardian, till he should arrive at years of discretion; and under this pretence he seems to have kept the government of the said earldom in his own hands till this present insurrection, that is, till they ear 1074, when his son Robert was twenty years of age. This pretence, though it was very plausible, might, perhaps, not be thought sufficient either by the people of the earldom of Maine, or by Fulk Rechin, the upper Lord of whom it was holden, to authorize king William to retain the government of it in his own hands for so long a time; and they might entertain an apprehension that in the end it would cease to be considered as a separate earldom, and would become a part of the Dutchy of Normandy, instead of a fief of the earldom of Anjou.

These were, as I conjecture, the reasons that induced Fulk Rechin to encourage the present insurrection of the people of Maine against the authority of king William.

* *Vulgò* Fresnay.

[t] *Fredernaicum castrum.* That is, as I suppose, a castle at the place now called *La Fresnay*, which, according to Bleau's Atlas, is situated in the northern extremity of the earldom of Maine, a little to the east of the large town of *Alençon* in Normandy.

[u] *Castra sua Fredernaicum et Belmontem reddidit.* *Belmontem*, I presume, means a place called *Beaumont*, which, according to *Bleau*'s Atlas, is situated between the town of *Alençon*, in Normandy, and the city of *Mans*, which is the capital city of the earldom of Maine, and somewhat nearer to the latter than to the former. It is near the river Sarte, and a little to the west of it.

[w] *Deinde Rex Silleium obsedit.* By *Silleium*, I presume, is meant a place called *Sille*, which, according to Bleau's Atlas, is situated in the viscounty of *Bresteau*, on

castrensis herus Regem supplex expetiit, et optatam pacem impetravit. Regi nimirùm cum nimiâ virtute properanti nullus audebat resistere; sed omnes oppidani ac pagenses cum Clericis et omnibus Religiosis pacificum Marchionem decreverunt dignitèr suscipere, illiúsque ditioni legitimæ gratantèr colla submittere. Tandem Rex Cœnomannis venit, pluribus cátervis urbem obsedit, edicta regalia suis opportunè intimavit, et urbanis imperiosè mandavit, ut prudentèr sibi consulerent; et urbem ante assultus et cædes atque concremationes sibi cum pace redderent. In crastinum autem, accepto salubri consilio, cives egressi sunt, et supplices Regi claves civitatis detulerunt, seséque dedentes, à Rege benignitèr suscepti sunt. Reliqui verò Cœnomannenses territi sunt, ut tantam inundationem immanis exercitûs per fines suos diffundi viderunt, jámque suos complices et fautores defecisse ante faciem probatissimi bellatoris noverunt. Ipsi quoque pacis legatos victori destinaverunt, et, datis ab utrisque dextris, ipsi regalibus signis sua vexilla gaudentes associaverunt, et exinde in domo suâ et sub vite suâ morari et ludere, si libet, quietè permissi sunt.

Cenomannenses iterùm se regis auctoritati submittunt.

Fulco Richinus, Comes Andegaviæ, cum Hoëlo, Comite Britanniæ, contrà Johannem de Flecchiâ, qui Normannis erat amicus, bellum movet.

Pacatis itaque sine magno discrimine Cœnomanensibus, et pacificè sub Regis Guillelmi ditione degentibus, Fulco Comes noxio livore nequitèr infectus est, et contrà quosdam Normannis faventes insurgere conatus est. Tunc ei Joannes de Flecchiâ, potentissimus Andegavorum, præcipuè infensus erat[x], quia Normannis adhærebat. Qui ubi præfatum Comitem cum ferratis agminibus[y] festinare super se pro certò comperit, confœderatos sibi affines expetiit, auxiliúmque Guillelmi Regis requisivit et impetravit. Nam Rex impiger Guillelmum de Molinis, et Rodbertum de Veteri-ponte, aliósque fortissimos et multoties probatos bellatores Joanni destinavit: quos ille ad defendenda cum satellitibus suis oppida sua diligentèr composuit. Hoc audiens Fulco vehementèr doluit, et undecumque contractis viribus castrum Joannis obsedit.[z] Hoëlus quoque Comes cum mul-

Et castrum Flecchiæ obsidet.

on the east side of the river *Sartre*, and about four miles from it, and five or six miles from the city of *Mans* towards the North, or North by East.

[x] The words *infensus erat* mean "that John *de Fleche* was obnoxious, or odious, to Fulk Rechin, or hated by him," and not "that he was himself an enemy to Fulk Rechin."

[y] *Ferratis agminibus* mean troops cloathed in coats of mail and other iron armour.

[z] *Castrum Joannis.* That is, the castle of *Fleche*, which is situated in the north-

titudine

titudine Britonum Fulconi fuppetias venit, et cum eo Joannis vim et opes acritèr coartare ftuduit. Guillelmus autem Rex, ut tantam multitudinem girâffe fuos agnovit, regali edicto Normannos et Anglos iterùm excivit, aliáfque fibi fubditas gentes, ut fortis magifter militum, conglobavit: ac, ut ferunt, fexaginta millia equitum contrà hoftilès cuneos fecum adduxit [a]. Andegavenfes verò et Britones, comperto Regis et agminum ejus adventu, non fugerunt: fed potiùs Ligerim fluvium audactèr pertranfierunt, et tranfvecti, ne, timidiores fpe fugiendi, fegniùs præliarentur, fcafas fuas deftruxerunt. Dum utræque acies ad ambiguum certamen pararentur, horribiléfque pro morte et miferiis, quæ mortem reproborum fequuntur, timores mentibus multorum ingererentur, quidam Romanæ Ecclefiæ Cardinalis Prefbyter et religiofi Monachi divino nutu adfunt, Principes utriufque legionis divinitùs animati adeunt, obfecrant, et redarguunt, viritim ex parte Dei bellum prohibent, admonendo et rogando pacem fuadent. Gratantèr his junguntur Guillelmus Ebroicenfis et Rogerius, aliíque Comites, ftrenuíque Optimates; qui ficut erant prompti et audaces ad legitimos agones, fic nimirùm perhorrebant per fuperbiam et injuftitiam fubire conflictus deteftabiles. Veredariis itaque Chrifti pacis femina ferentibus ambitioforum tumor conquiefcit

Rex Guilielmus cum magno exercitu Normannorum et Anglorum venit in auxilium dicti Johannis contrà Fulconem et Hoëlum.

Andegavenfes et Britones fub imperio Fulconis et Hoëli parant cum illo præliari.

Sed, intercedente quodam Prefbytero Cardinali Romanæ Ecclefiæ cum monachis quibufdam et aliis bonis viris, pax inter adverfos duces inftauratur.

eaft part of the earldom of Anjou, not far from the fouth borders of the earldom of Maine. It lies between the towns of *Duretail* and *Le Lude*, and is fituated on the fame river as thofe two places, namely, the river *Ternant*, which is a branch of the river *Sartre*.

[a] *Et, ut ferunt, fexagintà millia equitum contrà hoftiles cuneos fecum adduxit.* In this paffage our author informs us, that king William, on this occafion, collected together an army of fixty thoufand horfemen. This may ferve to confirm the account of the great number of horfe which he carried over to England when he invaded it in the year 1066, and which is faid by our author to have been fifty thoufand, befides a great number of foot foldiers. See above, page 174, note [c]. It appears by the fubfequent part of this hiftory that, in this prefent conteft with the earls of Anjou and Britany, he drained England of the greateft part of the troops he had ftationed there in order to make ufe of them in this war with the two earls; and this circumftance encouraged *Ralph de Guader* and *Roger*, earl of *Hereford*, to raife a rebellion there againft him. For they are reprefented by our author as dwelling upon this circumftance as a principal reafon for expecting that their rebellion would prove fuccefsful. *Ecce, major pars exercitûs trans pontum moratur, affiduífque bellis acritèr occupatus detinetur.* And *Gulielmus innumeris bellorum ponderibus trans mare prægravatus eft: et pro certo fcimus quod in Angliam ulteriùs rediturus non eft.* And it is not impoffible that from England, Normandy, and the Earldom of Maine, conjointly, he fhould have been able to get together, and

nimius

nimius, et formidantum timor paulatìm decrescit pallidus. Multa demùm consilia fiunt, diversi tractatus aguntur, verba verbis objiciuntur; Deo tamen vincente Legati pacis utrinque suscipiuntur. Rodberto juveni, Regis filio, Comes Andegavensis Cœnomanense jus concedit, cum toto honore quem idem à Comite Herberto cum Margaritâ sponsâ suâ suscepit. Denique Rodbertus Fulconi debitum homagium, ut minor majori, legalitèr impendit. Joannes autem aliíque Andegavenses, qui hactenùs pro Rege contrà Consulem rebellaverunt, Principi suo reconciliati sunt, et Cœnomanenses nihilominùs, qui contrà Regem pro Comite insurrexerant, pacificati sunt. Sic gratiâ Dei mitigante corda Principum, reatus pœnitentium utrobíque indulti sunt: et benivolæ plebes, serenâ pace tempestuosam nigredinem tumultuum procùl pellente, palàm lætatæ sunt. Hæc nimirùm pax, quæ inter Regem et præfatum Comitem in loco, qui vulgò *Blancalanda*, vel *Brueria* dicitur [b], facta est, omni vitâ Regis ad profectum utriusque Provinciæ permansit.

Fulco, Comes Andegaviæ, concedit Rodberto, Gulielmi regis filio, Comitatum Cenomanniæ, et ab eo pro eodem homagium recipit.

Verùm eodem tempore alia tempestas gravissima orta est, quæ sæva nimìs, et damnosa multis in Angliâ facta est. Duo potentissimi Anglorum Comites, Rogerius Herefordensis, et, sororius ejus, Radulfus Nortwicensis paritèr decreverunt, ut palàm rebellarent, et, Principatu Angliæ Guillelmo Regi surrepto, sibi jus, imò tyrannidem assumerent. Castella igitur sua certatìm offirmant, arma præparant, milites aggregant: vicinis et longinquis, in quibus confidèbant, legatos suos frequentèr destinant, et in suum adminiculum quoscumque possunt promissis et precibus invitant. Consideratis rerum permutationibus et temporum opportunitatibus, dicunt sibi confœderatis et assentantibus: "Cuncti sapientes diffiniunt, congruum tempus præstolandum "esse, et dum tempus adest gratum et habile, famosum opus à "probis insignitèr inchoari debere. Ad regni decus obtinendum "tempus nunquam vidimus magìs idoneum, quàm nunc confertur "nobis per ineffabile Dei donum. Degener, (utpote nothus) est

Nova rebellio contrà regem Gulielmum in Angliâ.

Consilia rebellium.

maintain for a short time, so great a body as sixty thousand horse. Yet it is certainly a prodigious body of troops of that kind.

[b] *In loco qui vulgò* Blancalanda *vel* Brueria *dicitur*. This place I take to be the same with that called *La Bruere* in Bleau's Atlas. It is situated at the north-eastern extremity of the earldom of Anjou, on the same river as the towns of *Duretail*, *Fleche*, and *Le Lude*, and seems to be not above a mile from the line that divides the earldom of *Anjou* from the earldom of *Maine*.

"qui

" qui Rex nuncupatur, et in propatulo divinitùs monſtratur quod " Deo diſplicet, dum talis herus regno præſidet. Tranſmarinis " conflictibus undique circundatur, et non ſolùm ab externis, ſed " etiàm à ſuâ prole impugnatur, et à propriis alumnis inter diſ- " crimina deſeritur [c]. Hoc ejus nequitiæ promeruerunt, quæ per " totum orbem nimìs propalatæ ſunt [d]. Nam ipſe Guillelmum " Guarlengum, Moritolii Comitem, pro uno verbo exhæredavit, et " de

Crimina Gulielmo regi à rebellibus objecta.

[c] *Et non ſolùm ab externis, ſed etiàm à ſuâ prole impugnatur, et à propriis alumnis inter diſcrimina deſeritur.* By this paſſage it ſhould ſeem that Robert of Normandy, king William's eldeſt ſon, favoured the inſurrection in the earldom of Maine againſt his father's authority. It ſeems probable that he thought it time, as he was now about twenty years of age, to be permitted to govern that country (of which he had been received as earl, or Governour, by Geoffrey Martel the 2d, earl of Anjou, in the year 1063 or 1064,) in his own perſon, inſtead of leaving it to be governed for him and in his name by the king his father. And it is alſo probable that ſome young Norman barons (who had been bred up under king William) might take part with earl Robert in this endeavour to obtain the full poſſeſſion of this earldom; which ſeems to be the meaning of the words *et à propriis alumnis inter diſcrimina deſeritur.* And in the end of the ſecond of the two late diſturbances in France, or that in which king William was engaged in war againſt *Fulk Rechin*, earl of Anjou, and *Hoel*, earl of Britany, conjointly, the contending parties ſeem to have acquieſced in earl Robert's demand, as he was admitted to perform the ſame important ceremony of homage to Fulk Rechin for the earldom of Maine, which he had performed for it ten years before to his brother, Geoffrey Martel the ſecond. Yet, if theſe conjectures are juſt, it ſeems rather ſtrange that our author did not ſay ſomething of them in the text. Perhaps earl Robert and his friends only ſecretly encouraged the rebellion of the people of Maine, without openly joining with them; or, perhaps, they were only ſuſpected of doing ſo: And in either caſe the author might not think it juſt to mention them as having had any concern in it. However, I know no other way of explaining the words *à ſuâ prole impugnatur, et à propriis alumnis inter diſcrimina deſeritur.* Theſe conjectures concerning the ſhare of Robert of Normandy in exciting theſe troubles in the earldom of Maine in oppoſition to king William, his father, in the year 1074, are confirmed by a ſubſequent paſſage of our author towards the end of this fourth book of his hiſtory; in which our author tells us, that earl Robert claimed to be admitted to the immediate poſſeſſion of the dukedom of Normandy (in conſequence of a ſettlemeut of it made upon him by his father, king William, a little before his invaſion and conqueſt of England,) as well as of the earldom of Maine. See the paragraph beginning with the words, *Turbulentis tempeſtatibus, quas à Coenomanenſibus et Normannis permotas eſſe diximus, fomes (ut ferunt) et cauſa fuit Rodbertus, regis filius.*

[d] *Hoc ejus nequitiæ promeruerunt, quæ per totum orbem nimìs propalatæ ſunt.* In this ſpeech of the great Norman barons in England who raiſed this rebellion againſt king William, we ſee the principal actions of his Life, which had been conſidered in the world as criminal; which will enable us to form a more impartial opinion of his character than could be derived from ſuch highly panegyrical accounts of him as that of *Willielmus Pictavienſis* in the foregoing tract called *Geſta Gulielmi, &c.*

Theſe

" de Neuſtriâ penitùs effugavit: Gualterium, Ponteſii Comitem,
" Eduardi Regis nepotem, cum Biotâ uxore ſuâ, Faleſiæ hoſpitavit,
" et nefariâ potione ſimul ambos unâ nocte peremit. Conanum
" quoque, ſtrenuiſſimum Conſulem, veneno infecit, quem mortuum
" Britannia tota pro ingenti probitate ineffabili luctu deflevit. Hæc
" et alia multa ergà cognatos et affines ſuos ſcelera Guillelmus
" peregit, qui ſuper nos et compares noſtros adhuc ſimilia perpetrare
" non deſiſtit. Nobile regnum Angliæ temerè invaſit, genuinos
" hæredes injuſtè trucidavit, vel in exilium crudelitèr pepulit. Suos
" quoque adjutores, per quos ſuper omne genus ſuum ſublimatus
" eſt, non ut decuiſſet honoravit: ſed multis, qui ſanguinem ſuum
" in ejus ſatellitio fuderunt, ingratus extitit, et pro frivolis occa-
" ſionibus ad mortem uſque, velut hoſtes, puniit. Vulneratis victo-
" ribus ſteriles fundos, et hoſtium depopulatione deſolatos, donavit,
" et eiſdem poſtmodùm reſtauratos avaritiâ cogente abſtulit ſeu mi-
" noravit. Omnibus igitur eſt odio, et, ſi periret, multis eſſet gaudio.
" Ecce major pars exercitûs trans pontum moratur, aſſiduiſque
" bellis acritèr occupatus detinetur. Angli ſua ſolummodò rura
" colunt; conviviis et potationibus, non præliis, intendunt: ſummo-
" perè tamen pro ſuorum exitio parentum ultionem videre concu-
" piſcunt." Hæc et his ſimilia ſeditioſi dicentes, et ſeſe ad con-
cupitum nefas omnimodis cohortantes, Guallevum, Northamtoniæ
Comitem, ad colloquium accerſunt, et, multis eum modis ten-
tantes, talia promunt: " Ecce peroptatum tempus, ô ſtrenue vir:
" modò vides, ut tibi recuperes exemptos honores, et accipias in-
" juriis tibi nuper illatis debitas ultiones. Acquieſce nobis, et inde-
" ſinentèr inhære: et tertiam partem Angliæ nobiſcum ſine dubio

Rebellionis duces Waldevum, Northamtoniæ Comitem, hortantur ut ipſis ſe conjungat.

These actions are as follows; to wit,

1ſt, That he deprived Guarleng, earl of *Moritolium*, of his Lands, and baniſhed him from the dutchy of Normandy for his life, only for having ſpoken a ſingle word that offended him;

2dly, That he had entertained *Walter*, earl of *Pontoiſe*, the nephew of king Edward, the Confeſſor, and his wife *Biota*, at his houſe at Falaiſe in Normandy, and had cauſed them both to be poiſoned in one night;

3dly, That he had cauſed the very brave warrior, *Conan*, earl of *Britany*, to be poiſoned; whoſe death was exceſſively lamented by the people of *Britany* on account of his uncommon valour.

4thly, That he had unjuſtly invaded England, and either put to death, or driven into baniſhment, the lawful heirs of that kingdom, or thoſe who ought to have ſucceeded to the government of it upon the death of Edward the Confeſſor.

" poteris habere. Volumus enim ut ſtatus regni Albionis re-
" dintegiretur

5thly, That he had been ungrateful to the brave officers who had helped him to conquer England and make himſelf king of it; and that he had puniſhed many of them, who had been wounded in his ſervice, for very trifling offences, and had even put ſome of them to death.

And 6thly, That he had given to ſome of his officers, who had ſerved him with fidelity and bravery, and had been wounded in his ſervice, unſuitable or inadequate rewards conſiſting of tracts of Land that had been laid waſte and abandoned by the Engliſh, and that afterwards, when by the expence and labour beſtowed upon them by the perſons to whom he had granted them, they were become productive and valuable, he had in ſome inſtances, from mere avarice, taken them back into his own hands, and, in others, had left them in the hands of the grantees but with the impoſitions of additional rents to be paid to him, or other burthenſome conditions, which made them of much leſs value to their owners.

Theſe are the charges brought againſt king William, and are certainly very heavy ones, and, if they are true, muſt have excited very ſtrong reſentments againſt him. But it is probable that ſome of them are falſe, and others much exaggerated. What I have met with relating to them in other paſſages of theſe old authors is as follows.

His treatment of William Guarleng, or Warleng, is related by William of *Jumieges*, or *Willielmus Gemmeticenſis*, in the following manner.

About A. D. 1048, when duke William had got over the many difficulties he had met with in the beginning of his reign over Normandy, and had brought all the Norman barons to ſubmit to his government, *William Werlenc*, or *Werleng*, earl of *Moritolium* in Normandy, who was deſcended from Richard the Firſt, duke of Normandy (who was duke William's great grand-father,) fell under a ſuſpicion of intending to raiſe new diſturbances in Normandy in oppoſition to the duke's authority. This ſuſpicion took it's riſe from ſome words he let fall to a young man of good birth but ſmall fortune, named *Robert Bigot*, who attended upon him, and made a part of his family. This young man one day ſaid to the earl, his maſter and patron, " I find myſelf, Sir, ſo hard preſſed by poverty, that, as there are no " means of procuring myſelf a handſome ſubſiſtence, ſuitable to my expectations, " here in Normandy, I have thoughts of leaving this country and going into " Apulia in Italy, where I ſhall probably be able to live in a more honourable " condition." Upon this the earl aſked him, " who had adviſed him to take that " ſtep." And he anſwered, " My poverty is my adviſer." Upon which the earl ſaid, " If you will believe what I am now going to tell you, you will continue here " in Normandy. For within the ſpace of eighty days the ſtate of things in this " dutchy will be ſuch that you will be at liberty to ſeize by violence, as the reward " of your courage and activity, whatever you ſhall deſire to poſſeſs." Upon this

aſſurance

"dintegretur omnimodis, sicut olim fuit tempore Eduardi, "piissimi

assurance Bigot resolved to stay in Normandy; and in a little time after he was introduced to the young duke of Normandy himself by means of Richard, bishop of *Avranches*, who was his relation. The duke received him in a favourable manner, and had many familiar conversations with him, in one of which Bigot told the duke what William Werleng, earl of *Moritolium*, had said to him. Upon this information the duke sent for William Werleng, and asked him "what he had meant "by those assurances which he had given to Robert Bigot." The other could not deny his having given those assurances, and did not chuse to give any explanation of them. Upon which the duke grew extremely angry, and said to him, "I see "plainly (though you do not chuse to own it,) what you meant by speaking in "this manner to that young man. Your intention was to raise fresh disturbances "in Normandy, and by a new rebellion against me, to deprive me of my inheritance; and, having this design in your heart, you have ventured to foretell to "a young soldier who has his fortune to make, that Normandy will soon afford a "harvest to men of enterprize. But we have had enough of these disturbances, "and Normandy stands much in need of peace and rest, to repair the mischiefs they "have occasioned: And, by the favour of Almighty God, I hope we shall continue to enjoy for many years to come the peace which is now established here. "But for this purpose we must be rid of such turbulent persons as you are: and "therefore I command you to quit the dutchy without delay, and never to presume "to set your foot in it again as long as I shall be alive." Upon this command earl William immediately quitted Normandy, and went to Apulia in Italy, attended by only one esquire; and duke William took possession of his earldom of *Moritolium* in Normandy, and gave it to his own half-brother, Robert, who was the son of his mother by the husband she had taken after the death of duke Robert his father.

The account of this matter in the original Latin of *Willielmus Gemmeticensis* is as follows.

LIB. VII. CAPUT XIX.

Quòd, deposito Willielmo Werlenco de comitatu Moritolii, Robertum, uterinum fratrem suum, subrogavit.

Eâdem tempestate Willelmus cognomento Werlencus, de stirpe Richardi magni, Comes erat Moritolii. Ad eum aliquando quidam tyro de familiâ suâ, nomine Robertus Bigot, accedens, ait: "Paupertate premor, domine mi, & in hac patriâ nequeo quæstum mihi necessarium lucrari. Quapropter ibo nunc in Apuliam, ut ibidem honorabiliùs vivam." Cui Willelmus ait: "Quis tibi hoc persuasit?" At ille respondit: "Penuria quam patior." Comes verò dixit: "Si mihi credere vis, hìc nobiscum remanebis. Nam tale tempus ante octogintà dies in Normanniâ habebis, ut quæque tibi necessaria oculis videris, impunè manibus rapere poteris." Ille verò domini monitis adquiescens, remoratus est, & non multò post, per Ricardum Abrincatensem,

forte legendum foret *quæcunque*.

" piissimi Regis. Unus ex nobis sit Rex, et duo sint Duces:
" et

Abrincatensem, cognatum suum, familiaritatem Ducis consecutus est. Qui dum quadam die privatim loqueretur cum Duce, inter alia præscriptum Willelmi Comitis verbum ei retulit. Dux autem Willelmum ad se vocavit, & "cur eiusmodi sermonem protulisset," interrogavit. At ille nec negare potuit, neque intentionem dicti declarare præsumpsit. Ob hoc iratus Dux, ait: "Seditiosis tumultibus Normanniam perturbare decrevisti, & contrà me rebellans me nequitèr exhæredare disposuisti; ideóque rapacitatis tempus egeno militi promisisti. Sed nobiscum dono creatoris, ut indigemus, maneat pax perennis. Tu autem è Normanniâ decede quantociùs, & huc dum vixero ne redeas ulteriùs." Willelmo itaque expulso, & Apuliam miserabilitèr petente cum uno tantum armigero; Dux confestìm Robertum fratrem suum sublimavit, eíque Moritoniensem Comitatum tribuit. Sic tumidos sui patris parentes asperè prostravit, humilésque matris suæ propinquos honorabilitèr exaltavit. Cæterùm, sicut in vulgari proverbio dicitur: Stultus non verbis, non exemplis, sed plagis vix corrigitur; nec pertimescit, donec diros ictus accipit. Quod in subsequenti luce clarius apparebit exemplo.

According to this account of duke William's treatment of this earl of *Moritolium*, it may be very well justified upon the principle of self-defence, at least in point of substance: for it seems to have wanted the forms of justice, as the earl was not brought to a trial for his offence before any court of judicature. But this perhaps might not be necessary according to the Laws of Normandy then in being, when a person charged with a crime by the duke himself did not deny it; it being customary in those days (as we have seen in other instances,) for the dukes of Normandy to administer justice in their own persons. And, further, it is possible that William Werleng himself did not on this occasion desire to be brought to a regular trial, but was contented to submit to this sentence of banishment and the loss of his earldom, as a mitigation of that to which he would have been liable by law, and which would have brought his life into danger. This first charge therefore of the Norman rebels in England against king William seems to be pretty well got over.

The next charge, "of having invited *Walter*, earl of *Pontoise*, and his wife *Biota*, to his house at *Falaise*, and there caused them to be poisoned," is probably false, at least as to the enormous treachery of having poisoned them at his own house under the pretence of entertaining them hospitably. For our author does inform us that this earl and his wife were reported to have been taken off by poison by the contrivance of their enemies at the time that duke William was making war upon them on account of the earldom of Maine. Our author's account of this matter is as follows. In the year of Christ 1064, after the death of Herbert the younger, earl of Maine, William, duke of Normandy, passed the river *Sartre* with a strong body of troops, and entered the earldom of Maine, and took possession of a large part of it, in which the inhabitants readily submitted to his authority and were received by him under his protection as his subjects, and treated with gentleness and kindness; and of the country so taken under his protection he kept possession ever after till his death, that is, for twenty-two years, governing the inhabitants of

 it

" et sic nobis tribus omnes Anglici subjicientur honores. Guil-
" lelmus

it as his lawful and rightful subjects. The occasion of his doing so was this. The aforesaid earl Herbert the younger after the death of the elder earl Herbert, (who was surnamed *Evigilans Canem*,) had been incessantly molested, during the greater part of his short reign, by the inroads of the people of the neighbouring district of Anjou; which had induced him at last, in pursuance of the advice of *Bertha* his mother, to put himself and his earldom under the protection of the warlike and powerful duke of Normandy, or to make himself the vassal of that duke, and hold this earldom of Maine of him as a fief depending on the dutchy of Normandy. And he at the same time agreed to give his sister, the lady *Margaret*, in marriage to *Robert* of Normandy, duke William's eldest son, with the reversion of the earldom of Maine, after his own, earl Herbert's, death, in case he should die without children. And soon after this settlement of his earldom, he did die, without leaving any children: upon which duke William entered into the earldom with a body of troops, as above-mentioned, and took possession of a great part of it. But this claim of his was opposed by *Walter*, earl of *Pontoise*, who had married *Biota*, the daughter of a former earl of Maine, named *Hugh*, who was aunt to the last earl Herbert. This Walter was the son of *Drogo*, earl of *Pontoise*, who had gone with Robert duke of Normandy, (the father of duke William) on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and had died on the journey. Upon the strength of this marriage with *Biota* this Walter made a claim to the whole earldom of Maine, and actually possessed a good part of it, and particularly the capital city of *Mans*, which *Geoffrey* of *Mayenne*, and *Hubert* of *Saint Susannah*, and some other powerful barons of the country kept for him with great fidelity and courage, having a great dread of falling under the Norman yoke, which was generally reckoned a very heavy one. This brought on a war between these barons and the duke of Normandy, who considered them as rebels against his lawful authority. In the course of this war, while duke William was making various assaults upon his enemies, in which he sometimes was successful and sometimes met with a repulse, as is usual in war, the aforesaid *Walter*, earl of *Pontoise*, and *Biota*, his wife, were both of them (as it was reported) taken off by poison at the same time by the wicked contrivances of their enemies. And after their death, the duke of Normandy, growing more confident of success in his future attempts to make good his claim to the said earldom, marched with a powerful army to the city of Mans, and took possession of it in great state and triumph, the citizens of it making no resistance to him, but readily admitting him into it. And Ernald, the bishop of it, attended by all the secular clergy and monks in their ecclesiastical habits, and with bibles and crosses in their hands, went out on this occasion to meet him.

The passage in the original is as follows.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MLXIV. post mortem Herberti juvenis, Cœnomanensium Comitis, Willelmus Dux cum validâ manu armatorum Sartam fluvium transiit, multósque Cœnomannorum sese illius manui subdentes clementèr suscepit; &

" lelmus innumeris bellorum ponderibus trans mare prægravatus
" est: Sed ille fidem servat Gulielmo regi.

& quamdiù posteà vixit, (annis scilicet XXIV) subjectos jure possedit. Præfatus nimirùm juvenis post obitum Herberti senioris patris (qui vulgò Evigilans-canem cognominabatur) propter gravissimas infestationes, quas à perfidis affinibus suis Andegavensibus incessantèr patiebatur, consilio Bertæ matris suæ, se suúmque patrimonium fortissimo Duci Normannorum commendaverat; & Margaritam sororem suam Rodberto, ejusdem Ducis filio, in conjugium dederat: cum quâ hæreditatem suam, Comitatum scilicet Cœnomanensem, si sine liberis obiret, concesserat. Sed quia Walterius Pontesiensium Comes, filius Drogonis Comitis, (qui cum Rodberto seniore, Normannorum Duce, Hierusalem ierat, & in illo itinere peregrinus obierat,) Biotam Hugonis Cœnomanensium Comitis filiam, quæ amita prædicti juvenis erat, in conjugium habebat; totum Comitatum Cœnomanensem calumniabatur, & ex parte possidebat. Nam ipsam urbem, quæ caput est Provinciæ, Goisfredus de Meduanâ, & Hubertus de sanctâ Susannâ, alíique potentes in fidelitate Walterii acritèr tenebant: quia Normannicum jugum, [quod] his quibus imminet gravissimum est, subire nimìs formidabant. Itaque dum magnanimus Dux frequenti expeditione rebelles impeteret, & ipse (ut bellica sors expetit) damna pateretur, & damna hostibus inferret; prædictus Comes Walterius & Biota, conjunx ejus, per inimicorum machinamenta simùl (ut ferunt) lethali veneno fraudulentèr infecti obierunt. Quibus defunctis, securior Dux cum magno robore rebelles expetiit; Cœnomannicam urbem, civibus ultrò sese dedentibus, cum ingenti tripudio recepit; eíque domnus Ernaldus, ejusdem urbis Præsul, cum Clericis & Monachis revestitis, textus crucésque ferentibus, honorabilitèr obviàm processit. See Scriptores Normanniæ, page 487.

From this account there seems to be reason to suspect that the duke of Normandy had encouraged some wicked servant of the earl of Pontoise, or other attendants who were about his person, to give him poison; which would certainly have been a very base and wicked action, notwithstanding the duke was then at war with him. But the author does not tell us that it was done by the duke's direction, nor even that it was thought, or alledged by his enemies, that he had any concern in it: and it might very well be done by some of the duke's party in the earldom of Maine without the duke's knowledge, in order to put an end to the devastation which the inhabitants were daily suffering from the continuance of the contest. And we must further observe, that William of Poictiers, in his *Gesta Gulielmi, &c.* tells us that *Walter*, earl of *Mante*, who had married a sister of *Hugh*, a former earl of Maine, (and who, no doubt, is the same person with this earl of *Pontoise* mentioned by *Ordericus Vitalis*,) was alive at the surrender of the city of *Mans* to the duke of Normandy, and gave his consent to such surrender, through an inability to resist the vigorous assaults made by the duke upon the place, and through the fear that, if he persisted any longer in defending it, he should not only lose that city, but should even run a risk of losing the towns of *Mante* and *Chaumont* which were his own undisputed inheritance. *Voluntariè Gualterius deditioni consensit, ne, invasa protegens, hæreditaria amitteret. Clades à Normannis illata vicinitati Medanti et Calvi montis metum ei faciebat de majori.* See above, page 71. If this account is true, the earl of Pontoise

" eſt: et pro certo ſcimus quòd in Angliam ulteriùs rediturus non
" eſt.

Pontoiſe and Mante, who claimed the earldom of Maine in right of his wife *Biota*, inſtead of being poiſoned during his conteſt with duke William in order to facilitate the latter's acquiſition of that earldom, was compelled to ſurrender the city of Mans to duke William by force of arms. There ſeems therefore, upon the whole matter, to be great reaſon to doubt whether duke William had any concern in the poiſoning of this earl of Mante and Pontoiſe, and even of the fact of his having been poiſoned at all. Yet the thing is not abſolutely clear.

This *Walter*, earl of *Mante* and *Pontoiſe*, was the ſon of *Drogo*, earl of the diſtrict called *Pagus Wulcaſſinus*, or *Le Vexin*, who, by the favour of Robert, duke of Normandy, (the father of William the Conquerour,) had married *Godiova*, or *Godiva*, the ſiſter of king Edward the Confeſſor, who at that time reſided with her brother Edward in Normandy, the Daniſh king *Canute* being then on the throne of England.

This appears by the following paſſage of our author, *Ordericus Vitalis*, in the 7th book of his hiſtory, page 655. *Præfatus Drogo, ut dicitur, erat de proſapiâ Caroli Magni, regis Francorum; eique ſæpedictus Dux [Robertus] in conjugium dederat conſobrinam ſuam Godiovam, ſororem Edwardi, regis Anglorum; ex quâ orti ſunt Radulfus et Gauterius Comites et venerandus Fulco, præſul Ambianenſium. Hæc nimirùm puella cum fratre ſuo in Neuſtriâ exulabat, dum Canutus, Danorum rex, Angliam virtute bellicâ invaſerat, et geminos hæredes Alfredum et Edwardum fugaverat, ac Edmundum et Edwinum Clitonem Edrici dolis peremerat.* This Walter, earl of Mante and Pontoiſe, was therefore ſecond couſin to William the conquerour. For he was the ſon of *Godiva*, who was the daughter of queen *Emma*, who was ſiſter to Richard the Second, duke of Normandy; and William the Conquerour was the ſon of Robert, duke of Normandy, who was the ſon of the ſaid Richard the Second, duke of Normandy; ſo that they were grand-children of duke Richard the Second and his ſiſter queen Emma, and great grand-children of duke Richard the Firſt. And upon this account the Norman rebels in England in the year 1774 ſpeak of the ſuppoſed poiſoning of this Walter as of a crime committed by king William againſt his relations.

Before we quit this Walter, earl of *Mante* and *Pontoiſe*, we may obſerve that, if mere hereditary right be conſidered, he had a better claim to the crown of England than king William. For king William was related to king Edward the Confeſſor only by queen Emma, the Confeſſor's mother, without being deſcended from the former kings of England: but this earl Walter was deſcended, by means of his mother *Godiva*, from *Ethelred the Second*, king of England, the *Confeſſor*'s father, as well as from his mother queen Emma, and therefore was deſcended from all the former Anglo-Saxon kings that were anceſtors to king Ethelred. But he is never ſpoken of by the hiſtorians of theſe times as having any claim, or right, to the crown of England: which is owing to the crown's being at that time elective, though, in making the election of a new king, the great men of the nation in whom the right of chuſing the kings reſided, were often very much influenced by a regard to proximity of blood to the preceding kings.

The

" est. Eja, nobilis heros, consultus observa tibi generíque tuo
" commodissimos.

The town of *Pontoise* is situated about sixteen miles to the north of the great city of Paris, and made a part of the district called *Pagus Wulcassinus*, or *Le Vexin*, as did likewise the towns of *Mante* and *Chaumont*. For our author tells us that king William in the last year of his life required Philip the First, king of France, to deliver up the whole province of the *Vexin*, containing *Pontoise* and *Chaumont* and *Mante*. *Unde bellicosus rex Guliermus vehementèr iratus totam Wulcassinam provinciam calumniari coepit, Pontisariam et Calvimontem atque Medantum reddi sibi à Philippo rege requisivit, &c.* See *Scriptores Normanniæ*, page 655. This district called *Le Vexin* had been in the possession of a great baron named *Drogo* in the beginning of the reign of Henry the First, king of France, king Philip's father, when Robert, duke of Normandy, (the father of William the Conquerour,) assisted the said king Henry to recover the possession of the crown of France against his younger brother Robert, duke of Burgundy, who, by the instigation of their mother *Constantia*, had rebelled against him, and obliged him to take refuge in Normandy. And king Henry, when he was restored to the possession of his kingdom, requited this important service of Robert, duke of Normandy, by making over to him his right, as upper lord of it, to this whole district of *Le Vexin*; upon which the said *Drogo*, who had before holden it of the kings of France by fealty and homage, became the vassal of Robert, duke of Normandy, and did homage to him for this country. But afterwards, upon the death of duke Robert, king Henry took away this province from his infant son, duke William, who never insisted upon his right to it during the life of king Henry (from whom he had received important favours) nor even after his death till the year of Christ 1086, or 1087, or the last year of his own life. The right of *Drogo* to the possession of this country as a fief either of France, or of Normandy, seems to have descended to his son Walter, and to have been the cause of his being earl of *Pontoise*, *Mante*, and *Chaumont*, at the time of duke William's invasion of the earldom of Maine in the year 1063, or 1064, to which this charge of poisoning him and his wife Biota relates. See *Scriptores Normanniæ*, page 655.

The third charge against king William is, " that he had caused Conan, the valiant earl of Britany, to be poisoned; whose death had been deeply lamented by all the people of Britany on account of his extraordinary courage." *Conanum quoque, strenuissimum Comitem, veneno infecit; quem mortuum Britannia tota pro ingenti probitate ineffabili luctu deflevit.*

I do not find any mention of this poisoning of earl Conan in our author's account of duke William's war with that earl in the year of Christ 1065, in page 492; nor does *Gulielmus Pictaviensis* say a word of it in his relation of this war, which is a pretty full one; nor does he even tell us that earl Conan died that year in any manner. See above, in pages 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85. But *Willielmus Gemmeticensis* gives us a full account of it, and informs us that this Conan, earl of Britany, was poisoned by a baron of his own earldom of Britany, whom he had sent to the duke of Normandy with a message of defiance, and who served him in the office

" commodissimos, omníque genti tuæ, quæ prostrata est, salutiferos.
Guallevus

office of his chamberlain. This traitor spread a powerful poison upon the inside of the earl's gloves and on the reins of his horses: and the earl, having no suspicion of the danger, took hold of the reins and put on his gloves, as usual, and soon after put his hand to his mouth; the consequence of which was, that the poison entered into his body, and brought on a sickness, of which he died in a few days.

Upon this event, the traitor, who had been the cause of it, conscious of his guilt, and fearing it might be discovered by earl Conan's friends, fled from the army of the Britaners, and went over to the duke of Normandy to inform him of it. The passage in the original is as follows.

LIB. VII. CAPUT XXXIII.

De morte Cunani, Comitis Britannorum

Tempore quo Willelmus Dux disponebat Angliam adire, & armis eam sibi vendicare, audax Chunanus, Comes Britanniæ, nisus est eum, missâ legatione hujusmodi, terrere: " Audio te, inquit, nunc velle trans mare proficisci, & Angliæ tibi " regnum nancisci. Inde multùm gaudeo, sed ut mihi Normanniam reddas ob- " secro. Robertus autem Dux Normannorum, quem tu fingis esse patrem tuum, " iturus in Hierusalem, Alanno patri meo, consobrino scilicet suo, commendavit " omnem suam hæreditatem. Tu autem, complicibus tuis Alannum, patrem meum, " apud Winmusterium in Normanniâ veneno peremisti, & terram ejus, quam ego, " quia puer eram, possidere nequibam, invasisti; & contrà fas, cùm sis nothus, " hucusque tenuisti. Nunc igitùr aut mihi debitam redde Normanniam, aut ego " tibi totis viribus bellum inferam." His auditis, Willelmus Dux aliquantulum territus est. Sed mox eum Deus, frustratis inimici minis, eripere dignatus est. Unus enim ex Proceribus Britonum, qui utrique Comiti juraverat fidelitatem, & hujusmodi legationem inter eos ferebat, lituum Chuningi, & habenas, atque chirotecas intrinsecùs livit veneno. Erat quippe Cubicularius Chuningi. Tunc idem Comes Britonum in Andegavensi Comitatu Castellum-Guntherii obsederat, & oppidanis militibus sese illi dedentibus suos intromittebat. Inter ea Chuningus chirotecas suas incautè induit, tactísque habenis, manum ad os levavit. Cujus tactu veneno infectus est, et paulò pòst, omnibus suis lugentibus, defunctus est. Hic multùm sagax fuit & probus, ac amator justitiæ. Qui si diù vixisset, multa bona, ut fertur, fecisset, ac ad regendum honorem utilis fuisset. Proditor autem, conscius sui reatûs, mox de expeditione aufugit, & mortem Chuningi Willelmo Duci mandavit. See Scriptores Normanniæ, page 286.

According to this account, (if it be thought to deserve credit) there seems to be some ground to suspect duke William of having instigated this baron of Britany to poison his master: but it seems by no means certain. But, as neither our author *Ordericus Vitalis* nor William of Poictiers mention any thing of Earl Conan's being poisoned, or even dying in any other way, in this year, I should rather be inclined to reject the whole story as a fiction and a calumny. At least it would be judging too severely to fix so base an action upon so brave a man as king William the Conquerour upon such slight grounds.

Guallevus respondit: " Maxima in talibus negotiis cautela ne" cessaria est, et integra fides in omnibus gentibus ab omni homine " Domino

The fourth charge against the king is, " That he invaded England rashly and unjustly, (for so I understand the word *temerè*;) and either put to death or drove into banishment the true, or natural, heirs of that kingdom, or those who ought, according to law and justice, to have succeeded to the government of it." *Nobile regnum Angliæ temerè invasit, genuinos hæredes injustè trucidavit, vel in exilium crudelitèr pepulit.*

This charge is but too true, as we have seen in the course of these histories. For he invaded England upon a pretence that was most probably false, to wit, " that Edward, the Confessor, had appointed him to succeed to the crown of that kingdom, and this with the consent of the great men of the nation, and particularly of *Godwin*, earl of *Kent*, *Siward*, earl of *Northumberland*, and *Leofric*, earl of *Leicester*, or of *Mercia*:" whereas it is almost certain that no such appointment to him to the succession was ever made by king Edward with the consent of the great men of the nation, and more especially of those three earls; and it is highly probable that Edward the Confessor never made any appointment of him *at all* to be his successor, even by his own single authority and in a private manner, but, on the contrary, that he appointed earl Harold, or recommended him to the nobles of England who were near him, to be his successor on the throne of England, a little before he died. So that the duke's invasion of England must be allowed to have been perfectly unjust and the effect of his exorbitant ambition, though it was coloured over with some false pretences to right and justice. The words *injustè trucidavit* probably relate to king *Harold* and his two brothers *Gurth* and *Lefwin*, who were all killed in the battle of Hastings; and the words *in exilium crudelitèr pepulit* probably relate to *Edgar Atheling* and his two sisters *Matilda* and *Christiana*, who were obliged to take refuge in Scotland.

And that the invasion of England was very rash and imprudent as well as unjust (which I take to be implied by the word *temerè*,) and that it would not have succeeded, if king Harold had acted with a moderate degree of caution and prudence, and had not come to an immediate engagement with the Normans, and that with an army consisting of men hastily raised in the counties near London, without waiting for his victorious army in the North of England,—we have already seen sufficiently in the perusal of the former parts of these histories.

The fifth charge against the king is, " That he had been ungrateful to the brave officers who had helped him to conquer England and make himself king of it: and that he had punished many of them, who had been wounded in his service, for very trifling offences, and had even put some of them to death."

I have not met with any proofs of the truth of this charge, but am inclined to think that it is wholly without foundation. We have seen above, what great estates in England the king granted away to his Norman barons who had served him in the conquest of that kingdom. But it is almost impossible to reward large victorious armies to their perfect satisfaction.

"Domino suo servanda est. Guillelmus Rex fidem meam, ut
"major à minori, jure recepit; ac ut ei semper fidelis existerem, in
"matri-

The sixth charge against the king is, "That he had given to some of his officers, who had served him with fidelity and bravery, and had been wounded in his service, unsuitable or inadequate rewards consisting of tracts of land that had been laid waste and abandoned by the English, and thereby rendered of very little value; and that afterwards, when, by the expence and labour bestowed upon these lands by the persons to whom he had granted them, they were become productive and valuable, he had, in some instances, from mere avarice, and without any misconduct in the grantees of them, taken these lands back into his own hands, and thereby deprived these grantees of the just fruits of their said expence and labour, and, in other instances, had, indeed, left the lands in the hands of the grantees, but had imposed fresh burthens of additional rents or services upon them, which had rendered them of much less value to their owners."

I have not met with any proofs of this sixth charge, but think it is not unlikely to have been true in some instances on account of the king's great love of money. But it must be observed that, if it was true that he sometimes made such resumptions of his grants of land, or such impositions of new rents or services, it does not necessarily follow that he therein acted unjustly. For they might sometimes have been granted only during his pleasure: and I think it not unlikely that they often were so in the beginning of his reign over England, though, towards the end of his reign, there is reason to suppose that he made his grants permanent either for the lives of the grantees, or for them and the heirs of their bodies, or their lineal descendants.

* *Volumus enim ut status regni Albionis redintegretur omnimodis, sicut olim fuit tempore Edwardi, piissimi regis. Unus ex nobis sit Rex, et duo sint Duces: et sic nobis tribus omnes Anglici subjicientur honores.* From this passage it appears that, in the time of king Edward the Confessor, England was governed by the king and a very few powerful vice-roys under him, who were almost as powerful as himself, or who governed the people of their respective districts with as great power as the king exercised over the inhabitants of that part of the kingdom which was immediately under his own government: and the only point in which these great vice-roys (who were usually called *earls*, but sometimes, as in the present passage, called *dukes*,) were inferiour in dignity to the king, was, that of having been appointed to their governments by him, and being liable to be removed from them by him, though not without great difficulty and danger. Thus, in king Edward the Confessor's time, about the year 1051, we find, by Ingulphus and the other old historians, that *Siward*, earl of Northumberland, governed all the North of England, that lay north of the great river Humber, (for that was then the meaning of the word *Northumberland*,) with great authority; and that *Leofrick*, earl of *Mercia*, or, as he is sometimes called, earl of *Leicester*, governed in the same manner all the middle part of England called *Mercia*; and *Godwin*, earl of *Kent*, (the father of king Harold,) governed in like manner the kingdom, or county, of Kent and the kingdom of Wessex, to which it seems probable that the little kingdom of Sussex, consisting of the present counties of Surrey and Sussex, was then
annexed

" matrimonium mihi neptem suam copulavit. Locupletem quoque
" Comitatum

annexed; so that all the south-western counties of England, to wit, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire, together with Hampshire and Berkshire, and all the counties south of the river Thames, to wit, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, were parts of the district placed under his authority. This division of England into very large districts, or governments, seems to have been owing to the preceeding division of it into seven different independent kingdoms, which were the kingdom of *Northumberland*, the kingdom of *Mercia*, the kingdom of *East-Anglia*, the kingdom of *Essex*, or *East Saxony*, the kingdom of *Kent*, the kingdom of *Sussex*, and the powerful kingdom of *Wessex*, or *West Saxony*, the kings of which last-mentioned kingdom became at last sovereigns of the other six kingdoms. This subjection of the other six kingdoms of the heptarchy to the kings of Wessex was not effected all at once, or in one reign, but in the course of about fifty or sixty years, being begun in the reign of king Egbert, and compleated in that of his grandson, the great and good king Alfred, under whom the kings of those other kingdoms either became extinct, or were reduced to the condition of mere private persons in the kingdoms that had formerly belonged to them. And on this account king Alfred has sometimes been called *the first monarch of all England*, as we have seen above in our author, page 235, though most authors bestow this title on his grandfather, king Egbert, to whom the kings of those other kingdoms had first become subordinate and tributary. Now, when the kings of Wessex had thus reduced the said other six kingdoms of England under their authority, they did not establish an uniform mode of government over them, by dividing each of them into several much smaller districts, and placing governours, or magistrates, over each of the said smaller districts, vested with the same authorities and directed to govern them in the same manner and by the same laws; but they permitted the former laws of each of the said former kingdoms to continue with little or no alteration, and the extents, or boundaries, of them to remain the same, or nearly the same, as before, and appointed a separate governour, under the title of an *earl*, to each of the said districts that had formerly been a separate kingdom. At least this seems to have been the case with respect to the large districts that had formerly been the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland, of which the former was governed in the reign of Edward the Confessor by earl *Leofric*, and the latter by earl *Siward*. See above, page 153, note *s*. But, after the Norman conquest, the tracts of country placed by the Conquerour under the government of single persons, (though still very large,) were considerably smaller than in king Edward's time, and the number of earls, or governours, intrusted by him throughout the whole kingdom of England was consequently much greater than before. And therefore these two powerful and ambitious Norman barons, Roger, earl of Hereford, and *Ralph Guader*, or *Ralph* of Britany, earl of Norfolk, in thus endeavouring to restore things to the state they were in in king Edward's time, were preparing to increase, in a very great degree, the extent of the authorities they then enjoyed in England by king William's favour.

"Comitatum mihi donavit[f], et inter suos familiares convivas connu-
"meravit. Et tanto Principi qualitèr infidus esse queam, nisi pe-
"nitùs

[f] *In matrimonium mihi neptem suam copulavit. Locupletem quoque Comitatum mihi donavit.* The wife of this *Waltheof*, earl of *Northampton*, was *Judith*, the daughter of the countess of Albemarle, who was half-sister to king William the Conquerour, or daughter of his mother *Harlotta*, or *Harleva*, by the husband she married after the death of Robert, duke of Normandy, the Conquerour's father. The name of this husband of the Conquerour's mother was *Herluin*; and he is said to have been a knight, or gentleman, of good reputation. He had three children by her, namely, first, *Robert*, earl of *Moritolium*, or (as I suppose) *Mortagne* in Normandy; 2ndly, *Odo*, the famous bishop of *Bayeux* in Normandy, who was made earl of Kent by his brother the Conquerour, and had, during great part of the Conquerour's reign, a high degree of power in England; and, 3dly, this countess of *Albemarle*, whose daughter *Judith* married this *Waltheof*, earl of Northampton. I find in *Willielmus Gemmeticensis* the two following passages on this subject: "*Verùm, postquam Hiero-*"*solymitanis dux obiit,* Herluinus *quidam, probus miles,* Herlevam *uxorem duxit; ex* "*quâ duos filios,* Odonem *et* Robertum, *qui postmodum præclaræ sublimitatis fuerunt,* "*procreavit.* Lib. vii. cap. 3. And, "*Habuit autem idem Waldevus tres filios ex* "*uxore suâ, filiâ Comitissæ de Albemarlâ; quæ Comitissa fuit soror uterina Willelmi,* "*regis Anglorum, senioris.*" Lib. viii. cap. 37.

The words *Loculpletem quoque Comitatum mihi donavit* mean that king William had given to earl Waltheof the earldom, or government, of Northampton; for it is plain, by many passages in the authors of this age, that at the time of the Norman conquest, and for some time after, *an earldom* meant the government of a district. From what sources the profits of these earldoms, or governments, arose, whether from large tracts of land assigned to the earls, or governours, or from fees and fines arising from the suits in the courts of justice, or from both (which seems most probable,) it is not very easy to determine: nor can we settle, with any great precision, the usual amount of these profits. But there is a passage in another part of our author's history which enables us to form a tolerable conjecture upon the subject. For he tells us that the earldom of Surrey, which had been given by the Conquerour to William of Warren, was worth *a thousand pounds a year*. The passage is in the beginning of the eleventh book, where he tells us that in the year of Christ 1103, after king Henry had made a peace with his elder brother, Robert, duke of Normandy, and had thereby secured to himself the possession of the crown of England, William of Warren, late earl of Surrey, went to Robert, duke of Normandy, and represented to him the great loss he had sustained on account of his attachment to his cause in the late contest with his brother, king Henry, for the crown of England, to wit, the loss of the earldom of Surrey, which had brought him in, every year that he had held it, a thousand pounds of silver, and therefore intreated the duke to use his endeavours with the king his brother, to cause him to be restored to the said earldom. The words of the original are as follows: *Sequenti anno Guillelmus de Guarennâ Rodbertum, Neustriæ Ducem, moestus adiit, et ingens damnum sibi*

"nitùs mentiri velim fidem meam? In multis notus ſum regionibus,
"et magnum (quod abſit) fiet dedecus, ſi publicè divulger ut pro-
"ditor et ſacrilegus. Nuſquam de traditore bona cantio cantata eſt.
"Omnes gentes apoſtatam et proditorem, ſicut lupum, maledicunt,
"et ſuſpendio dignum judicant et opprimunt, et, ſi fors eſt, pati-
"bulo cum dedecore multíſque probris affigunt. Achitophel et
"Judas traditionis ſcelus machinati ſunt, paríque ſuſpenſionis ſup-
"plicio, nec cælo nec terrâ digni[g], ſemetipſos peremerunt. Anglica
"lex capitis obtruncatione traditorem mulctat, omnémque pro-
"geniem ejus naturali hæreditate omninò privat[h]. Abſit ut mea no-
"bilitas maculetur proditione nefariâ, et de me tam turpis per
"orbem publicetur infamia. Dominus Deus, qui David de manu

ſibi per illum eveniſſe recenſuit, quia Suthregiæ Comitatum, mille libras argenti ſingulis annis ſibi reddentem, perdiderit; ideóque dignum eſſe aſſeruit, ut ſe, fratri ſuo, regi pacificaret, et priſtinum honorem ejus obtentu recuperaret. See *Scriptores Normanniæ*, p. 804. Now theſe pounds of ſilver were probably pounds weight of ſilver, and therefore a thouſand of them contained above three times as much ſilver as is contained at this time (in the year 1788,) in a thouſand pounds ſterling. The earldom of Surrey was therefore worth more than three thouſand pounds, ſterling, a year; which, if we ſuppoſe an ounce of ſilver to have gone as far in the purchaſe of corn and the other neceſſaries of life at that time as ten ounces will go at this day, was equivalent to ſomething more than thirty thouſand pounds, ſterling, at this day. If we ſuppoſe an ounce of ſilver at that time to have gone as far as twenty ounces will at this day, (which I conceive to be a more probable ſuppoſition than the former) the yearly value of the earldom of Surrey will have been equivalent to ſixty thouſand pounds, ſterling, at this day. And, as the earldom of Northampton is here ſaid to have been a rich one, *locupletem Comitatum*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that the annual revenue of it was not leſs than what was equivalent to a revenue of ſixty thouſand pounds, ſterling, at this day.

[g] *Nec cælo nec terrâ digni.* Theſe words allude to the puniſhment of hanging, and ſignify "that, as traitors are unworthy to live either in heaven or on earth, "therefore they are put to death by being ſuſpended between both." It is but a poor conceit.

[h] *Anglica lex capitis obtruncatione traditorem mulctat, omnémque progeniem ejus naturali hæreditate omninò privat.* Here we have a poſitive teſtimony "that, by the law of "England in the reign of the Conquerour, the crime of high treaſon was puniſhed "with death by beheading, and with a forfeiture of all inheritable property." And, as this teſtimony comes from the Engliſh nobleman, earl *Waltheof*, and the expreſſion uſed by him is *Anglica lex*, and not *Lex Normannorum*, or *Lex à Normannis in Angliâ nunc ſtabilita*, it ſeems probable that this was the law of England before the conqueſt, as well as after it. And ſo it continues to be at this day, the being beheaded making a part of the puniſhment inflicted for that high offence.

"Goliæ

" Goliæ et Saulis, Adalezer et Abſalon potentèr liberavit, me quoque
" de multis periculis in mari et in aridâ gratuitò eripuit. Ipſi me
" fidelitèr commendo, et in ipſo fiducialitèr ſpero; quòd traditionem
" in vitâ meâ non faciam, nec Angelo ſathanæ ſimilis efficiar per
" apoſtaſiam."

Promittit tamen rebellibus ſe eorum conjurationem non detecturum eſſe.

Radulfus igitur Brito atque Rogerius hæc audientes valdè contriſtati ſunt, eúmque conjuratione terribili " ne conſilium eorum " detegeret" conſtrinxerunt. Non multò pòſt conjurata rebellio per regiones Angliæ ſubitò erupit, et manifeſta contradictio contrà jugales * miniſtros latè proceſſit. Guillelmus itaque de Guarennâ, et Ricardus de Benefactâ, filius Giſleberti Comitis [i], quos Rex præcipuos Angliæ Juſtitiarios conſtituerat in regni negotiis, rebellantes convocant ad curiam Regis. Illi verò præceptis eorum obſecundare contemnunt: ſed proterviam proſequi conantes, in regios ſatellites præliari eligunt. Nec mora; Guillelmus et Ricardus exercitum Angliæ coadunant, acritérque contrà ſeditioſos in campo, qui *Fagaduna* dicitur, dimicant [k]. Obſtantes verò Dei virtute ſuperant, et omnibus

Rebelles contrà regium exercitum apud *Fagadunam* præliantur, et ab eodem ſuperantur.

* Forte legendum eſſet, *regales*.

[i] *Ricardus de Benefactâ, filius Giſleberti Comitis*. In *Willelmus Gemmeticenſis*, Lib. viii. cap. 37, I find the following account of the pedigree of this *Richardus de Benefactâ*, who was at this time one of the lords juſtices of England in conjunction with William of Warren during king William's abſence in Normandy. Richard the Firſt, duke of Normandy, (the great-grandfather of William the Conquerour,) had a natural ſon named *Godfrey*, whom he made earl of Eu in Normandy, called in Latin *Comes Aucenſis*. And this Godfrey, earl of Eu, had a lawful ſon, named *Giſlebertus*, or *Gilbert*, who ſucceeded him in the earldom of *Eu*, and is here, and in many other paſſages of theſe old writers, called ſimply *Comes Giſlebertus*, or *earl Gilbert*. And this Gilbert, earl of Eu, was the father of *Ricardus de Benefactâ*, the perſon mentioned in the text as one of the lords juſtices of England. According to this account this *Ricardus de Benefactâ* was ſecond couſin to king William the Conquerour, they being both of them great-grandchildren to Richard the Firſt, duke, or earl, of Normandy.

It is remarkable that the great perſons to whom the kings of England delegate their royal authority in their abſence from the kingdom are ſtill called *the juſtices*, or *lords juſtices*, of the kingdom, as they were in the reign of William the Conquerour.

[k] *In campo, qui* Fagaduna *dicitur*. I do not know where this place, called *Fagaduna*, is ſituated: but, as the name bears ſome reſemblance to that of *Fakenham* in Norfolk,

omnibus captis, cujuscumque conditionis sint, dextrum pedem, ut notificentur, amputant[1]. Radulfum Britonem ad castrum suum fugientem persequuntur, sed comprehendere nequeunt. Conglobatâ deinceps multitudine Northguicum obsident et impugnant, socios fortitudine et industriâ militari corroborant, et crebris assultibus variisque machinationibus inclusos hostes circumdant, et per tres

Radulphus de Guader fugit ad castrum suum apud Northvicum, et ibidem à regio exercitu obsidetur.

Norfolk, I suspect that it may have meant that town, or some place near it. But, whether it means Fakenham or any other place, it seems probable at least that it was some place in Norfolk, because the king's generals, *William of Warren* and *Richard de Benefactâ*, are said to have pursued *Ralph Guader*, earl of Norwich, immediately after their victory over him, to his castle of Norwich, and to have laid siege to that castle.

[1] *Omnibus captis, cujuscunque sint conditionis, dextrum pedem, ut notificentur, amputant.* This cruel practice of punishing criminals by *mutilation*, or *loss of limbs*, was not unfrequent in the times near the conquest. *Eadmerus* (who had been chaplain to *Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury, in the reigns of *William Rufus* and *Henry the First*, and who wrote the history of his own times under the title of *Historia Novorum*,) tells us in his fourth book, page 94, that king Henry the First, in the year of our Lord 1108, punished in this manner several of the attendants of his own court, who, under pretence of requiring the inhabitants of the counties through which the king passed in his various journies through the kingdom, to deliver in sufficient quantities of provisions for the maintenance of his household, robbed the people of all the provisions they found in their possession, and either sold the surplus, above what was necessary for the king's accommodation, in public markets for their own benefit, or burnt it, or otherwise wasted it. Many of these oppressors were punished by king Henry with the loss of their eyes, or their hands, or their feet, or other members. *Huic malo Rex Henricus mederi desiderans, indicto edicto omnibus qui aliquid eorum quæ dixi fecisse probari poterant, aut oculos erui, aut manus, vel pedes, vel alia membra, constanti justitiâ strenuus faciebat amputari. Quæ justitia, in pluribus visa, cæteros, integritatem sui amantes, ab aliorum læsione deterrebat.* The same king Henry likewise punished with the loss both of their eyes and their genitals, those who were guilty of coining bad money in imitation of the legal coin of the kingdom. *Item Moneta corrupta et falsa multis modis multos affligebat. Quam Rex sub tantâ animadversione corrigi statuit, ut nullus qui posset deprehendi falsos denarios facere, aliquâ redemptione, quin oculos et inferiores corporis partes perderet, juvari valeret.* And from these punishments of mutilation, or loss of limbs, which were inflicted not unfrequently in these old times, come the expressions in our English law-books, "*of punishments* "*extending to life or limb*," and "*of crimes punishable, or not punishable, by loss of* "*life, or limb*;" as, for example, when it is laid down as a maxim, "that those "lesser offences called *trespasses*, or *misdemeanours*, and which are short of the crimes "called *felonies*, cannot legally be punished by loss of life or limb." The addition of the words, *or limb*, would be superfluous in all these instances, if such punishments by mutilation, or loss of limbs, had not been used on many occasions in former times.

mensès

Et posteà à Northvico fugit in Daniam.

menses importunè premunt et fatigant. Vindex deforis exercitus quotidiè crescit et confortatur: et copia victûs aliarúmque rerum eis (ne deficientes abscedant) abundè administratur. Radulfus autem de Guader, ut sese sic inclusione constrictum vidit, et nullum adjutorium à suis complicibus speravit, munitionem suam fidis custodibus cautè commisit: et ipse proximum mare ingressus Daciam pro auxiliis navigio adiit [m]. Intereà Vicarii Regis, Guillelmus et Ricardus, municipes oppidi ad deditionem coarctant: et Regem citò, missis trans pontum nunciis pro suprà scriptis motibus, accelerant; "ut velocitèr redeat ad sui tuitionem Regni" obsecrant.

Gulielmus Rex redit in Angliam, et convocat proceres regni ad Curiam suam.

Castrum Northvici regi deditur; et Radulphus de Guader, comes Northvici, ex Angliâ exhæredatur, et in Britanniam, sive Armoricam, fugit.

Impiger igitùr Rex, ut Legationes suorum audivit, Normannicas et Cœnomanicas res providè disposuit; et, omnibus optimè locatis, in Angliam celeritèr transfretavit. Qui postquàm omnes ad Curiam suam Regni proceres convocavit [n], legitimos heroës et in fide probatos blandis affatibus lætificavit: rebellionis autem incentores et fautores "cur mallent nefas quàm justitiam" rationabilitèr interrogavit. Custodibus Regi pacificatis Northguicum redditum est, et Radulfus de Guader, Comes Northguici, Angliâ perpetualitèr exhæreditatus est. Expulsus itaque cum uxore suâ Britanniam repetiit. Ibi

[m] *Daciam pro auxiliis navigio adiit.* That is, he failed to *Denmark* to obtain succours from the king of Denmark against king William. The word *Dacia* is often used (though improperly,) by the writers of this age to denote Denmark.

[n] *Qui postquàm omnes ad curiam suam Regni proceres convocavit, &c.* Here we see that king William, upon his arrival in England, summoned all the great men of his kingdom to his court, and there called those who had joined in, or encouraged, this rebellion, to account for their conduct; in consequence of which *Ralph de Guader*, the earl, or governour, of Norwich, was disinherited, or deprived of all his possessions in England. By the expression *regni proceres*, I imagine we are to understand the king's tenants *in capite*, or those who held lands in England immediately of the crown, who constituted at this time the only parliament, or great council of the kingdom, known in England. And this court, or council, seems on this occasion to have acted as a court of criminal jurisdiction, and to have given judgement against *Ralph de Guader* for his rebellion, taking his flight from England as a proof of his guilt. This is the first instance that I have met with of a prosecution in *parliament* (or in a great council of the nation, which was tantamount to the assembly that has since been called *a parliament*,) for high treason, since the conquest.

Guader

Guader et Monsfortis, optima castella[o], ejus ditioni subjacent, quæ liberi ejus hereditario jure usque hodiè possident[p]. Ipse autem post multos annos, tempore Urbani Papæ, Crucem Domini suscepit, et cum Rodberto secundo, Normannorum Duce, contrà Turcos Hierusalem perrexit, et in viâ Dei pœnitens et peregrinus cum uxore suâ obiit.

Rogerus, Comes Herefordensis, à curiâ regis judicatur et damnatur.

Rogerius verò de Britolio, Comes Herefordensis, ad Curiam Regis vocatus venit, et inquisitus manifestam toti mundo proditionem negare non potuit. Igitùr secundùm leges Normannorum judicatus est, et, amissâ omni hæreditate terrenâ, in carcere Regis perpetuò damnatus est[q]. Ibi etiàm Regi multoties detraxit, et contumacibus actis

[o] *Guader et Monsfortis, optima castella.* I do not find any place of the name of *Guader* in the map of the dutchy of Britany in Bleau's Atlas; but there is a town set down there of a name that bears some resemblance to *Guader*, and may perhaps be an abbreviation of it, to wit, *Guer*, which is situated on a small branch of the river *Vilaine*, south, and a little east, of the town of *Comper*, and east, and a little north, of the town of *Ploermel*. The other place, called by our author *Monsfortis*, is, I presume, the town of *Montfort la Gunne*, which, according to *Bleau*'s map, is situated on a large branch of the said river *Vilaine*, about halfway between the aforesaid town of *Comper* and the large city of *Rennes*.

[p] *Quæ liberi ejus hæreditario jure usque hodiè possident.* It appears by this passage that more than one of the sons of *Ralph de Guader* inherited his two castles of *Guader* and *Montfort* in the dutchy of Britany in France: from which it seems probable that the law of inheritance which prevailed at this time in Britany, did not give all the lands of a deceased military tenant to the eldest son, (as has been the case in England for many centuries past,) but gave one fief, or estate, to the eldest son, another to the second son, and a third to the third son, till they were all exhausted, agreeably to the law that prevailed on this subject in Normandy. See above, page 272, note z, Art. 323 of the *Coûtume réformée de Normandie.*

[q] *Rogerus verò de Britolio, Comes Herefordensis, ad Curiam regis vocatus venit, et inquisitus manifestam toti mundo proditionem negare non potuit. Igitùr secundùm leges Normannorum judicatus est, et, amissâ omni hæreditate terrenâ, in carcere regis perpetuò damnatus est.* By this passage it appears that *Roger*, earl of *Hereford*, was brought to his trial before the king's court, or council of the *proceres*, or great men, of the kingdom, and was condemned by them to suffer perpetual imprisonment, with the loss of all his inheritanee. So that in this instance, as well as in the case of *Ralph de Guader*, the said court, or council, appear to have acted as a court of criminal jurisdiction. But it seems remarkable that the judgement they passed upon this great and notorious rebel, who could not, and did not, deny the crime he was charged with

actis implacabilitèr Regem offendit. Nam quondam dum plebs Dei Paschale festum congruè celebraret, et Rex structum preciosarum vestium [r] Rogerio Comiti per idoneos satellites in ergastulo mitteret; ille pyram ingentem ante se jussit præparari, et ibidem Regalia ornamenta, chlamydem, sericámque interulam, et renonem de preciosis pellibus peregrinorum murium subitò comburi. Quod audiens Rex iratus dixit: "Multùm superbus est, qui hoc "mihi dedecus fecit, sed, per splendorem Dei, de carcere meo in omni vitâ meâ non exibit." Sententia Regis tàm fixa permansit, quòd nec etiàm post mortem Regis ipse, nisi mortuus, de vinculis exiit. Rainaldus et Rogerius, filii ejus, optimi tirones, Henrico Regi famulantur, et clementiam ejus (quæ tardissima eis visa est) in duris agonibus præstolantur.

with, should not have extended to his life; more especially as *Waltheof*, earl of *Northampton*, who had refused to have any share in the rebellion raised by the other two earls, and had only been guilty of concealing his knowledge of their intentions, was, in a short time after, condemned to lose his life for that lesser offence, and was actually beheaded at Winchester. One would almost suspect that they were tried by two different laws, to wit, *Roger*, earl of *Hereford*, (who was a Norman) by the Norman law, and *Waltheof*, earl of *Northampton*, (who was an Englishman) by the English law, and that the Norman law of that age did not punish high-treason with death, though the English law did. Indeed our author says expresly that Roger, earl of Hereford, was tried according to the Norman law, *secundùm leges Normannorum judicatus est*; but he does not tell us by what law *Waltheof* was tried. It seems therefore probable that he was tried by the English law, by which our author has told us in the speech put into the mouth of earl *Waltheof* in page 316, the crime of high-treason was punished by beheading, together with the confiscation of inheritable property. I know no other way of accounting for this seeming inconsistency in the judgements passed on these two offenders.

[r] *Structum pretiosarum vestrum.* That is, as I conceive, "a suit of fine cloaths." They consisted, our author says, of three parts, which he calls *chlamydem, sericámque interulam, et renonem de pretiosis pellibus peregrinorum murium*, that is, as I conjecture, 1st, an outer garment, or coat; 2ndly, an inner garment, or waistcoat, made of silk; and, 3dly, a short cloak to be thrown over the shoulders, and that reached only to the waist, or middle of the body, made of the rich furs of some foreign animals, which the author calls mice, and which were, probably, either ermines or martins. See *Du Cange*'s Glossary in the word *Reno*, or *Rheno*. Perhaps this present of fine cloaths, which the king thus sent to earl Roger, might be a set of robes suited to the rank and office of earl of Hereford, which he had lately held, and to which it might be king William's intention to restore him, if his inconceivable pride and perverseness had not prevented it.

Verè

De ruinâ familiæ magni bellatoris, Gulielmi filii Osberni, in Angliâ.

Verè gloria mundi, ut flos fœni, decidit et arescit, ac, velut fumus, deficit et transit. Ubi est Guillelmus Osberni filius, Herefordensis Comes, et Regis Vicarius, Normanniæ Dapifer, et Magister militum bellicosus? Hic nimirùm primus et maximus oppressor Anglorum fuit, et enormem causam per temeritatem suam enutrivit [s], per quam multis millibus ruina miseræ mortis incubuit. Verùm justus judex omnia videt, et unicuique, prout meretur, dignè redhibet. Pròh dolor! ecce Guillelmus corruit, audax Athleta recipit quod promeruit. Ut multos ense trucidavit, ipse quoque ferro repentè interiit. Denique post ejus occasum antequam lustrum compleretur annorum, spiritus discordiæ filium ejus et generum [t] contrà dominum suum et cognatum hostilitèr excivit, qui Sichimitas contrà Abimelech (quem occisis LXX filiis Jerobaal sibi præfecerant) commovit. En veracitèr à me descripta est offensa, pro quâ Guillelmi progenies eradicata sic est de Angliâ, ut nec passum pedis (nisi fallor) jam nanciscatur in illâ.

Waldevus, Comes Northamptoniæ, in Judicium vocatur.

Gallevus Comes ad Regem accersitus est [u], et per delationem Judith uxoris suæ accusatus est, quòd prædictæ proditionis conscius et

[s] *Enormem causam per temeritatem suam enutrivit.* Here we see that our author expresly censures the duke of Normandy's invasion of England as an enormous violation of the rules of justice and humanity, as he has done in several other passages before, particularly in the speech of the venerable monk *Guitmund*, in page 268. And most of the authors of the same age (except *Willielmus Pictaviensis*, who was a declared panegyrist of the Conquerour,) seem to have considered this expedition in the same light. In the opinion, therefore, of the lovers of virtue and justice, this famous conquest, together with his violent manner of becoming master of the earldom of *Maine* in France, must be considered as the great blemishes of his conduct, which with respect to his government of his own dutchy of Normandy, seems to have been distinguished by his justice and prudence as well as by his extraordinary valour and activity.

[t] *Filium ejus et generum. Ralph de Guader*, earl of Norwich, had married a daughter of the great warriour, William Fitz-Osborne, and thereby became his son-in-law. *Willelmus Gemmeticensis* speaks of this daughter of William Fitz-Osborne in these words: *Hic legitimus et liberalis vir Adelizam, Rogerii Toenitæ filiam, in conjugio habuit; ex quâ duos filios, Willelmum et Rogerium contumacem, procreavit, et unam filiam, quæ posteà Rodulfo Comiti, genere Britoni, nupsit, atque cum eodem, in diebus Urbani Papæ, Hierusalem perrexit.* Lib. vii. cap. xxv.

[u] *Gallevus Comes ad Regem accersitus est, &c.* According to Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, this earl Waltheof was earl of *Huntingdonshire* as well as of *Northamptonshire*;

et fautor fuerit, dominóque suo infidelis extiterit. Ille autem intrepidus palàm recognovit quod proditorum nequissimam voluntatem ab eis audierit; sed eis in tàm nefandâ re nullum omninò assensum dederit. Super hac confessione judicium indagatum est, et, censoribus inter se sentientibus, * per plures inducias usque in annum protelatum est. Intereà præfatus heros apud Guentam in carcere Regis erat, et multoties peccata sua deflebat, quæ ibidem religiosis Episcopis et Abbatibus sæpè flens enarrabat. Spatio itaque unius anni juxtà sacerdotum consilium pœnituit, et quotidiè centum quinquagintà Psalmos David, quos in infantiâ didicerat, in oratione Deo cecinit. Erat idem vir corpore magnus et elegans, et largitate ac audaciâ multis millibus præstans [x]. Devotus Dei cultor, sacerdotum et omnium religiosorum supplex auditor, Ecclesiæ pauperúmque benignus amator. Pro his et multis aliis charismatibus, quibus in ordine laicali specialitèr fruebatur, à suis et ab exteris, qui Deo placita diligere nôrunt, multùm diligebatur, et ereptio ejus à vinculis in annuâ procrastinatione omnimodis expetebatur. De-

Per anni spatium in carcere detinetur apud urbem Guentam, sive Winchester.

shire; and, after his death, these earldoms were given by the king to a noble Norman, named *Simon Sylvanectensis*, who married *Matilda*, the eldest daughter of earl Waltheof, by whom he had two sons, named *Simon* and *Waltheof*, and a daughter named *Matilda*. And our present author, Ordericus Vitalis, tells us in the eighth book of his history, page 702, that the said Matilda, eldest daughter of earl Waltheof, after the death of her first husband, *Simon Sylvanectensis*, married David, the youngest son of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, who, by the death of his elder brothers, *Edgar* and *Alexander*, succeeded to the crown of Scotland himself in the year of Christ 1125, and reigned with great wisdom and prosperity. And it was from this marriage of king David with Matilda, the daughter of earl Waltheof, that the earldom of Huntingdonshire became for some centuries a part of the inheritance of the kings of Scotland.

[x] *Audaciâ multis millibus præstans.* This earl *Waltheof* had given great proofs of his personal strength and courage in the defence of the city of York against the Normans in the year 1069, in which he cut off the heads of many Norman soldiers with his own hand, one after the other, as they were entering the gates of the city. *William* of *Malmesbury*'s account of this matter is in these words: *Weldeofus in Eboracensi pugnâ plures Normannorum solus obtruncaverat, unos et unos per portas ingredientes decapitans: nervosus lacertis, torosus pectore, robustus et procerus toto corpore, filius* Siwardi, *magnificentissimi Comitis, quem* Digera *Danico vocabulo, id est, fortem, cognominabant.* See *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 104.

* Forte legendum foret, *dissentientibus*.

fixis

nique prævalens concio æmulorum ejus in Curiâ Regali coadunata est: eúmque post multos tractatus reum esse mortis definitum est, qui sodalibus de morte domini sui tractantibus consenserit, nec eos pro herili exitio perculerit, nec apertâ delatione scelerosam factionem detexerit [y]. Nec mora: Guallevus à Normannis, qui evasionem

Et tandem ad mortem condemnatur, et propè urbem Winchester decollatur, 29no die Aprilis, A.D. 1075.

[y] *Qui sodalibus de morte domini sui tractantibus consenserit, nec eos pro herili exitio perculerit, nec apertâ delatione scelerosam factionem detexerit.* Here we see that the persons who passed judgement upon earl *Waltheof*, considered him *as having consented* to the treasonable plot proposed by the earls of *Hereford* and *Norwich*. For they make use of the word *consenserit*. And, *if he had* consented to it, he certainly would have been guilty of high treason, and liable to suffer the penalty of that crime, which our author has told us above, (in the speech ascribed to earl Waltheof,) was the loss of life by being beheaded, together with the forfeiture of lands. But, according to our author, they had no evidence of this earl's having so consented, except that of his wife *Judith*, by whom he was accused of having not only known of this plot against the king, and concealed it, but also of having encouraged it, *quòd prædictæ proditionis conscius et fautor fuerit, dominóque suo infidelis extiterit.* And, according to the rules of evidence now observed in such prosecutions, this evidence ought not to have admitted against him, and much less to have been held sufficient to ground a conviction upon. If, in addition to this evidence of *Judith*, they grounded their judgement on the open and honest confession the earl himself had made of his having known of this plot from the other two earls, and having kept it a secret, they ought likewise to have given credit to the other part of his declaration, in which he had asserted that he had in no degree consented to it, or expressed any approbation of it, *sed eis in tàm nefandâ re nullum omninò assensum dederit.* And in that case they ought to have found him guilty only of *misprision* of high treason, which (according to Sir Matthew Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Vol. I, chap. xxviii, page 371,) is, "when a man knows of a treason, though no party, "or consenter, to it, yet conceals it, and doth not reveal it in convenient time." This is at this day considered as a much less offence than High Treason itself, and the punishment of it is accordingly less severe than the punishment of High Treason, being not the loss of life, nor the perpetual forfeiture of inheritable lands, but "the loss of the profits of the offender's lands during his life, together "with the forfeiture of his goods, and imprisonment for life." But, perhaps, at the time of this rebellion against the Conquerour, the distinction between *treason* and *misprision*, or concealment, *of treason* (though very just and reasonable,) may not have been established, and both crimes may have been punished in the same manner; and, besides, there must always have been a danger of confounding the latter crime with the former, where the judges were so inclined, by considering the circumstance of having concealed the treason as a proof of a consent to it, or approbation of it. It is therefore no great wonder that the Norman lords, or barons, by whom earl Waltheof was tried, adjudged him to have been a sharer in this plot, after he had confessed that he had been made acquainted with it, and had concealed it.

As

evasionem ejus valdè timebant, sibíque prædia ejus et largos honores adipisci cupiebant, extrà urbem Guentam, dum adhuc populus

As to the real guilt of earl *Waltheof* on this occasion, it is highly probable that it was no more than he himself confessed, to wit, that of having known from the other two earls their design of rebelling against the king, and, (from a sort of point of honour towards them, who had communicated it to him,) having forborn to give information of it to the king's ministers. For we are told by Ingulphus that the good archbishop Lanfrank (who had been the earl's confessor, and had heard it from him in confession,) declared him to be perfectly free from any share, or concurrence, in this conspiracy, and used all his influence with king William to save his life, saying, that, if he should be put to death on this account, his innocence would intitle him to be considered as a martyr. He nevertheless was put to death, partly in consequence of the instigation of his wicked wife *Judith*, the king's niece, who wished for a second marriage, and partly in consequence of the envy and avarice of some powerful Norman barons, who were in hopes of being promoted to his two earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, and above all, of *Ivo Tailbois*, a powerful foreign nobleman, a native of the earldom of *Anjou* in France, that was in high favour with king William, and who hoped, in case of earl Waltheof's condemnation and death, to obtain a grant from the king of all his estates, which were very considerable in several different parts of the kingdom.

This is the account given of earl Waltheof's death by Ingulphus, who came into England and was made abbot of Crowland about a year after it, when the particulars of his conduct and condemnation were fresh in every body's memory. He further tells us what became of his wicked wife Judith, and of his two daughters by her, whose names were *Matilda* and *Alicia*. King William took from Crowland Abbey the manor, or dwelling-house, of *Bernake*, with the lands, or estate, belonging to it, which earl Waltheof had many years before given to that abbey, and, considering it as having continued to be to the last a part of earl Waltheof's property, gave it to *Judith*, his widow, as her dower, together with the earl's other estates situated near the river *Trent*. And, in a moderate time after her husband's death, he tendered to her a noble Norman for a husband, whose name was *Simon Sylvanectonsis*. But Judith refused to marry him, because he was lame of one leg. This refusal made the king extremely angry; and he immediately gave the said *Simon* the late earl *Waltheof's* earldom of Huntingdon, with all the lands thereunto belonging. And Judith, fearing the effects of the king's resentment, fled from his presence with her two daughters *Matilda* and *Alicia*, and lived in a very private and obscure manner, in diverse country places out of the sight and knowledge, or, at least, notice, of the court, and was every where despised and hated for her wicked behaviour towards her late husband. At last she grew sensible of the enormity of her conduct, and sincerely repented of it, and passed the remainder of her life in a state of widow-hood. After some years her eldest daughter, *Matilda*, was married to that very *Simon Sylvanectensis* whom she had refused, and brought him two sons, named *Simon* and *Waltheof*, and a daughter named *Matilda*. And, some time after, her second daughter *Alicia* married another Norman, or

pulus dormiret, manè ductus est in montem, ubi nunc Ecclesia sancti Ægidii Abbatis et Confessoris constructa est. Ibi vestes suas, quibus, ut Consul, honorificè indutus processit, Clericis et pauperibus, qui fortè aderant ad hoc spectaculum, devotè distribuit, humóque procumbens cum lacrymis et singultibus Dominum diutiùs exoravit.

Cúmque carnifices trepidarent, ne cives exciti præceptum Regis impedirent, et, tam nobili compatriotæ suo suffragantes, Regios lictores trucidarent: " Surge (inquiunt prostrato Comiti) ut nostri " compleamus jussum domini. Quibus ille ait: " Paulispèr ex- " pectate propter omnipotentis Dei clementiam, saltèm ut dicam " pro me et pro vobis Orationem Dominicam." Illis autem permittentibus surrexit, et, flexis tantùm genibus, oculísque in cœlum fixis, et manibus tensis, *Pater noster, qui es in cælis,* palàm dicere cœpit. Cúmque ad extremum Capitulum pervenisset, *et ne nos in-*

or other foreign nobleman, named *Rodulphus Tornacensis*, or *Ralph de Tournay*, and received, by the gift of *Simon Sylvanectensis*, as a marriage-portion, the lordship of *Wilchamstowe*, which had formerly belonged to earl *Waltheof*, her father.

Ingulphus tells us further that this *Simon Sylvanectensis*, (whom he calls earl of *Northampton* as well as of *Huntingdon*) built a castle at Northampton, and a monastery dedicated to Saint Andrew near the said castle. We must therefore conclude that king William made him earl of Northampton as well as of Huntingdon upon earl Waltheof's death, though Ingulphus only mentioned at first his promotion to the latter earldom. Perhaps these two earldoms were at this time connected together in some way, and usually given to the same person. From this account of *Simon Sylvanectensis*, which is given us by Ingulphus, it should seem that he was a very worthy, pious, and generous nobleman, as well as a very rich and powerful one.

I do not find from Ingulphus, whether or no, *Ivo Tailbois*, the avaritious nobleman, who had hoped, in case of earl Waltheof's death, to obtain a grant of his estates in different parts of England, did obtain such a grant when that event had happened. But it seems most probable that he did not, and that all earl Waltheof's estates in England were either kept in the king's hands or granted to the above-mentioned *Simon Sylvanectensis*, as well as the two earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon. But this *Ivo Tailbois* was, without this grant, possessed of vast territories in England by a grant, from king William, of all the estates that had belonged to tho two noble and powerful brothers, earl *Edwin* and earl *Morcar*, after the death of earl Edwin in the year 1071, when, with the king's consent, he married the lady *Lucia*, the sister of those great earls. See Gale's Ingulphus, pages 71, 72, and 73.

ducas

ducas in tentationem dixiſſet, uberes lacrymæ cum ejulatu proruperunt, ipsúmque preces incœptas concludere non permiſerunt. Carnifex autem ulteriùs præſtolari noluit, ſed mox exempto gladio fortitèr feriens caput Comitis amputavit. Porrò caput poſtquàm præſectum fuit, cunctis qui aderant audientibus, clarâ et articulatâ voce dixit, *Sed libera nos à malo. Amen.* Sic Guallevus, Comes, apud Guentam ſecundo Kal. Maii manè decollatus eſt, ibíque in foſſâ corpus ejus vilitèr projectum eſt, et viridi ceſpite feſtinantèr coopertum eſt. Expergefacti cives compertis rumoribus valdè contriſtati ſunt, viríque cum mulieribus ingentem planctum de caſu Guallevi Comitis egerunt. Poſt quindecìm dies rogatu Judith, et permiſſu Regis, Ulfketulus, Crulandenſis Abbas, venit, et cadaver, (quod adhuc integrum cum recenti cruore, ac ſi tunc idem vir obiſſet, erat) ſuſtulit: ac in Cœnobium Crulandenſe cum magno luctu multorum detulit, et in Capitulo Monachorum reverentèr ſepelivit.

Et corpus ejus in Abbatiâ de Crowland ſepelitur.

De Sancto Guthlaco, eremitâ, monaſterii Crowlandenſis fundatore.

Nunc mihi libet huic Opuſculo noſtro quandam abbreviationem inſerere, quam, rogante venerabili Wilfino, Priore, nuper feci de vitâ S. Guthlaci heremitæ. Felix quidam, Orientalium Anglorum Epiſcopus, natione quidem Burgundus, ſed ſanctitate venerandus, edidit geſta ſanctiſſimi Anachoritæ prolixo et aliquantulùm obſcuro dictatu: quæ pro poſſe meo dilucidavi brevitèr, fratrum benigno rogatu, cum quibus quinque ſeptimanis Crulandiæ commoratus ſum, venerabilis Goisfredi Abbatis caritativo juſſu. Occaſio loquendi de beato heremitâ ſeſe obtulit noſtræ narrationi per Guallevum Comitem, qui fidus frater et adjutor extitit Crulandenſis Monaſterii, ſicut ex relatione ſeniorum veracitèr intimabo in calce hujus epitomii. Indubitantèr crede, quòd non minùs proderunt fidelibus Ciſalpinis ſancta geſta tranſmarinorum Saxonum vel Anglorum, quàm Græcorum vel Ægyptiorum, de quibus prolixæ, ſed delectabiles commodaéque Collationes crebrò leguntur, congeſtæ ſanctorum ſtudio Doctorum. Prætereà reor, quòd quanto res hæc minùs olìm noſtratibus patuit, tanto caritatis igne ferventibus, et pro tranſactis reatibus ex intimo corde dolentibus, gratioſiùs placebit.

Tempore

Tempore Ethelredi, Regis Anglorum, Guthlacus ex patre Penualdo ab origine Icles heri Merciorum, matre verò Tectâ natus eſt: quo naſcente cæleſte prodigium populis palàm oſtenſum eſt. Manus enim è nubibus ad crucem porrecta eſt, quæ ante oſtium domûs parientis Tectæ ſtare viſa eſt. Poſt octò dies infans baptizatur, et *Guthlacus*, id eſt, *belli munus*[z], à tribu, quam Guthlacingas dicunt, appellatur. Poſt mitem pueritiam dum adoleſcentiæ calorem ſenſiſſet, et heroum fortia geſta conſideráſſet, aggregatis ſatellitum turmis ad arma ſe convertit, ſibíque adverſantium villas et munitiones igne ferróque devaſtat et diſperdit; immenſíſque prædis direptis tertiam partem ſponte his quibus ablatum eſt, pro amore Dei remittit. Deinde tranſcurſis IX. annis, in quibus hoſtes valdè afflixerat cædibus et rapinis, conſideratâ mortalis vitæ fragilitate, et caducarum rerum inſtabilitate, territus ad ſeipſum redit: ſéque, ac ſi mortem præ oculis videret, diſcutit; et emendatioris vitæ viam aggredi ſatagit. Igitur complices ſuos relinquit, parentes et patriam comitéſque adoleſcentiæ ſuæ, pro Chriſto contemnit, et XXIV. ætatis ſuæ anno abrenuncians ſeculi pompis, Ripalduum Monaſterium[a] adiit, ibíque ſub Abbatiſſâ nomine Elfrid tonſuram habitúmque Clericalem ſuſcepit. Poſteà ab ebrietate omníque laſciviâ toto niſu declinavit, omníque honeſtati et religioni pro humano poſſe ſtuduit.

Vita Sancti Guthlaci.

Fit monachus in Ripalduo monaſterio.

[z] *Guthlacus*, id eſt, *belli munus*. If the word *Guthlac* means, as is here ſaid, *the gift of battle*, it ſeems probable that *Guth*, the firſt ſyllable of it, comes from the verb *to give*, (to which it bears ſome reſemblance,) and that *lac* means *war*, or *battle*. This may, perhaps, lead to a better etymology of the word *Senlac*, (which, our author and the other old writers near the time of the Norman conqueſt tell us, was the name of the place in which the great battle of Haſtings was fought,) than that of *ſanguinis lacus*, or *ſanguelac*, which *John Speed*, the Geographer, has given us. For we can hardly ſuppoſe that the ſpot of ground on which that battle was fought, which was a high ground, ſhould ever be called *a lake:* and beſides the hiſtorians tell us that it was called *Senlac* of old time, *antiquitùs*, or long before that famous battle. See above, page 178, note[k]. It might perhaps have been the ſcene of ſome famous battle in the time of the Saxon wars with the Britons.

[a] *Ripalduum monaſterium*. That is, the monaſtery of *Repton* in Darbyſhire, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the river Trent. It is in the ſouthernmoſt hundred of the county, which is called *Reppington hundred*, and probably takes its name from *Repton*, which might once be itſelf called *Reppington*; and ſince, by an abbreviation of it's former name, *Repton*. Ingulphus calls it *Ripadium* in Latin, and *Ripedune* in Engliſh, which laſt name differs but little from it's preſent name of *Repton*. See *Gale's Ingulphus*, page 5, line 7th from the bottom of the page, and *Speed's* Map of Derbyſhire with the concomitant account of the county.

Per biennium ſacris litteris et Monaſticis diſciplinis imbutus eſt, ſed his tantùm contentus non eſt. Nam heremiticæ vitæ ſingulare certamen arripere conatus eſt, ubi cum hoſte cominùs luctatus eſt.

De inſulâ quæ dicitur Crouland.

Adeptâ tandem à ſenioribus licentiâ, à quodam nomine Tatuvino ad Inſulam, quæ dicitur Crouland, ſcaphulâ adductus eſt piſcatoriâ. Eſt in mediterraneis Angliæ partibus immenſæ magnitudinis acerrima palus, quæ à Grontæ fluminis ripis incipit; nunc ſtagnis, nunc flactris [b], interdum nigris laticibus, et crebris Inſularum nemoribus, et flexuoſis rivigarum [c] anfractibus ab Auſtro in Aquilonem mari tenùs longiſſimo tractu protenditur. Illìc plures inhabitare tentaverant, ſed pro incognitis heremi monſtris, et diverſarum terroribus formarum atram * habitationem reliquerant. Guthlacus itaque æſtivis temporibus Crulandâ perſcrutatâ, fratres ſuos et magiſtros, quos inſalutatos dimiſerat, reviſere profectus eſt; iterúmque poſt tres menſes cum duobus pueris ad electam heremum VIII. Kal. Septembris cùm jam ipſe XXVI. annorum eſſet, regreſſus eſt. Tunc S. Bartholomei Apoſtoli ſolemnitas celebratur; quem ſocium ſibi et adjutorem in cunctas adverſitates ſummoperè precatur.

Guthlacus ibi vivit in Eremo.

Quindecìm annis non laneis vel lineis, ſed pelliceis ſolummodò tegminibus indutus eſt: et ordeaceo pane ac lutulentâ aquâ (et ex his parùm) poſt ſolis occaſum uſus eſt. Innumeris illum modis Sathan tentavit, et irretire vel de heremo expellere laboravit.

Quondam cùm per tres dies incœpti operis deſperatione laſſaretur, en Bartholomæus, fidus adjutor, matutinis vigiliis inſtanti palàm apparet, et, præceptis ſpiritualibus trepidantem confortans, auxilium

[b] *Flactris.* According to Monſieur *Du Cange's* gloſſary this word *flactris* means marſhy grounds that are ſometimes covered with water and ſometimes dry.

[c] *Rivigarum.* According to Monſieur *Du Cange's* gloſſary, this word *rivigarum* means the banks of a river, or lake; and conſequently *flexuoſis rivigarum anfractibus* muſt mean, "*with the winding bays, or hollows, of it's banks.*"

* Forte *tetram.*

ei

ei in omnibus ſpondet, et in multis tentationibus promiſſa ſua fidelitèr complet.

Aliâ die duo dæmones in hominum ſpecie ad eum veniunt, eúmque tentantes, ut nimiùm jejunando Moyſen et Heliam, alióſque Ægyptios Patres, imitaretur, incitant. At ille pſallens, in contemptum illorum, ordeacei panis particulâ veſci cœpit.

Aliquando, dum vir Dei pervigil precibus intempeſtâ nocte inſiſteret, catervas dæmonum undíque ingredi Cellam ſuam videt. Quem ligatis membris extrà Cellam ſuam ducunt, et in cœnoſam paludem immergunt. Deinde per paludis aſperrima loca inter denſa veprium vimina aſportant, et, poſt dilacerationem membrorum, de heremo illum deſcendere imperant. Quo nolente, ferreis eum flagris verberant, ac poſt ingentia tormenta inter nubifera gelidi aëris ſpatia ſubvectant, indéque à Septentrionali plagâ, innumeris dæmonum turmis adventantibus, uſque ad tartari fauces minant[d]. Tunc Guthlacus viſis gehennæ pœnis terretur, ſed, minis dæmonum contemptis, ad Deum medullitùs ſuſpirat. Nec mora; S. Bartholomæus cæleſti luce ſplendidus illi affuit, et cum magnâ quiete ab ipſis hoſtibus reduci ad propriam ſedem jubet. Illi verò gementes Apoſtoli juſſis obſecundant, et Angeli gaudentes dulcitèr ei obviàm cantant: *Ibunt ſancti de virtute in virtutem.*

Multotiès et multis modis dæmones Guthlacum terrere nitebantur: ſed ipſe, Domino juvante, illos et cuncta molimina eorum fruſtrabatur. Imperterritus in virtutum arce ſtetit, duros labores in agone pertulit, diabolicóſque conatus peſſumdedit. Tempore Coenredi, Regis Merciorum, Becelinus, Clericus, ad occidendum virum Dei à dæmone ſtimulatus, dum ipſum tonderet, ab eodem increpatus eſt cur tantum facinus in corde geſtaret. At ille mox, ut ſe præventum

[d] *Uſque ad Tartari fauces minant.* That is, carry him to the very gates of Hell. The word *minant* is equivalent to *ducunt* or *vehunt*, or *portant*, being the French word *mènent* latinized.

vidit, erubefcens ad pedes Sancti cecidit, fcelus fatetur, veniámque precatur, perceptâque indulgentiâ fe focium illius fore pollicetur.

Corvus raptam cartulam in medio ftagni dimifit, nec illam in arundine pendentem aqua, meritis viri Dei, læfit, quam idem [e] Scriptori mœfto falvam reddidit.

Duo corvi in Infulâ degentes beato Guthlaco valdè infefti erant, ita ut quicquid frangere, mergere, diripere, contaminare potuiffent, irreverenter intùs forífque damnantes perderent: quod vir Dei pro virtute patientiæ benignitèr tolerabat. Incultæ folitudinis volucres, et vagabundi cœnofæ paludis pifces, ad vocem ejus, velut ad paftorem, ociùs natantes volantéfque veniebant; et de manu ejus victum, prout uniufcujufque natura indigebat, accipiebant.

Præfente venerabili viro Wilfrido, duabus hirundinibus gaudentèr illum fecundùm fuam naturam vifitantibus, et cum cantu brachiis et genibus pectorífque illius confidentibus; feftucam in ventinulâ pofuit [f], et fic avibus nidum in fuâ Cellâ defignavit. Non enim in cafâ Guthlaci fine licentiâ ejus nidificare audebant.

Quondam dum præfatus Wilfridus exulem Edelbaldum ad hominem Dei adduxiffet, manicáfque fuas in nave quâ advecti fuerant [g] oblitus fuiffet, rapaces corvi rapuerunt. Quod mox vir Dei, in vef-

[e] *Idem.* That is, "*The fame crow which had carried away the paper on which St. Guthlac was writing, and had dropped it into the lake, brought it back to him dry and fit for ufe, notwithftanding it had been lying in the water.*"

[f] *Feftucam in ventinulâ pofuit.* That is, as I underftand it, "*he placed a fmall branch of a tree in his window, for the fwallows to build their neft in.*" For *ventinula* probably comes from the word *ventus*, and means a little hole in St. Guthlac's wooden hut to admit the air, or wind, or, in other words, a fmall window.

[g] *Manicáfque fuas in nave quâ advecti fuerant, oblitus effet.* That is, "When *Wilfrid*, the venerable monk who brought Prince *Ethelbald* with him to vifit Saint Guthlac in his hermitage, had forgot his gloves and left them in the fhip, or boat, that had brought them to the Saint's habitation, fome crows took them out of the boat, and carried them away." The word *manicæ* fometimes means *fleeves that cover the arms and reach down to the hands*, and fometimes *hand-cuffs*, or chains for the hands, and fometimes *gloves*; which laft is the fenfe in which we muft underftand it in this paffage.

tibulo

tibulo domûs ſedens, in ſpiritu Dei agnovit, et inter colloquia Wilfrido intimavit: nec multò poſt virtute fidei et orationis pro damno reſtauravit.

Wethredus, inclytus juvenis Orientalium Anglorum, à dæmonio invaſus eſt, et quatuor annis miſerabilitèr vexatus eſt. Sed et quoſcùmque poterat, ligno, ferro, unguibus et dentibus laniabat. Quondam, dum multitudo illum ligare tentaret, arreptâ bipenne tres viros occidit. Poſt quatuor annos Croulandiam adductus eſt, quem vir Dei, manu arripiens, intrà Oratorium ſuum duxit: et illic continuis diebus tribus jejunavit; et orans ab omni inquietudine ſpiritûs maligni curavit.

Miracula multa à Sancto Guthlaco facta fuiſſe dicebantur.

Egga, præfati exulis Edelbaldi comes, dum ab immundo ſpiritu pervaſus eſt; ita ut quid eſſet, vel quo ſederet, vel quid ageret, omninò neſciret; à ſociis ſuis ad Guthlaci limina perductus eſt. Deinde, ut mox ſe cingulo viri Dei ſuccinxit, integrum ſenſum recepit, omníque poſtmodùm vitâ ſuâ idem cingulum et ſanam mentem habuit.

Præstereà, vir Dei, Guthlacus, ſpiritu prophetiæ pollens; futura prædicere, et præſentibus abſentia narrare ſolitus eſt. Cuidam Abbati, qui ad eum cauſâ piæ locutionis venerat, de duobus Clericis, qui ad caſam viduæ ante horam tertiam pro appetendâ ebrietate divertiſſent [h], cuncta per ordinem intimat.

Alios duos fratres, quòd binas flaſculas celiâ impletas ſub paluſtri ſablone abſcondiſſent, increpat [i]: eiſque pro tantâ viri Dei ſagacitate ſtupentibus, et ad ſolum proſtratis, benignitèr indulſit.

[h] *De duobus Clericis, qui ad caſam viduæ ante horam tertiam pro appetendâ ebrietate divertiſſent.* That is, "he told an abbot, (who came to viſit him in his hermitage in order to converſe with him on religious ſubjects,) that two prieſts, or monks, under the abbot's authority, had gone to a certain widow's houſe at nine o'clock in the forenoon in order to get drunk."

[i] *Alios duos fratres, quòd binas flaſculas celiâ impletas ſub paluſtri ſablone abſcondiſſent, increpat.* That is, "he reproved two other monks for having hid two ſmall flaſks filled with ale under ſome ſand in the marſhes near his hermitage, though he had not ſeen them do ſo, and they had done it with great ſecrecy, and, as they ſuppoſed, without any man's knowing of it."

Famâ

Famâ de beato Guthlaco longê latéque celeritèr volante; multi ad eum veniunt diverſorum Ordinum gradus, Abbates, Monachi, Comites, divites, vexati, pauperéſque de proximis Merciorum finibus, et de Britanniæ partibus[k], pro ſalute corporis aut animæ. Et quiſque id pro quo fideliter venerat, ſalubritèr obtinebat. Ægrotus enim remedium, triſtis gaudium, pœnitens conſolationem, et quiſque anxius percipiebat alleviationem per viri Dei allocutionem et efficacem orationem.

Obba, comes inclyti exulis Edelbaldi, dum per agreſtia rura graderetur, ſpinæ latentis ſub herbis incultæ telluris fixurâ in pede læſus eſt; ita ut à plantâ uſque ad lumbos totum corpus ejus tumeſceret; nec eum novus dolor ſedere, vel ſtare, vel jacere quietè ſineret. Unde vix Croulandiam pervenit. Mox ut ad virum Dei perductus eſt, et cauſa vexationis ex ordine relata eſt: Guthlacus lutherio melotinæ, in quo ſolebat orare, ipſum circumdedit[l]: ſtatímque dicto citiùs ſpinula de pede ejus, velut ſagitta ab arcu demiſſa, reſiliit. Eâdem itaque horâ omni humore ſedato æger convaluit, et Deo gratias, cum his qui hoc viderunt, lætus retulit.

Guthlacus ſacrum ordinem Sacerdotii recipit ab Headdâ Epiſcopo.

Quondam Headda, Præſul, cum quibuſdam Clericis et laicis ad Guthlacum venit, inter quos de beato viro varia locutio obitèr fuit. Prædictus autem Epiſcopus compertâ in venerabili viro divinæ gratiæ luculentiâ, et in exponendis ſcripturis ſanctis ſapientiæ affluentiâ, poſt quam Inſulæ Croulandiæ Eccleſiam XII. Kal. Sept. dedicavit, eundem ſervum Dei ſuſcipere ſacerdotii ſtemma inviolabili obedientiæ præcepto coëgit. Deinde ad prandium Pontificis ſanctus vir contrà morem

[k] *De proximis Merciorum finibus, et de Britanniæ partibus.* That is, "from the "neighbouring parts of the kingdom of Mercia, or the middle part of England, "and from *Britain*, or *Wales*, which lay beyond Mercia."

[l] *Lutherio melotinæ, in quo ſolebat orare, ipſum circumdedit.* That is, "he wrapped "*Obba*, (who had hurt his foot to ſo dreadful a degree by trading on a thorn,) up "in the upper covering of his bed, which was made of ſheep's ſkin, and in which "he uſed to wrap himſelf up when he ſaid his prayers." For *Du Cange* tells us that the word *Lutherium* means *ſtraguli lectarii ſpecies, quæ noſtris* Lodier *vel* Loudier *dicitur.* And *Boyer*, in his French dictionary, ſays the French word *lodier* means *a quilted counterpane.* The word *melotinæ* comes from the Greek word μηλωτὴ, which means a ſheep's ſkin.

ſuum

ſuum venire coactus eſt. Ubi dum Wigfridum librarium [m] videret procùl ſedere, cœpit ab eo inquirere de heſternâ promiſſione, quâ ſociis in viâ jactaverat ſe examinaturum utrùm idem verâ potiretur an ſimulatâ religione. Mox ille erubuit, ſolóque proſtratus veniam petiit et obtinuit: cunctis mirantibus quòd illorum in viâ locutio per ſpiritum viro Dei lucidè tota patuerit.

Reverentiſſimâ Egburg, Abbatiſſâ, Aldulfi Regis filiâ, per legatum ſupplicitèr rogante, Guthlacus ſarcofagum plumbeum, et in eo linteum ad involvendum ſe poſt obitum ſuſcepit: et ſciſcitanti quis hæres poſt ſe loci illius eſſet, adhùc paganum eſſe reſpondit. Quod ita factum eſt. Nam Ciſſa, qui poſt eum ſedem ejus poſſedit, poſt aliquot annos in Britanniâ [n] baptiſmum percepit.

Clito Edelbaldus, quem Ceolredus Rex hùc et illùc perſequebatur, inter dubia pericula exinanitis viribus ſuis ſuorúmque, ad virum Dei, ut ſolebat, venit: ut, ubi humanum conſilium defeciſſet, divinum adeſſet. Quem beatus Guthlacus blandè conſolatus eſt, eíque per ſpiritum Dei promiſit dominationem gentis ſuæ, et Principatum populorum, et conculcationem inimicorum: et hæc omnia non armorum vi nec effuſione ſanguinis, ſed de manu Domini habiturum. Eo cuncta ordine completa ſunt, quo à viro Dei vaticinata ſunt. Nam Ceolredus Rex mortuus eſt, ac Edelbaldus regnum ejus nactus eſt.

Clito Edelbaldus, exul, ad Guthlacum venit in Eremo.

Completis in heremo xv. annis, venerabilis Guthlacus ante Paſcha quartâ feriâ ægrotare cœpit: die tamen Paſchæ contrà vires exurgens Miſſam cantavit. Septimâ verò die infirmitatis Beccel, famulo ſuo, juſſit, ut poſt obitum ſuum Pegam ſororem ſuam illùc advenire faceret: et ab illâ corpus ejus ſyndone in ſarcofago, quam Egburg illi miſerat, involveretur. Tunc ille cœpit virum Dei cum adjuratione rogare, ut ante ſuum funus ſibi intimaret, quis cum eo mane et

Guthlacus ægrotat in Eremo ante diem Paſchæ A.D. 715.

[m] *Wigfridum librarium.* That is, as I conjecture, "the biſhop's librarian, or "keeper of his books," and who was probably alſo his chaplain. This *Headda*, or *Hedda*, was biſhop of Litchfield. See Higden's Polychronicon, lib. 5, A.D. 704.
[n] *In Britanniâ.* That is, "*in Wales.*"

veſpere

vefpere loqui quotidiè audiebatur. Almus Dei athleta poft modicum intervallum anhelans ait; "Fili mi, de hac re follicitari noli. "Quod vivens ulli hominum indicare nolui, nunc tibi manifeftabo. "A fecundo etenim anno, quo hanc heremum cœperam, mane "vefperéque femper confolationis meæ ad colloquium meum Do-"minus mittebat, qui mihi myfteria quæ non licet homini enarrare, "monftrabat: qui duritiam laboris mei cæleftibus oraculis fuble-"vabat, qui abfentia mihi, monftrando ut præfentia, præfentabat. "O fili, hæc dicta mea, conferva, nullíque alii nunciaveris nifi Pegæ "aut Egberto Anachoritæ." His dictis, fuavis odor de ore ejus proceffiffe fentiebatur, ita ut totam domum nectareus odor repleret. Nocte verò fequenti dum præfatus frater nocturnis vigiliis incumberet, à mediâ nocte ufque in auroram totam domum igneo fplendore circumfplendefcere videbat. Oriente verò fole vir Dei fublevatis paulifper membris velut exurgens, et manus ad altare extendens, corporis et fanguinis Chrifti communione fe munivit; et elevatis oculis ad cœlum, et extenfis in altum manibus, anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCXV. animam ad perenne gaudium emifit.

Et paulo poft ibi moritur.

Inter hæc Beccel confpicit cælefti fplendore domum repleri, turrímque velut igneam è terrâ in cælum erigi, ad cujus comparationem fol, quafi lucerna in die, pallefcere videbatur. Cantibus quoque Angelicis fpatium totius aëris detonari audiebatur: infula etiàm diverforum aromatum odoriferis fpiraminibus fragrat. Prædictus itaque frater valdè tremefactus, eximiam corufcationem fufferre non valens, arreptâ navi virginem Chrifti Pegam adivit, eíque fraterna mandata feriatìm retulit. Quibus auditis, illa vehementèr ingemuit. Pofterâ verò die cum prædicto fratre Croulandiam venit, et tertiâ die felicia membra in Oratorio fecundùm juffionem ejus fepelivit: ubi Dominus pofteà propter amici fui merita in fanandis ægrotis plura miracula fecit.

Ad anniverfarium S. Guthlaci, foror ejus, Pega Prefbyteros et alios Ecclefiaftici Ordinis viros aggregavit, et fepulchrum ejus aperuit, ut corpus ejus in aliud maufoleum transferret. Tunc totum corpus integrum, quafi adhùc viveret, invenerunt; et veftimenta omnia quibus involutus

involutus erat, antiquâ novitate et priſtino ſplendore candebant. Mirantibus cunctis et ſtupentibus ac trementibus præ miraculo quod videbant; ſpiritualitèr commota, ſacrum corpus reverentèr in ſindone, quam eo vivente Egbert Anachorita in hoc officium miſerat, revolvit, et ſarcofagum ſuper terram, quaſi quoddam memoriale, poſuit, ubi uſque hodiè honorabilitèr requieſcit.

Illùc præfatus exul Edelbaldus, auditâ ſancti viri morte, mœrens adiit; cui poſt lacrymas et longam orationem in proximâ caſulâ dormienti ſanctus vir apparuit, eúmque conſolatus ſceptrum regni antequam annus finiatur, promiſit. Signum quoque poſcenti dedit, quod in craſtinum ante horam tertiam habitatoribus Croulandiæ inſperata victûs ſolatia darentur. Nec mora; effectus dicta ſequitur. Unde idem Edelbaldus, poſtquam regnum adeptus eſt, miris ornamentorum ſtructuris mauſoleum venerabilis Guthlaci decoravit.

Miracula multa feruntur à populo facta fuiſſe propè Sancti Guthlaci corpus mortuum.

Quidam paterfamilias in Provinciâ Wiſâ oculorum lumen per annum perdidit, nec illud ullis pigmentorum fomentis recuperare potuit. Tandem cum fide Croulandiam perductus, colloquium Virginis Chriſti Pegæ appetiit, cujus permiſſu intrà Oratorium ad corpus ſanctum recubuit. Illa verò partem glutinam ſalis, à ſancto viro ante conſecratam, in aquam raſit, et indè aquam inter palpebras cæci guttatìm ſtillavit. Ad tactum primæ guttæ oculis lumen redditum eſt: unde illuminatus paterfamilias per merita ſancti Guthlaci gratias egit. Multi quoque alii diverſis infirmitatibus gravati, auditis rumoribus miraculorum beati Guthlaci, paluſtrem Crulandiam, ubi ſanctum corpus quieſcit, adeunt: ejúſque meritis ſanitatem integram adepti Deo gratias referunt.

De fundatione Croulandenſis Monaſterii per Edelbaldum, regem Merciæ.

Huc uſque Felicis Epiſcopi ſcripta de venerabili Guthlaco brevitèr ſecutus ſum et huic Opuſculo inſerui ad laudem Dei et ædificationem morum fidelium. Cætera quæ reſtant de conſtructione Crulandenſis Monaſterii, et habitatione Cœnobitarum, ex verâ relatione Anſgoti, Subprioris, aliorúmque proferam ſeniorum. Rex Edelbaldus, ut beatum conſolatorem ſuum miraculis coruſcare comperit, locum ſe-

 pulturæ

pulturæ ejus gaudens expetiit, et ea quæ beato viro jam regnum adeptus donaverat, ſervientibus ei perenniter conceſſit. Nam quodam tempore dum idem Rex cauſâ viſitandi patronum ſuum antequam migraret, Crulandiam veniret, et vir Dei quietam manſionem in eâdem Inſulâ ſibi ab eo concedi poſtularet: quinque milliaria ad Orientem, id eſt, ad foſſam quæ Aſendic dicitur, et tria ad Occidentem, duóque ad Meridiem, et duo ad Aquilonem conceſſit, et ab omni redditu atque conſuetudine ſeculari omnibus modis abſolvit, et inde Chartam ſigillo ſuo ſignatam in præſentiâ Epiſcoporum Procerúmque ſuorum confirmavit [o].

Et quia paluſtris humus Crulandiæ (ut ipſum nomen intimat; Crulandia enim *crudam*, id eſt, cœnoſam, *terram* ſignificat) lapideam molem ſuſtinere non poterat, præfatus Rex ingentes ex quercu palos innumeræ multitudinis humo infigi fecit, durámque terram novèm milliariis per aquam de Uppalondâ, id eſt ſuperiori terrâ, ſcafis deferri, et paludibus commiſceri ſtatuit: et ſic lapideam (quia ſacer Guthlacus Oratorio contentus eſt ligneo) baſilicam cœpit et conſummavit. Deinde Religioſos ibi viros aggregavit, Coenobium condidit, ornamentis et fundis aliiſque divitiis locum ditavit, ad honorem Dei et ſancti Anachoritæ, quem valdè dilexerat, pro dulci conſolatione, quam ab eo, dum exulabat, multotiès perceperat. Eundem itaque locum omni vitâ ſuâ dilexit, nec unquam poſt primam inſtaurationem, quam idem Rex fecit, ſedes Crulandiæ religioſorum habitatione Monachorum uſque in hodiernum diem caruit. Kewlfus quidam in diebus illis magnæ famæ fuit [p], qui Monaſterium S. Guthlaci per aliquod tempus rexit, à quo Kewlfeſtan adhuc dicitur lapis, quem ipſe pro limite contrà Depingenſes poſuit.

Kenulfus fit primus ejuſdem Abbas.

[o] *Et inde Chartam Sigillo ſuo ſignatam, in præſentiâ Epiſcoporum procerúmque ſuorum, confirmavit.* This charter may be ſeen in Ingulphus's Hiſtory of Crowland-Abbey. It is dated in the year of Chriſt 716. See Gale's Ingulphus, pages 2, 3, and 4.

[p] *Kewlfus quidam in diebus illis magnæ famæ fuit.* This firſt abbot of Crowland abbey is called *Kenulphus* by Ingulphus. He was a monk of the monaſtery of of *Eveſham* in Worceſterſhire.

Variis

Variis bellorum tempeſtatibus Anglia poſtmodùm perturbata eſt, et barbaris ſub Ducibus Jugar et Halfdene, ac Gudrun [q], aliíſque tyrannis ſupervenientibus à Daciâ vel Norregaviâ, Angligenarum Regum, qui naturalitèr Angliæ præfuerant, mutatione factâ, Crulandenſe Monaſterium depopulatum eſt, ſicut alia plurima; ornamenta ſua ſibi ſunt ſublata, et villæ devaſtatæ: laicíſque contrà Canonicum jus in dominium redactæ. Sed divina pietas, quæ permittit propter peccata populi hypocritas per aliquod tempus regnare: novit etiàm caſtigatis filiis tempora ſerena per adminiſtrationem legitimorum Principum redintegrare. Unde, præfatis tyrannis (qui ſanctum Edmundum Eſtanglorum Regem cum multis aliis fidelibus viris occiderunt, et Eccleſias Sanctorum, et habitacula Chriſtianorum igne ſuccenderunt) divino nutu peremptis, vel alio quolibet modo dejectis: Alfredus, Adelvulfi Regis filius, Deo juvante prævaluit, et primus omnium Regum Monarchiam totius Angliæ ſolus obtinuit. Poſt hunc Edwardus filius ejus, qui ſenior cognominabatur, diù utilitèr regnavit; moriénſque tribus filiis ſuis Edelſtano et Edmundo ac Edredo regnum reliquit. Qui regnum Angliæ omnes per ordinem tenuerunt, et quiſque tempore ſuo laudabilitèr regnare, et ſubjectis prodeſſe ſtuduit.

De invaſione Angliæ à Danis factâ ſub rege Ethelwulpho et ejus filiis.

Alfredus rex, Ethelwulphi filius natu minimus, bello ſuperat Danos, et ad pacem et obedientiam compellit.

Tempore Edredi Regis Turketelus quidam Clericus Lundonienſis fuit, qui à præfato Rege "ut ſibi Crulandiam donaret" expetiit. Cui Rex quod petierat libentèr annuit. Erat autem idem Clericus de regali progenie, cognatus Oſketeli Eboracenſis Metropolitæ; multas habens divitias ampláſque poſſeſſiones, quas omnes parvipendebat propter æternas manſiones. Crulandiam quippe, ut diximus, non pro augendis fundis à Rege popoſcerat: ſed quia religioſos ibi viros, (in ſolitudine, ſcilicet, quæ undique paludibus et ſtagnis circundabatur,) cognoverat, contemptis omnibus hujus ſæculi delecta-

De Turketulo.

[q] *Ducibus Jugar et Halfdene ac Gudrun.* The Daniſh general here called *Jugar* is called by Ingulphus *Unguar*. See Gale's Ingulphus, page 21, where a pretty full account is given of this invaſion of England by the Danes, which was about the year 870.

Fit primùm Monachus Croulandensis Monasterii, deinde Abbas ejusdem. A. D. 948.

mentis, divino cultui se mancipare decreverat. Ordinatis itaque prudentèr rebus suis, Crulandiæ Monachus factus est, et, auctâ ibidem, studio ejus, Monachorum congregatione, Magister eorum et Abbas nutu Dei et bonorum electione effectus est. Hic familiarissimus fuit amicus sanctis Præsulibus, qui tunc temporis regebant Ecclesiam Dei, Dunstano Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Adelwoldo Wintoniensi, et Oswaldo Wigornensi, et postmodùm Archiepiscopo Eboracensi; eorúmque consiliis summo nisu sategit famulari. Hic (ut diximus) magnæ generositatis fuit, et LX. maneria de patrimonio parentum suorum possedit[r], pro quorum animabus sex villas, scilicet, Wenliburg et Bebi, Wiritorp et Elmintonam, Cotehham, et Oghintonam, Crulandensi Ecclesiæ dedit, et testamentum indè, sigillo strenuissimi Regis Edgari, filii Edmundi Regis, signatum, confirmavit. Dunstanus etiàm Archiepiscopus cum suffraganeis suis prædictarum rerum donationem facto Crucis in Chartâ signo corroboravit: et quisquis præfatæ Ecclesiæ de prænominatis abstulerit, nisi dignâ satisfactione emendaverit, æternæ maledictionis anathemate excommunicavit.

Sex villas de patrimonio suo dat eidem Monasterio, tempore regis Edgari.

A. D. 975. Egelricus, Abbas. Egelricus secundus, prædicti cognatus, Abbas. Osketelus, Abbas.

Denique post multum temporis Turketelo IV. Idus Julii defuncto, Egelricus, nepos ejus, successit, et, completo vitæ suæ cursu, alii Egelrico, qui de cognatione ejus erat, Abbatiam Crulandiæ dimisit. Quo defuncto Osketelus, magnæ nobilitatis Monachus, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Abbas effectus est. Porrò Leniova soror ejus, Enolfesburiæ

[r] *Sexaginta maneria de patrimonio parentum suorum possedit.* That is, as I understand it, "he inherited from his parents, or as his patrimony, sixty mansion-houses, or "gentlemens seats, with suitable estates belonging to them." By this passage it appears that lands in England were inheritable or descended from father to son, in the time of *Turketulus*, or in the reigns of king *Edred* and his brother king *Athelstan*, and their father, king *Edward* the elder, who was the son of king Alfred. And it likewise appears that some of these hereditary estates were pretty large. For it seems probable that each of these sixty manors, or mansion-houses with estates belonging to them, might be as large as estates that would at this day produce a thousand pounds a year; and in this case *Turketulus* must have inherited from his parents an estate that would be equivalent to one of sixty thousand pounds a year at this day.

Domina

Domina erat: ubi tunc temporis corpus S. Neoti Abbatis et Confessoris jacebat: sed dignum tanto viro servicium ibi tunc non fiebat. Unde præfata mulier Withelesiam accessit, et fratrem suum Osketelum Abbatem cum quibusdam Crulandensibus Monachis illùc accersiit; ibíque corpus S. Neoti, quod reverentèr secum detulerat, Monachis, quos digniores se credebat, tradidit. At illi munus sibi à Deo collatum gratantèr susceperunt et juxtà altare sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ in Aquilonari parte honorabilitèr collocaverunt. Ibi usque hodiè à fidelibus venerantèr excolitur, ejúsque festivitas II. Kal. Augusti celebratur. Osketelo autem XII. Kal. Novembris defuncto, Godricus successit. Quo viam universæ carnis XIV. Kal. Februarii ingrediente, Brithmerus Abbatiam suscepit.

Godricus, Abbas. Brithmerus, Abbas.

Tunc temporis Pegelandæ[s] Cœnobium erat, cui nobilis vir Wulfgeatus Abbas præerat. Illìc etenim sancta Pega, soror S. Guthlaci, diù Domino militaverat. Quæ, postquam venerandus frater defunctus est, austeriori labore vitam suam pro amore Christi examinare satìs conata est. Unde Romam adiit, sanctorum Apostolorum limina supplex pro se suísque requisivit, ibíque VI. Idus Januarii gloriosè vitam finivit. In Ecclesiâ, quæ ibidem in honore ejus à fidelibus condita est, tumulata quiescit, multísque virtutibus his, qui fidelitèr eam deposcunt, piè succurrens veneranda nitescit.

De Pegelandæ Cœnobio; et de Sanctâ Pegâ, sorore Sancti Guthlaci.

Postquam Brithmerus Crulandiæ Abbas VII. Idus Aprilis obiit, Vulfgeatus, Pegelandæ Pater[t], Edwardum Regem, Egelredi filium, petiit, ut greges duorum Cœnobiorum permitteret adunari, Deíque ad laudem sub uno Abbate et sub unâ lege unum Conventum effici.

Wulfgeatus, Abbas. A.D. 1048.

[s] *Pegelandæ.* That is, *Peykyrke*, a place near Crowland, which took its name from Saint *Pega*, the sister of Saint Guthlac. It seems to have been situated very near Crowland abbey, on the east side of it. For Ingulphus speaks of it in these words: *Hos omnes, cum multi fuerunt, in cellâ Sanctæ Pegæ Virginis, ad orientalem partem monasterii, manere jussit.* See Gale's Ingulphus, page 40, line 15.

[t] *Vulfgeatus, Pegelandiæ pater.* Concerning the appointment of this Vulfgeat, or *Wulgate*, as Ingulphus calls him, to be abbot of Crowland, see Ingulphus, pages 62, 63, and 64, and note *n* above, in page 233.

Quod

Quod ille mox benignitèr conceſſit. Vulfgeatus itaque poſtquam longo tempore Crulandiæ curam geſſit [u], Nonis Julii obiit: et Ulfketelus, Burgenſis Eccleſiæ Monachus, Crulandiæ regimen à Rege Edwardo, jubente Leofrico, Abbate ſuo, ſuſcepit. Hic XXIV. annis Crulandiæ præfuit, Eccleſiámque novam (quia vetus ruinam minabatur) conſtruere cœpit. Ejus ad hoc opus, inſpirante Deo, Wallevus, Comes Nortamtonienſis, filius Siwardi, Ducis Northumbrorum, adjutor fuit; et villam, quæ Bernecha dicitur, ſervientibus Deo et S. Guthlaco dedit. Qui non multò pòſt, malignitate Normannorum, (qui ei nimìs invidebant, eúmque, pro ingenti probitate ejus, metuebant,) injuſtè cum luctu multorum pridiè Kal. Junii Guintoniæ decollatus eſt: et corpus ejus, Judithâ, uxore ejus, rogante, et Guillelmo Rege permittente, ab Ulfketelo Abbate Crulandiam delatum eſt.

Ulfketules, Abbas. A. D. 1052.

Poſt non multum temporis præfatus Abbas, quoniam Angligena erat, et Normannis exoſus, ab æmulis accuſatus eſt, et à Lanfranco Archiepiſcopo depoſitus et Gleſtoniæ clauſtro deputatus eſt. Deinde Ingulfus, Fontinellenſis Monachus, Abbatiam Crulandiæ Dono Guillelmi Regis recepit, et XXIV. annis per plurimas adverſitates rexit. Hic natione Anglicus erat, ſcriba Regis fuerat, poſtmodùm Hieruſalem perrexerat. Unde reverſus Fontinellam expetiit; et à viro eruditiſſimo Gerberto, ejuſdem Cœnobii Abbate, Monachilem habitum ſuſcepit, ſub quo jam in Ordine inſtructus Prioratum adminiſtravit. Hunc ab Abbate ſuo Rex, quia priùs eum noverat, requiſivit; et Crulandenſibus præpoſuit. Qui poſtquam Crulandiæ regimen habuit, prædeceſſori ſuo precibus benivolis apud Guillelmum Regem

Ingulfus, Abbas. A. D. 1076.

[u] *Poſtquam longo tempore Crulandiæ curam geſſit.* The word *non* ſeems to be here omitted before the word *longo*. For this *Wulgate* was abbot of Crowland only four years, both according to the expreſs teſtimony of Ingulphus, and by neceſſary inference from what our author tells us. For he ſays that *Ulfketulus*, the ſucceſſor of *Wulgate*, was abbot for twenty-four years together, and there are but twenty-eight years from the appointment of Wulgate in the year 1048 to the appointment of Ingulphus in the year 1076; which leaves only four years for the time of Wulgate's government. And four years can hardly be called *a long time*.

ſubvenir

ſubvenire ſategit. Ulfketelus itaque permiſſu Regis Burgum, ad ſuam, ſcilicet, Eccleſiam, rediit: ibíque poſt aliquot annos VII. Idus Junii obiit.

Porrò Abbas Ingulfus, prout potuit, ſuſcepto Monaſterio ſubvenire ſtuduit; ſed adverſa nutu Dei quamplurima pertulit. Nam pars Eccleſiæ cum officinis et veſtibus et libris, multiſque aliis rebus neceſſariis repentino igne combuſta eſt. Ipſe quoque gravi morbo podagræ detentus, diù ante mortem ſuam languit: ſed vivaci animo ſubditis prodeſſe non deſiit. Hic corpus Guallevi Comitis de Capitulo juſſit in Eccleſiam transferri, et aquam, unde oſſa lavarentur, Calefieri. Sed poſtquam Sarcofagi opertorium revolutum eſt, corpus XVI. dormitionis ſuæ anno integrum ſicut in die quo ſepultum fuerat, et caput corpori conjunctum repertum eſt. Filum tantummodò, quaſi pro ſigno decollationis, rubicundum viderunt Monachi et laïci quamplures qui affuerunt. Tranſlato autem in Eccleſiam corpore et honorabilitèr ſepulto propè altare, miracula ibidem facta ſunt ſæpiſſimè. Hoc veracitèr ægri experiuntur, qui cum fide petentes optatæ ſanitatis gaudium crebrò adipiſcuntur.

Goisfredus, Abbas, A. D. 1109.

Tandem, Ingulfo Abbate XVI. Kal. Decembris defuncto, Goisfredus ſucceſſit, et in multis Eccleſiæ Crulandenſi et habitatoribus ejus ſtudio bonitatis et honeſtatis profuit. Hic genere fuit Francigena ex urbe Aurelianenſi, ſcholas liberalium artium ſecutus ab ævo puerili, affatìm imbutus *pueritiâ** litterali, mundum peroſus, deſiderióque flagrans cæleſti Monachile ſtemma in Cœnobio S. Ebrulfi Abbatis ſuſcepit, quod idem ſanctus tempore Childeberti, Regis Francorum, apud Uticum conſtruxit. Ibi nimirùm, quia locus idem magìs religione quàm divitiis ſecularibus abundat, Goisfredus tyro ſub Mainerio Abbate, qui magni fervoris pollebat, Monachile jugum ſuſcepit: et per diverſa officia probatus poſt annos XV. converſionis ſuæ ad Prioratûs miniſterium promoveri promeruit. De-

* Forte *peritiâ.*

nique

potitus eſt. Ipſe quidem contrà omnes (quia animoſus erat) viri-litèr reſtitit: ſed proſperis eventibus ad votum, ut anteà, non tripu-diavit, nec crebris victoriarum titulis exultavit. In tredecìm annis, quibus poſtmodùm vixit, armatorum aciem de campo non fugavit, nec oppidum obſidens bellicâ virtute cepit. Omnipotens arbiter omnia juſtè diſponit, nullúmque facinus impunitum relinquit; quia hîc aut in futuro ſæculo omnia punit.

Guelielmus rex invadit Britanniam, ſive Armoricam in Galliâ.

Guillelmus Rex cupiens fines ſuos dilatare, ſibíque Britones, ut ſibi obſecundarent (ſicut olim Rolloni et Willermo, aliíſque Ducibus Normannicis ſervierant) volens ſubjugare, cum ingenti exercitu Do-lenſe oppidum obſedit, multíſque terroribus et minis caſtrenſes ter-ruit: nec ſe indè diſceſſurum, niſi munitionem obtineret, cum juramento aſſeruit. Denique nutu Dei regentis omnia res alitèr evenit. Nam ſæpedictus Rex dum in tentoriis ſuis ſuperbè mora-retur, et in divitiis ſuis, ut potens, gloriaretur; Alannum Ferganum, Comitem Britanniæ, cum multis armatorum agminibus, ſuppetias obſeſſis properare audivit, territúſque cum caſtrenſibus (qui de auxilio ſibi adveniente nihil adhuc noverant,) pacem iniit, et con-feſtìm non ſine magno rerum damno receſſit. Tentoria et manticas, cum vaſis et armis et multimodâ ſupellectili, celeritèr abeuntes reli-querunt: quarum rerum diſpendium ad xv. millia librarum ſteri-lenſium perdentes cum multis gemitibus æſtimaverunt[y]. Deinde prudens

Sed, adveniente contrà eum magno Britonum exercitu, exinde recedit.

[y] *Territúſque cum caſtrenſibus (qui de auxilio ſibi adveniente nihil adhuc noverant,) pacem iniit, et confeſtìm non ſine magno rerum damno receſſit. Tentoria et manticas, cum vaſis et armis et multimodâ ſuppellectili, celeritèr abeuntes reliquerunt: quarum rerum diſ-pendium ad quindecìm millia librarum ſterilenſium perdentes cum multis gemitibus æſtima-verunt.* This account of king William's invaſion of the earldom of Britany in France, and his laying ſiege to the city of Dol, and retreating from it ſo ſuddenly upon the firſt approach of Alan Fergeant, the earl of Britany, with an army to oppoſe him, is, in every view, a very ſurpriſing ſtory. It ſeems ſtrange, in the firſt place, that, juſt after he had ſuppreſſed the dangerous inſurrection of *Roger*, earl of *Hereford*, and *Ralph Guader*, earl of *Norwich*, in England, he ſhould think of undertaking the new conqueſt of Britany; and, in the ſecond place, that, having undertaken it, and laid ſiege to the town of Dol with a very large and well-furniſhed army, *cum ingenti exercitu*, he ſhould ſo ſuddenly abandon his deſign upon the approach of earl *Alan*'s army, and retreat in ſo much haſte and confuſion as to leave all

prudens Rex, ut ſe vincere virtute Britones non poſſe proſpexit, aliud conſilium ſibi poſteriſque ſuis commodum ſolertèr præcogitavit. Cum Alanno Fergano fœdus amicitiæ firmavit, eique Conſtantiam filiam ſuam in conjugium Cadomi honorificè copulavit. Quæ cum viro ſuo ferè xv. annis venerabilitèr vixit, et toto affectu ſubjectis et et coëſſentibus prodeſſe ſtuduit. Semper enim nectari pacis inhiavit, pauperes amavit, omnéſque Dei cultores venerantèr honoravit, quos nimirùm, ſine liberis moriens, contriſtavit. Amatores æquitatis in Britanniâ multùm exultarent, ſi de fortunatâ progenie laudabiles ſibi hæredes imperarent; qui geminâ bonitate indomitis Britonibus juſtitiæ libram inſinuarent, eóſque ſecundùm normam divinæ legis et humanæ rationis ire cogerent. Fergannus Comes, poſt obitum Conſtantiæ, filiam Comitis Andegavorum uxorem duxit, ex quâ filium nomine Conanum genuit: cui nuper Henricus Rex Anglorum filiam ſuam in matrimonio pro connexione pacis conjunxit.

Et mox cum Alano Fergano, comite Britanniæ, pacem renovat, eique dat in uxorem filiam ſuam Conſtantiam.

Circà hæc tempora reverendus Ainardus, Divenſium primus Abbas, in lectum decidit, et, completis in eo quæ ſervum Dei competunt, XIX. Kal. Februarii obiit. Hic fuit natione Teutonicus geminâque ſcientiâ plenitèr imbutus: verſificandi et modulandi cantúſque ſuaves edendi peritiſſimus. Hoc evidentèr probari poteſt in Hiſtoriis Kiliani Guirciburgenſis Epiſcopi, et Katherinæ Virginis, aliíſque plurimis Cantibus quos elegantèr idem edidit in laudem Creatoris. In juventute verò ſtudio religionis flagrans venerabilem Iſembertum, Abbatem, expetiit, ejúſque diſciplinis ſe gratantèr pro

Mors Ainardi, monaſterii Divenſis primi Abbatis. A. D. 1077.

all his tents and baggage behind him. This is quite unlike his conduct on moſt other occaſions, and requires to be explained. One would be almoſt tempted to ſuſpect that he had diſcovered ſome treachery amongſt the great Norman barons that attended him in this expedition, (many of whom began about this time to take part with his ſon Robert againſt him,) and that this diſcovery made him afraid to truſt to their fidelity, if he ſhould come to an engagement with the Britaners; at leaſt I know no better way of accounting for it. But the value of his tents and the baggage he left in them, is aſtoniſhing. For fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling in that age were fifteen thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, which is more than forty-five thouſand pounds, ſterling, in the preſent age; which, (if we ſuppoſe the value of ſilver, relatively to the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life to be purchaſed by it, to be twenty times as great at that time as at the preſent day,) is equivalent to more than nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling at this day.

 amore

amore Dei ſubmiſit; et in Cœnobio S. Trinitatis, quod Goſcelinus de Archis in monte Rotomagi ad Orientalem plagam conſtruxerat, Monachatum ſuſcepit. Indè nutu divino ab Eccleſiæ Rectoribus anno Dominicæ Incar. MXLVI. pertractus eſt, ac ſuper candelabrum, ut luceret omnibus qui in domo ſunt, poſitus eſt. Ordinatus autem Divenſis Abbatiæ (quam Lezſcelina Comitiſſa, Guillelmi, Aucenſis Comitis, uxor, conſtruxerat) curam ſuſcepit, anniſque XXXI. benè vivens et docens utilitèr tenuit: et ſenex plenúſque dierum curſum præſentis vitæ complevit. Venerabilis Durandus, Troarnenſis Abbas, corpus ejus in baſilicâ S. Mariæ ſepelivit, et memorabile carmen, quod ſupèr laminam mauſolei ejus ſculperetur, edidit; in quo mores et virtutes præſati Archimandritæ, et cariſmata quæ divinitùs inſerta illi fuerant, luculentèr ſic patefecit.

Ejus Epitaphium.

Hic jacet Ainardus redolens ut piſtica nardus
Virtutum multis floribus et meritis.
A quo fundatus locus eſt hic, ædificatus
Ingenti ſtudio, nec modico precio.
Vir fuit hic magnus, probitate ſuavis ut agnus [1],
Vitâ conſpicuus, dogmate præcipuus,
Sobrius et caſtus, prudens, ſimplex et honeſtus,
Pollens conſilio, clarus in officio.
Mentis huic gravitas erat, et maturior ætas,
Canáque cæſaries, ſed tenuis facies.
Quem nonas decimas Februo promente Kalendas,
Abſtulit ultima ſors, et rapuit cita mors.
Pro quo qui tranſis ſupplex orare memor ſis,
Ut ſit ei ſaties alma Dei facies.

Huic ſuccedit, in officio Abbatis Eccleſiæ Divenſis, Fulco, Prior Uticenſis monaſterii.

Divenſis Eccleſia Rectore proprio viduata Fulconi Uticenſium Priori ad regendum data eſt: et ipſe à Roberto Salarienſi Epiſcopo

[1] *Probitate ſuavis ut agnus.* As the word *probitas* in this author, and thoſe of his age, uſually ſignifies *valour*, there ſeems reaſon to ſuppoſe that the word *probitate* in this paſſage is written by a miſtake of the tranſcriber for ſome other word, as, for inſtance, *pietate*.

Abbas

Abbas consecratus est. Præfata Domus ab ipso tempore Guillelmi Regis, et Rodberti secundi, Ducis, pluribus annis gubernata est, et magnificè secundùm opportunitatem temporis provecta est. Quatuor prædictus heros secum duxit Uticenses Monachos, Bernardum cognomento Mathæum, cognatum suum, et Ricardum, Guillelmum de Monsterolo, et Turchetillum: promptos et utiles librarios[a], et in divino cultu peritissimos. Hic nimirùm pacifici adjutores ei fuerunt, et primi ad jugum Domini ferendum nocte diéque humeros suos avidè supposuerunt, aliísque alacritèr, *Venite nobiscum in Bethel,* verbo et indeficienti exemplo coëssentibus suis dixerunt.

Dissensiones inter Gulielmum Regem et Rodbertum filium ejus primogenitum.

Turbulentis tempestatibus, quas à Cœnomanensibus et Normannis permotas esse diximus, fomes (ut ferunt) et causa fuit Rodbertus Regis filius. Nam Guillelmus Princeps ante Senlaicium bellum, et post in quâdam suâ ægritudine, Robertum, primogenitam sobolem suam, fecerat suum hæredem; et jussit omnes Optimates ei facere homagium et fidelitatem. At illi gratantèr imperanti acquieverunt[b]. Adolescens autem, post mortem Margaritæ sponsæ suæ, ambitione

[a] *Promptos et utiles librarios.* That is, *persons skilled in writing, or that could transcribe books readily and correctly and in a fair and legible character.*

[b] *Nam Guillelmus princeps ante Senlaicium bellum, et post in quâdam suâ ægritudine, Robertum, primogenitam sobolem suam, fecerat suum hæredem; et jussit omnes optimates ei facere homagium et fidelitatem. At illi gratantèr imperanti acquieverunt.* As the laws of hereditary succession to earldoms and other sovereignties were in a very unsettled state in the age of William the Conquerour; and even for more than a century after his death, it was common for sovereigns to endeavour to procure from their subjects a previous assurance, or promise, of the succession to their dominions, in their own life-time, in favour of their eldest son, or nephew, or other relation by whom they wished to be succeeded; just as at this day the emperour of Germany endeavours to procure his nearest male relation to be chosen king of the Romans by the diet of Germany, that he may succeed to the dignity of emperour upon the next vacancy. This was done by *Hugh Capet*, the first king of France of the third, or present, race, with respect to his son *Robert*, and it secured his succession to the crown of France; and it was done in like manner by the said king Robert for his eldest son Henry, who was afterwards king of France by the title of *Henry the First*; and it was done by the said king Henry for his son Philip, who was afterwards king *Philip the First*, and by three or four more of the kings of France in favour of their eldest sons and intended successors. And in like manner

bitione juvenili noxióque ſodalium inſtinctu debitos honores requiſivit à patre, Principatum, videlicet, Cœnomannorum et Neuſtriæ. Porrò providus pater hinc indè multa circumſpiciens, poſtulata denegavit; filióque ſuo ad nanciſcendum quæ petierat tempus opportunum benè præſtolari perſuaſit. Ille verò " quòd à patre nil conſequi poterat," ægrè tulit; et arrogantèr contrà eum plerúmque litigavit. Erat enim loquax et prodigus, audax et in armis probiſſimus[c], fortis certúſque ſagittarius, voce clarâ et liberâ, linguâ diſertâ, facie obeſâ, corpore pingui, brevíque ſtaturâ, unde vulgò *Gambarom* cognominatus eſt, et *Brevis-ocrea*[d].

Deſcriptio Roberti.

manner king Henry the Firſt of England, after the death of his only ſon William, endeavoured to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown of England to his daughter Matilda by prevailing upon the earls and barons of England to do homage to her as to their future ſovereign, or to promiſe to receive her for their queen, in his own life-time. And yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, (which ſeemed to render her claim to the crown quite certain,) ſhe did not ſucceed to it, but was ſupplanted by her couſin Stephen, earl of Blois. And Henry the Second took the ſame precaution to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the crown to his eldeſt ſon Henry, whom he abſolutely cauſed to be crowned king of England in his own life-time. But the young man died before him. And king William the Conquerour, when duke, or earl, of Normandy, a little before his invaſion of England, and likewiſe at another time when he was dangerouſly ſick, had taken the ſame precaution with reſpect to his Norman and other French dominions, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to them to his eldeſt ſon Robert. And it was by virtue of a ſimilar meaſure taken by his father, duke Robert, that William the Conquerour himſelf had ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of Normandy, and yet had found great difficulty in retaining it. On theſe occaſions the conſent of the people, that is, of the heads of the people, the *optimates*, or the earls and barons and other perſons who held lands immediately of the ſovereign, was to be obtained; and in that conſent the virtue and validity of the whole meaſure conſiſted. This conſent is expreſſed in the preſent paſſage by the words *at illi gratantèr acquieverunt.*

[c] *Audax et in armis probiſſimus.* Here we ſee an inſtance of the word *probiſſimus* uſed to expreſs *valour and ſtrength and capacity for fighting*, and not *juſtice or moral virtue*, which was the meaning of it amongſt the Romans in the times of Cicero and the other claſſical writers.

[d] *Unde vulgò* Gambarom *cognominatus eſt, et* Brevis-ocrea. The word *Gambarom* is compounded of the two French words *jambe* and *ronde*, and means *round-legs*, or *thick-legs*; and the expreſſion *Brevis-ocrea* is a tranſlation of the French word *Court-hoſe*, which means *ſhort boots*, and is the ſurname, or nick-name, by which all the hiſtorians tell us this Robert of Normandy was diſtinguiſhed.

Quondam

Quondam dum Rex contrà Corbonienses[e] expeditionem facere præpararet, et in oppido Richerii quod, (pro nido Aquilæ ibidem in quercu reperto dum castrum à Fulberto fieret[f],) *Aquila* dicitur, in domo Gunherii hospitaretur, lis inter filios Regis oritur dæmonica, unde postmodùm multæ pullulaverunt lites et facinora. Nam duo fratres, Guillelmus Rufus, et Henricus, patri favebant: viréſque suas fraternis viribus æquas arbitrantes indignum ducebant, quòd frater eorum solus habere patrium jus ambiebat[g], et agmine clientum sibi obsequente par patri æstimari peroptabat. Unde in Aquilensi castro ad hospitium Rodberti, quod in domo Rogerii Calcegii susce-

Lis magna inter Rodbertum et fratres ejus Gulielmum Rufum et Henricum apud *Aquilam* in Normanniâ.

[e] *Corbonienses.* That is, (as I imagine,) the inhabitants of a town called *Corbon*, which is set down in Bleau's Atlas as a small village in the county of *Perche*, which lies to the south of Normandy. This village is there represented as being situated on the river *Huigne* in latitude 48°, 40′, about ten miles from the town of *Mortaigne*, and nearly south of it, and 12 or 13 miles to the north of *Nogent le Rotrou*.

[f] *In oppido Richerii quod, (pro nido Aquilæ ibidem in quercu reperto dum castrum à Fulberto fieret,)* Aquila *dicitur.* That is, in the town called *L'aigle*, situated in the southern part of Normandy near the head, or source, of the river *Rille*, about 10, or 11, miles, to the north of the town of *Mortaigne*.

[g] *Nam duo fratres, Guillelmus Rufus, et Henricus, patri favebant: viréſque suas fraternis viribus æquas arbitrantes indignum ducebant, quòd frater eorum solus habere patrium jus ambiebat, &c.* This account of a quarrel between Robert of Normandy and his two younger brothers William Rufus and Henry does not seem very probable, more especially with respect to Henry the youngest brother, by reason of his youth at this time. For Henry was at this time, to wit, in the year 1077, only nine years of age, having been born in England in the year 1068, as our author has told us above in page 212. William Rufus indeed was probably 17 or 18 years old, because William of Malmsbury tells us that at the time of his death, which happened in the year 1100, he was more than 40 years old. *Obiit anno dominicæ incarnationis* 1100[mo], *regni* 13[tio], *Nonas Augusti* 4[to], *major quadragenario.* See the *Scriptores post Bedam*, page 126, line 42. Now it can hardly be supposed that Prince Henry, at the age only of 9 years, should set himself up for a sort of rival, or equal, to his eldest brother Robert of Normandy, who was 24 years of age, and had been already appointed by his father and the earls and barons both of *Normandy* and the county of *Maine*, heir to his father in the government of those two countries. Nor is it likely that so great an intimacy as is here described should subsist at this time between him and his brother *William Rufus*, who was eight or nine years older than prince Henry, and therefore can hardly be supposed to have been his companion and playfellow in the manner here related. It seems likely therefore that the story of this quarrel is misplaced in point of time, and happened seven or eight years after, or about the year 1084, or 1085. Yet our author relates it with great positiveness, as having happened in this year 1077. *Ideò quære.* See below, page 354, note [a].

perat,

perat, venerunt: ibíque ſuper ſolarium[h] (ſicut militibus moris eſt) teſſeris ludere cœperunt. Deinde ingentem ſtrepitum fecêre, et aquam ſuper Rodbertum et aſſeclas ejus, qui ſubtùs erant, fudêre. Tunc Ivo et Albericus de Grentemaiſnilio dixerunt Roberto: "Ut quid tantam "pateris injuriam? Ecce fratres tui ſuper caput tuum aſcenderunt, "et immundiciis in contemptu tuo nos tecum polluunt. Nónne "vides quid hoc ſignificat? Lippis etiàm liquidò patet. Niſi feſti-"nantèr infectum tibi dedecus[i] punieris, dejectus es: nec ultrà "reſurgere vales." His ſiquidem auditis furibundus ſurrexit, et in cœnaculum contrà fratres ſuos irrepere acceleravit. Mox orto clamore, de hoſpitio ſuo Rex accurrit, et regali auctoritate filiorum jurgia ſuorum ad tempus compeſcuit. Sequenti verò nocte Rodbertus cum pediſſequis ſuis equitatum Regis deſeruit, Rothomagum expetiit, et arcem regiam furtìm præoccupare ſategit, Verùm Rogerius de Iberico, pincerna Regis, qui turrim cuſtodiebat, ut conatus inſidiantium præcognovit, contrà fraudes malignantium diligentèr arcem præmunivit, miſsíſque legatis ordinem rei, Domino ſuo, Regi celeritèr intimavit. At ille, nimìs iratus, factioſos omnes comprehendi juſſit. Illi verò edictum hujuſmodi audientes, admodùm territi ſunt; et, quibuſdam captis, alii extorres fugerunt, et extera petentes ſalvati ſunt.

Rodbertus, cum multis militibus ſibi faventibus, patrem Gulielmum deſerit, et arcem urbis Rotomagi in Normanniâ occupare conatur; ſed fruſtrà.

Tunc Hugo de Novocaſtello, nepos et heres Alberti Ribaldi, primus prædictos exules ſuſcepit, eíſque Novumcaſtellum, Raimalaſt, atque Sorellum[k], aliáque municipia ſua pro depopulandâ Neuſtriâ patefedit.

Milites Normanni qui cauſam Rodberti contrà Gulielmum, regem, tutantur, amicè recipiuntur in municipia Hugonis de Novo-caſtello.

[h] *Ibique ſuper ſolarium.* That is, as I underſtand it, upon a *gallery* or *balcony*, on the outſide of the houſe, and expoſed to the ſun.

[i] *Infectum tibi dedecus.* The word *infectum* ſeems to be put here by a miſtake of the tranſcriber, or printer, for *injectum*, or *inflictum*, or ſome ſuch word. For *infectum* in this place has hardly any meaning.

[k] *Novum Caſtellum, Raimalaſt, atque Sorellum.* The author tells us in the next page that *Raimalaſt* was held of *Rotro*, or *Rotrou*, earl of *Mortaigne*, *Comite Mauritanienſi*. It ſeems probable therefore that theſe three places, *Novum Caſtellum*, *Raimalaſt*, and *Sorell*, were in the earldom, or diſtrict, of *Mortaigne* in the county of Perche, a little ſouth of *Aquila*, or *L'aigle*, in Normandy. In Bleau's Atlas, in the map of the county of Perche, there is a little place called *Remalard* on the eaſt ſide of the river *Huigne*, about half way between *Nogent le Rotrou* and *Mortaigne*, which probably

patefecit. Erat enim gener Rogerii Comitis, habens in matrimonio Mabiliam, fororem Roberti Belefmenfis, qui Regis filium fecutus fuerat cum Radulpho de Conchis, aliifque plurimis. Pravo quippe aufu defertores deteftabile nefas exorfi funt, et oppida divitéfque fundos pro inani fpe et promiffis floccipendendis reliquerunt. Rex autèm terras eorum manu propriâ fibi fubegit, et de redditibus eorum ftipendiarios dimicantes contrà eofdem remuneravit.

Bellum civile oritur in Normanniâ, inter regem Gulielmum et filium ejus Rodbertum.

His motionibus incolæ et vicini terribilitèr agitati funt, et arma pafsìm contrà Regem vel pro Rege levaverunt. Galli et Britones, Cœnomanni et Andegavenfes, aliique populi fluctuabant, et quem meritò fequi deberent ignorabant. Bellis itaque pafsìm infurgentibus cordatus Rex exercitum aggregavit, et in hoftes pergens cum Rotrone, Mauritanienfi Comite, pacem fecit. Hic nimirùm, dum terras Carnotenfis Ecclefiæ, quæ perpetuæ Virgini Mariæ dedicata eft, plerúmque prædaretur, et ab Epifcopo cum Clero frequentèr ob hoc redargueretur, et incorrigibilis perfeverans excommunicaretur, animadverfione divinâ obfurduit, et fic ad mortem ufque furdus permanfit. Rex Guillelmus hunc precio conduxit, fecúmque ad obfidionem, quia Raimalaft de feudo ejus erat, minavit[1]. Quatuor caftra in giro firmavit, ibíque milites ad arcendos caftrenfes aptos

Rex obfidet caftellum de Raimalaft.

probably is the fame as the place here called *Raimalaft:* and there is a place called *Saurus* in the fame county of Perche, fituated on the eaft fide of the river *Orne*, a little to the eaft of the town of *Mamers* and near the head, or fource, of the river *Huigne*; which, perhaps, may be the fame with the place here called *Sorell*. But I do not find any place, in this map of the county of Perche, called *Chateau neuf*, or *Neuf chateau*, or *Neu chatel*, or that in any manner feems to anfwer to the place called *Novum Caftellum* in the text. I have, however, in another map of this country feen a place fet down by the name of *Chateauneuf*, which probably is the place here fpoken of. It lies almoft due eaft of *Mortaigne*, and fouth-weft of *Verneuil*, and north-weft of *Senonches*.

[1] *Minavit*. That is, *duxit*, or he carried *Rotrou*, earl of *Mortaigne*, with him to the fiege of the caftle of *Raimalaft*, which was held of that earl. The word *minavit* is the French word *mena* Latinized. This Rotrou, earl of *Mortaigne*, has been mentioned by our author more than once before; particularly in page 256, where our author tells us that king William gave *Godfrey*, the fon of this *Rotrou*, large tracts of land in England in reward for his fervices in affifting him to conquer that kingdom. See alfo page 179.

Mors Aimerici de Vilereio.

locavit. Intereà, dum quadam die Aimericus de Vilereio[m] dapiferum Regis Francorum qui ad eum diverterat, deduxisset, et cum tribus militibus ad castrum suum, ubi hostes Regis tutabantur, remearet, forte de regiâ phalange quatuor equites exierunt, eíque obviantes aditum jam proximæ munitionis suæ obturaverunt, ipsúmque percutientes illicò peremerunt. Deinde cadaver infausti prædonis, velut occisum suem, super equum sustulerunt, et delatum ante mappalia Rogerii Comitis, contrà quem diù hostilitèr sævierat, projecerunt. Gulferius autem, filius ejus, tam diro patris infortunio territus pacem cum Rege pepigit: eíque postmodùm et hæredibus ejus per annos fermè quinquagintà fidelis extitit.

Gulferius, filius ejus, cum rege pacem init.

Multa terrigenis imminent infortunia, quæ, si diligentèr scriberentur omnia, ingentia replerent volumina. Nunc hiemali frigore rigens aliis occupationibus vacabo, præsentémque Libellum hîc terminare fatigatus decerno. Redeunte verò placidi veris sereno, ea quæ minùs plenè disserui, sive quæ restant, in sequentibus replicabo, Deóque juvante, casus guerræ pacísque nostratuum veraci stilo copiosè dilucidabo.

[m] *Intereà, dum quadam die Aimericus de Vilereio*, &c. I take the meaning of this passage to be as follows. *Aimericus de Vilereio*, or *de Villeroi*, was governour of the castle of *Raimalast*, which king William was besieging. During the siege he had received a visit from a French nobleman of great rank, who was *Dapifer*, or steward of the houshold, to Philip the 1st, king of France. When this nobleman left the castle to return home, Aimericus accompanied, or escorted, him part of the way, attended by three horsemen of his garrison: and in returning to his castle of *Raimalast* with these three men, he was attacked and slain by four horsemen of king William's army who were employed in the siege, or blockade, of the castle. After which misfortune of Aimericus, his son *Gulferius* made peace with King William, and continued faithful to him and his sons for near the space of near fifty years, or to the year 1027. We may here observe that this part of our author's history was written about 50 years after the year 1077, the transactions of which it relates. And this may have been the cause of his falling into some mistakes with respect to the dates of the events related by him; which could not have happened if the history had been written at the very time of the events related in it, or in a very short time after. I conjecture the placing the foregoing account of the quarrel between Robert of Normandy, king William's eldest son, and his two younger brothers William Rufus and Henry, in this year 1077, (when prince Henry was only 9 years old,) instead of some later time, to have been one of these mistakes.

Finis Libri Quarti Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Orderici Vitalis, Monachi.

ANNALIS

HISTORIA BREVIS

IN

MONASTERIO

SANCTI STEPHANI CADOMENSIS *CONSCRIPTA*,

ET NUNC* PRIMUM EX ANTIQUO CODICE DESCRIPTA.

* id est, in anno Domini 1619.

ANNO DCXXXIII. Sanctus AUDOENUS ordinatur Episcopus.

Anno DCCXXII. sanctus HUGO Archiepiscopus præfuit Ecclesiæ Parisiacensi & Baiocensi.

Anno DCCXXX. Obiit sanctus Hugo.

Anno DCCXXXVIII. Defuncto Kardo, Karlomannus & Pipinus Majoratum Domûs adipscuntur.

Anno DCCXLVI. Karlomannus Romam perrexit, & Monachus effectus est in monte Sarepti, ubi Ecclesiam in honore S. Silvestri construxit & indè ad Montem Cassinum Monasterium sancti Benedicti transiit.

Anno DCCLII. Pipinus Rex efficitur.

Anno DCCLV. Benedicitur Pipinus Rex à S. Stephano Papâ Parisiis, & filij eius Karolus & Karlomannus, & filia Sigila.

Anno DCCLXI. Constantinus Imperator Pipino donaria mittit.

Anno DCCLXVIII. Pipinus Rex obiit. Initium regni Karoli Regis.

Anno DCCLXX. Karlomannus obiit, frater Karoli.

Anno DCCLXXIV. Karolus Romam vadit, indè reversus Papiam cepit cum Rege Desiderio. Captis civitatibus universis Italiæ, apud Cæsaraugustam exercitum conjunxit, & acceptis obsidibus, subjugatis Sarracenis, per Narbonam, & Wasconiam, Franciam rediit.

Anno DCCLXXIX. Karolus Pampilonam urbem destruxit. Karolus Saxoniam venit.

Anno DCCLXXX. Karolus Romam vadit.

Anno DCCLXXXI. Witicingis cum sociis in Atiniaco baptizati.

Anno DCCLXXXV. Karolus perrexit Romam, deinde ad Capuam & ſanctum Benedictum.

Anno DCCXC. Taſſilo Dux venit in Franciam, & Bavaria capta eſt.

Anno DCCC. Karolus Rex factus eſt Imperator, & à Romanis Auguſtus appellatus.

Anno DCCCIV. Leo Papa in Franciam venit, & in Cariſiaco villâ cum Karolo Imperatore Nativitatem Chriſti celebravit.

Anno DCCCVIII. Tranſitus S. Liudgeri Epiſcopi & Confeſſoris, Capellani ipſius Karoli.

Anno DCCCX. Karolus cum Nicephoro Imperatore Conſtantinopolitano pacem facit.

Anno DCCCXIV. Karolus Imperator obit. Initium regni Ludovici filii ejus. Karolus Ludovico Aquiſgrani Palatio coronam Imperii impoſuit.

Anno DCCCXXIV. Ludovicus in Paſchâ à Paſchali Papâ Romæ coronatur, & Imperator eſt appellatus.

Anno DCCCXXXI. Reliquerunt Ludovicum, & elegerunt Lotharium. Redditum eſt Ludovico regnum.

Anno DCCCXXXVI. Herio inſulâ tranſlatio ſancti Filiberti, quando Normanni vaſtaverunt Britanniam, & alias terras.

Anno DCCCXL. Ludovicus Imperator obit. Drogo frater ejus detulit eum ad ſepeliendum Mediomatricum.

Anno DCCCXLI. Bellum inter fratres, Ludovicum, Lotharium, & Karolum, filios Ludovici; in quo populus Chriſtianus utrinque mutuâ ſe cæde proſtravit.

Anno DCCCXLII. Tranſlatio ſancti Audoëni, quando Normanni vaſtaverunt Rothomagum, & ſuccenderunt Monaſterium ejus.

Anno DCCCLI. Venerunt Normanni in Sequanam. Et iterum venerunt alij Normanni.

Anno DCCLV. Obiit Lotharius Imperator filius Ludovici.

Anno DCCCLXV. Venerunt Normanni medio Iulio.

Anno DCCCLXVIII. Fames & mortalitas hominum, & peſtis animalium.

Anno DCCCLXXIII Karlomannus Abbas à patre ſuo Karolo Calvo excæcatur.

Anno

Anno DCCCLXXV. Obiit Ludovicus Rex. Item Karolus Italiam ingreditur, & eandem terram Karlomannus per aliam viam. Inde Carolus territus fugit, & eo itinere mortuus eſt.

Anno DCCCLXXIX. Ludovicus Rex Saxonum adhuc Karlomanno vivente Bavariam ingreditur. Initium belli Francorum contrà Paganos, Luvovico, filio Ludovici, primùm exeunte ad pugnam. Deóque donante potiti ſunt victoriam, & pars maxima eorum cecidit.

Anno DCCCLXXXIII. Sedes Normannorum in Diuſburg.

Anno DCCCLXXXV. Karolus Imperator obit. Arnulfus Rex efficitur Imperator.

Anno DCCCXCII. Capta eſt civitas Ebroacenſis. Sed Epiſcopus Sebar Deo adjuvante evaſit.

Anno DCCCXCIV. Initium regni Karoli pueri. Hujus miles Hagano.

Anno DCCCXCVI. Arnulfus Imperator obit.

Anno DCCCXCVII. Ludovicus in Regem elevatur. Hungari Italiam ingreſſi multa fecerunt. Zeudebaldus Rex filium Arnulfi interfecit.

Anno DCCCXCVIII. Rollo Carnotis civitatem obſedit. Sed religioſus Epiſcopus Waltelmus Ricardum Burgundiæ Ducem, & Ebalum Comitem Pictavienſem in auxilio advocans, tunicam beatæ Mariæ in manibus ferens, Rollonem fugavit, civitatem liberavit, ſex millia Nortmannorum interemit.

Anno DCCCCIII. Bellum inter Conradum & Adalbertum Francos, in quo Conradus cecidit.

Anno DCCCCXI. Ludovicus, filius Arnulfi, obit.

Anno DCCCCXIII. Baptizavit Franco Archiepiſcopus Rollonem. Facta eſt pax inter Karolum & Rollonem. Dedítque ei Karolus filiam ſuam Giſlam, de quâ nullum filium habuit. Poſt accepit Popam, filiam Comitis Sylvanectenſis, de quâ genuit Willelmum.

Anno DCCCCXV. Relatus eſt ſanctus Audoënus de Franciâ in N-manniam.

Anno DCCCCXVII. Obiit Rollo, ſucceſſit Willelmus.

Anno DCCCCXXVII. Obiit Karolus Rex Francorum. Succeſſit Ludovicus.

Anno DCCCCXXXV. Firmata eſt pax inter Regem Francorum Ludovicum, & Regem Teutonum Henricum. In quo placito fuit Willelmus Dux Normannorum, & Ricardus Dux Burgundionum. Willelmus rediens filium Ludovici Lotharium de fonte levavit.

Anno

Anno DCCCCXXXVIII. Baptizavit Henricus, sanctissimus Præsul Bajocensis Ecclesiæ, primum Ricardum, Willelmi filium.

Anno DCCCCXLII. Occiditur Willelmus filius Rollonis XVI. Kal. Januarii. Succedit Ricardus vetus. Hoc anno eodem fuit Herluinus interfectus.

Anno DCCCL. Otto Rex ingressus Italiam sibi subjugavit.

Anno DCCCCLVI. Liudulfus, Ottonis Regis filius, subjugatâ sibi Italiâ, ibidem obiit.

Anno DCCCCLXI. Otto puer in Regem elevatur in Aquisgrani palatio. Otto ex Rege fit Imperator.

Anno DCCCCLXXII. Otto Imperator obit.

Anno DCCCCLXXXVI. Lotharius Rex Francorum.

Anno * DCCCCLXXXVIII. Lotharius terram Arnulfi, nolentis sibi servire, invadit. Atrebatum & plures munitiones capit. Sed Ricardus eum Regi pacificavit.

Anno DCCCCLXXXIX. Dedicatio Ecclesiæ Fiscanensis.

Anno * DCCCCXCI. Obit Lotharius, in quo progenies Karoli Magni à regno funditùs destituitur. Et Hugo Magnus, filius Hugonis, Rotberti Ducis filii, in Regem elevatur.

Anno DCCCCXCV. Rotbertus Rex Francorum.

Anno DCCCCXCVI. Obit Ricardus primus, succedit Ricardus secundus.

Anno MXVII. Obit Judita Comitissa.

Anno MXXV. Obit Willelmus Monachus, filius Ricardi Comitis.

Anno MXXVI. Obit Ricardus secundus, Dux Normannorum. Succedit Ricardus tertius, qui eodem anno mortuus est. Rodbertus, frater ejus, succedit.

Anno MXXXI. Obit Rodbertus Rex Franciæ, cui succedit Henricus filius ejus. Eodem anno obit Gunnordis Comitissa.

Anno MXXXIII. Obit Mathildis, filia Ricardi Comitis.

Anon MXXXV. Obit Rodbertus Dux Normannorum. Cui succedit Guillelmus, filius ejus, in puerili ætate.

Anno MXXXVII. Obit Robertus Archiepiscopus. Succedit Malgerius, qui, culpâ exigente, depositus est.

Anno MXLVI. Bellum apud Valliumdunas.

Anno MXLIX. Leo Papa Concilium Remis habuit.

Anno MLIV. Bellum apud Maremortuum.

Anno

Anno MLV. Deposito Malgerio, succedit Maurilius Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus.

Anno MLX. Obit Henricus Rex Francorum, cui succedit Phillippus, Filius ejus.

Anno MLXI. Joannes Episcopus Abrincensis, mense Septembri.

Anno MLXIII. Subjugata est Cinnomannis Comiti Normannorum Willielmo.

Anno MLXV. Obit Edwardus Rex Anglorum.

Anno MLXVI. Willielmus Dux Normannorum transit mare, III. Kal. Octob. cum validâ Normannorum manu. Cui occurrit Heroldus cum eo pugnaturus. Commissóque prælio pridiè Idus Octobris, ruit Heroldus, ejúsque exercitus. Posthoc Willielmus elevatur in regem die Natalis Domini, apud Londoniam, Anglorum maximam urbem.

Anno MLXVII. Obit Maurilius, Rothomagensis Archipræsul, Monachus Fiscannensis.

Anno MLXVII. Maurilio succedit Ioannes, filius Rodulfi Comitis fratris Ricardi, qui priùs Abrincensi Ecclesiæ VII. annis & tribus mensibus præfuit. Et posteà rogatu Alexandri Papæ, concedente Guillelmo Principe Normannorum & rege Anglorum, adeptus est cathedram Rothomagensis Ecclesiæ.

Anno MLXXIII. Invaserunt Monachi S. Audoëni Ioannem Rothomagensem Archiepiscop. Missam celebrantem in festivitate ejusdem sancti, cum armatâ manu virorum. Unde judicatum est in Concilio in eâdem civitate congregato, præsidente Rege Anglorum Willelmo, Monachos hujus criminis reos per Abbatias carceribus retrudi ad placitum Archiepiscopi. Inde complures discipuli fuerunt, unus Vurnemarus nomine apud Fiscannum, alter apud S. Wandregisilum nomine Benedictus, alter apud Gemeticum nomine Rodulfus. Hoc anno dedicata est Basilica S. Stephani Cadomi.

Anno MLXXIV. Congregatum est Concilium in Rothomagensi urbe, presidente Willielmo Anglorum Rege, Normannorum Principe, & Ioanne Archiepiscopo cum suis suffraganeis, Odone Bajocensi Episcopo, Hugone Luxouiensi, Michaële Abrincensi, Gilleberto Ebroacensi, Roberto Sagiensi.

Eodem anno obtulit Guillelmus Rex Anglorum die sancto Paschæ in Ecclesiâ Fiscannensi filiam suam, per manum Ioannis Archiepiscopi,

copi consecrandam. Inibi etiam instituit legem sanctam, scilicet nè aliquis homo aliquem hominem assailliret pro morte alicujus sui parentis, nisi patrem aut filium interfecisset.

Anno MLXXIX. Obit Ioannes Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus. Huic succedit Willelmus Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus, qui fuerat Monachus & Abbas S. Stephani Cadomensis.

Anno MLXXXII. In Normanniâ et Franciâ mortalitas hominum fuit.

Anno MLXXXIII. Obit Matildis Anglorum nobilis Regina, ex cujus nobilitate largifluâ multa apud nos habentur beneficia.

Anno MLXXXVII. Obit Guillelmus Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum, cujus amor et justitia tantùm viguit in sanctâ Ecclesiâ, quod eandem . . . . . et Deo serviret in continuâ pace atque concordiâ.

Anno MLXXXIX. Obit Lanfrancus, primus Abbas Cadomi.

Anno MXCI. Magna siccitas gramina terræ perussit, segetes et legumina læsit. Quibus pereuntibus maxima fames successit.

Anno MXCVI. Perrexit Comes Normannorum Robertus in Hierusalem, et multi alii.

Anno MXCIX. Capta est Hierusalem à peregrinis XV. die mensis Julii. Ab hac verò die computatis XX. diebus, inventa est Crux à supradictis peregrinis, videlicet II. Non. Augusti.

Anno MC. Occisus est casu sagittâ in Novaforestâ Willielmus Rex Rufus Anglorum, filius illius Willelmi, qui ipsam terram conquisiuit. Cui successit frater ejus Henricus. In hoc ipso anno, antequam hoc evenisset de Rege, cœpit sanguis de quodam fonte decurrere in ipsâ Angliâ, et multa alia signa evenerunt.

Anno MCI. Obit Gislebertus Abbas et Monachus S. Stephani Cadomi.

Anno MCV. Captus est Robertus Dux Normannorum.

Anno MCVI. Apparuit stella perlongum ex se emittens radium mense Febr. Hoc ipso anno obiit Henricus Imperator Alamanniæ, cui successit filius ejus Henricus. Hoc ipso anno bellum commisit apud Tonneschebray Henricus Rex Anglorum contrà fratrem suum Robertum Ducem Normannorum. Hoc ipso anno obiit Hugo, Lugdunensis Archiepiscopus, Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus.

Anno

Anno MCVII. Obierunt Robertus, Abbas Cadomensis, et Willielmus, Abbas Fiscannensis.

Anno MCVIII. Obit Philippus Rex Francorum, cui succedit Ludovicus, filius ejus. Hoc tempore in vigiliâ Nativitatis Domini fuit ventus vehemens, arbores et multa ædificia prosternens. Eodem anno post Nativitatem Domini, cujusdam viri uxori diabolus sub specie sui mariti apparuit, eique diversas epulas obtulit: quæ, per suggestionem sui Sacerdotis, cui confessionem de peccatis suis fecerat, diabolo iterùm ei apparenti interrogavit, quid ventus prædictus portenderit. "Tot, inquit, homines, quot arbores ceciderunt, hoc anno "judicio Dei morerentur, nisi hæc pestilentia precibus superorum in "arbores converteretur."

Anno MCX. Obit Willelmus, Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus, Abbas et Monachus sancti Stephani Cadomi. Hoc tempore, vicesimo die mensis Augusti, in quadam campi planitie, quæ sita est inter Andeleium et Nogionem, factum est prælium inter Ludovicum, Regem Francorum, et Henricum, Regem Anglorum: ubi Normanni Francos fugaverunt, et Guillelmum Clitonem, posteà Flandriæ Comitem, abire et fugere permiserunt.

Anno MCXX. Henricus Rex, pace factâ, in Normanniam venit.

Anno MCXXII. Apud Hispanias factum est gravissimum prælium inter duos Reges Sarracenorum missos à Rege Alis Africanorum, et Regem Arragonum, nomine Ildefonsum: ubi omnis Christianorum exercitus aut est captus, aut occisus, præter Regem, qui jussu et contestatione Archiepiscopi, et ceterorum, tristis et mœrens, quòd eos usque ad mortem desereret, et vix de prælio penè solus elapsus est. Sed statìm cum Roberto cognomine Bordet, et magno exercitu Francorum, qui properabat in ejus adjutorium, ad prælium reversus est; et universa multitudo paganorum cum regibus eorum Deo juvante occisa est: et captivos qui erant in duabus navibus liberaverunt, ipsasque naves capitibus plenas occisorum, per quosdam paganos, quibus hâc de causâ pepercerunt, ad Regem Alis trans mare in Africam miserunt. Post paucos dies Ildefonsus Rex senio et laboribus fractus ad extremum venit, et post acceptam à Deo victoriam, gaudens finem vitæ accepit. Cui frater ejus, nomine Remigius, de Monasterio, ubi erat Monachus, quia alium hæredem non habebat, extractus, in regno successit. Eodem tempore Navares Garsirium elegerunt, et super

se Regem constituerunt. Prædictus verò Robertus tunc temporis Terraconensem Provinciam regebat, et fortitèr eam à Paganis defendebat.

Anno MCXXVI. Obiit Cecilia, Abbatissa, Willelmi Regis filia.

Anno MCXXVIII. Obit Willelmus, Comes Flandriæ. Eodem tempore magnam multitudinem virorum et mulierem mortalitas, sacer ignis, quædam pestilentia flegmatica, maximè in pago Carnotensi prostravit. Sed beata Dei genitrix apud Carnotum in Ecclesiâ suâ multotiens visibilitèr apparuit, et multos infirmos sanavit.

Anno MCXXXIV. Obit Robertus, Comes Normannorum, scilicet, XXIX. anno ex quo captus fuerat.

Anno MCXXXV. Obit Henricus, Rex Anglorum IV. Non. Decembris, cujus tempore pax fuit in Angliâ. Cui successit Stephanus, Comes Moritonii, sororis suæ filius.

Anno MCXXXVII. Fuit siccitas magna, in tantum ut flumina, fontes, et putei siccarentur.

Anno MCXL. Obit Eudo, Abbas Cadomensis.

Anno MCXLI. IV. Non. Febr. captus est Stephanus Rex Angliæ in bello à Roberto Comite Glocestriæ, et multi alii. Eodem anno obsedit eundem Comitem Episcopus Wintoniensis in ipsâ Wintoniâ, et cepit eum. Quo facto, Regem reddidit, et ipse liber evasit.

Anno MCXLIV. Subjugata est Normannia Gaufrido, Andegavensi Comiti, redditâ ei civitate Rothomagensi.

Anno MCXLVIII. Ludovicus, Rex Franciæ, perrexit in Hierusalem, et multi alii per terram et per mare.

Anno MCL. Henricus, nepos Regis Henrici, suscepit Ducatum Normanniæ. Hoc anno obiit Gaufridus, Comes Andegavensis.

Anno MCLI. Obiit Adamus, Abbas hujus Monasterii.

Anno MCLIV. Obiit Stephanus, Rex Anglorum, cui successit Henricus, nepos Regis Henrici, filius Comitis Andegavensis.

Anno MCLV. Natus est Henricus, filius Regis Henrici.

Anno MCLVI. Obiit Petrus, Abbas hujus Monasterii.

Anno MCLVII. Natus est Ricardus, filius Henrici, Regis Anglorum.

Anno MCLVIII. Natus est Gaufridus, filius Henrici, Regis Anglorum.

Anno

Anno MCLXII. Fames valida fuit, et penuria victûs, in quo plures fame perierunt. Nam unus sextarius ordei vendebatur XIII. solid. cen.

Anno MCLXIII. Obiit Philippus, Episcopus.

Anno MCLXVII. Obiit Mathildis, Imperatrix, filia Regis Henrici, et mater junioris Henrici Regis. Eodem anno subjugavit sibi Rex Henricus totam Britanniam.

Anno MCLXX. Henricus Rex transfretans in Angliam, maximam tempestatem passus est in mari. Eodem anno, interveniente Papâ Alexandro, concordatus est cum Rege Henrico Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, sed eodem anno à quibusdam militibus interfectus est. Hoc ipso anno, concedente Papâ Alexandro, unctus est in Regem ab Archiepiscopo Eboracensi Henricus, filius Regis Henrici.

Anno MCLXXIII. Henricus Rex perrexit Hiberniam, et dominationem terræ sibi conquisivit.

Anno MCLXXIV. Rex Franciæ Ludovicus obsedit urbem Rothomag. cum exercitu valido.

Anno MCLXXIX. Obiit Willelmus II., Abbas Cadomi.

Anno MCLXXXIII. Henricus junior, Rex Angliæ, obiit. Hoc eodem anno obiit Rotro, Archiepiscopus Rothomagi. Cui successit Gualterius de Constantiis.

Anno MCLXXXVII. Capta est civitas Hierusalem à Saladino, Principe Paganorum.

Anno MCLXXXIX. Obit illustris Anglorum Rex Henricus, pater Henrici et Ricardi Regum, apud Chinon.

Anno MCXC. Perrexerunt in Hierusalem Ricardus, Rex Angliæ, et Philippus, Rex Franciæ. In hoc itinere cepit Ricardus Miscenas; Philippo ibi hospitato sibi venalia per invidiam prohibente. Deinde Cyprum insulam, Imperatore ejusdem captivato, cum suâ filiâ sibi navigio conquisivit. Qui cùm Achon cum Philippo cepisset, et per se multa oppida subjugasset, rediit; Hierusalem minimè liberatâ.

Anno MCXCII. Eundem Ricardum ab Hierusalem incautè redeuntem cepit Dux de Osteriche. Pro cujus redemptione totius regni Ecclesiæ calicibus et thesauris spoliatæ sunt. Hoc anno Philippus, Rex Franciæ, multa oppida Normanniæ cepit, et Rothomagum obsedit, dum Rex Ricardus in Alemanniâ teneretur.

Anno MCXCIII. Rex Ricardus liberatus est. Mensibus XIV. tentus fuit. Hoc anno obiit Petrus, Abbas Cadomi.

Anno MCXCV. Fuit bellum inter Christianos et Paganos in Hispaniâ. Hoc anno venditus est sextarius salis XL. sol. cen. sextarius frumenti XVI. sol. cen. ordei XII. sol.

Anno MCXCVI. Obiit Robertus, Abbas Cadomi. Hoc anno Philippus, Rex Franciæ, cepit Albammarlam. Sed pro redemptione hominum, qui dictum oppidum per quinque septimanas strenuè defenderant, accepit à Ricardo, Rege Angliæ, MCCCC. marc. argenti, et posteà recessit, terræ coæquatâ. Interim autem dum ibi sederet, prædictus Ricardus cepit castellum, quod dicitur Nonancort.

Anno MCXCVIII. Obiit Ricardus, Rex Anglorum, VII. Idus Aprilis. Et eodem anno successit ei in Regem Ioannes frater ejus, et Regis Henrici filius.

Anno MCCV. Obiit Henricus, Episcopus Baiocensis. Hoc anno subjugata est Normannia Philippo Regi Francorum, traditâ ei civitate Rothomagensi. Hoc anno factus est cataclismus magnus in Provinciis Cadomo adjacentibus.

Anno MCCXIV. Obiit Samson, Abbas Cadomi, VII. Idus Marcii.

Anno MCCXV. Fuit universale Concilium apud Romam, præsidente domino Innocentio Papâ III. in quo fuerunt Episcopi CCCCXXII. et duo Patriarchæ.

Anno MCCXVI. Obiit Ioannes, Rex Angliæ, IX. Kal. Novembris. Et eodem anno, factus est Rex Angliæ Henricus, filius ejusdem Ioannis.

Anno MCCXXI. Mortuus est Robertus, Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis.

Anno MCCXXIV. Obiit Philippus, Rex Franciæ.

Anno MCCXXV. Fuit fames valida, et penuria victûs. Nam unus sextarius ordei vendebatur XII. sol. cen. et unus sext. frumenti XV. sol. cen.

Anno MCCXXVI. Mortuus est Ludovicus, Rex Franciæ, filius Philippi, et multii alii nobiles, in terrâ Albigensium. Et eodem anno successit ei in Regem Ludovicus, filius suus, habens annos XII.

Anno MCCXXVII. Translatum est caput sanctæ Barbaræ Martyris in suam propriam Ecclesiam, in Normanniam, in Episcopatu Lexoviensi

I

Anno

Anno MCCXXXVIII. Obiit dominus Odo, Abbas hujus Monasterii, III. Kal. Aprilis. Qui rexit hanc Ecclesiam XXIV. annis valdè utilitèr.

Anno MCCXLI. Mense Septembri, in crastino festi sancti Mauricii, fuit terræ motus apud nos; ita quòd ædificia lapidea, et magni lapides jacentes super terram videbantur moveri.

Anno MCCXLVIII. Ludovicus, Rex Francorum, volens ire Hierusalem, exivit Parisiis post festum S. Ioannis Baptistæ, et ivit apud Aiguemorte, ubi intravit mare, et applicuit Cyprum.

Anno MCCXLIX. Capta est civitas Damietæ à Ludovico, Rege Francorum, post octavas Pentecostes.

Anno MCCLIX. Obiit dominus Guido, Episcopus Baiocensis, IIII. Kal. Martias.

Anno MCCLX. Mortuus est Adam, Abbas hujus Monasterii, qui rexit hanc Ecclesiam XVI. annis.

Anno MCCLXII. Fuit mors valida in Normanniâ.

Anno MCCLXIII. Obiit Ricardus de Condé, Prior hujus Monasterii, XV. Kal. Iulii.

Anno MCCLXV. Obiit Nicolaus, Abbas hujus Monasterii, qui rexit hanc Ecclesiam V. annis, et obiit III. Idus Iunii.

Anno MCCLXVII. Fuit Philippus, filius Ludovici, Regis Franciæ, crucesignatus, et apud Parisios armis militaribus novitèr insignitus in die sancto Pentecostes. Et tanta lætitia Parisiis utriusque populi facta est, quanta anteà audita non fuerat neque visa.

Anno MCCLXIX. XII. Kal. Augusti, convenerunt apud Cadomum Radulfus, Albanensis Episcopus, Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, et Ludovicus, Rex Franciæ, cum tribus filiis suis, videlicet Philippo, Petro, et Ioanne. Qui et triduum ibi commorantes, quarto die recesserunt.

Anno MCCLXXV. Perrexit Rex Franciæ in Hispaniam.

Anno MCCLXXVIII. Fuit mors valida in Normanniâ, et in multis partibus.

Anno MCCLXXXIIII. Fuit ventus validus, ita quòd ædificia et Monasteria corruerunt.

Anno MCCXCIII. Orta est in mari controversia magna inter navigantes regni Franciæ, et remigantes regni Angliæ, causâ levissimâ præcedente, factis magnis occisionibus et truncationibus hinc et inde. Quadam die occurrerunt sibi invicem, et, ostenso signo pacis à parte Anglorum,

glorum, fraudulentèr cum magno impetu ſuper Normannos irruerunt. Normanni verò timore perterriti, timentes ne pars adverſariorum prævaleret, naves cum omnibus, quæ ferebant, ſine læſione aliquâ in Anglorum manibus reliquerunt. His auditis, et diligentèr examinatis ab excellentiſſimo Principe, Philippo, Rege Francorum, humilitèr ſupplicavit Regi Anglorum, ut bona omnia reſtitui faceret, quæ ſubditi ſui in damnum regni ſui turpitèr fraudaverunt. Idem verò Rex Anglicus iniquitate repletus, licèt ſufficientèr, prout moris eſt, eſſet monitus, bona reddere totalitèr denegavit: et obedientiam domino ſuo, Regi Franciæ, præſtare, auſu temerario recuſavit. Acto igitur concilio cum Comitibus et Baronibus ſuis, Rex Francicus totam terram, quam habebat in regno ſuo, propter ipſius inobedientiam, ſeveritèr occupavit, et illam ſibi et regno ſuo celeritèr ſubjugavit, Memor illius verbi dicentis, "Quem Dei timor à malo retardare non facit, ſaltèm debet eum coërcere ſeveritas regiæ poteſtatis."

Excerpta

Excerpta quædam ex Appendice doctissimi viri Andreæ Du Chesne ad rerum Normannicarum Scriptores.

I.

Nomina Normannorum qui floruerunt in Angliâ ante Conquestum.

Ex Libro Manuscripto.

GUILLELMUS, Episcopus London.
Robertus, Archiepiscopus Cantuar.
Randulphus Peverell. in Essex.
Fitz Scrobi in Salopp.
Ralph, Comes East-Anglorum, pater Haraldi domini de Sudley.
Daubine de Beare.
Odo, Comes, ante Edwardi tempora in exilium ejectus.
Hugolin, Regis Cancellarius & dispensator.
Sweine de Essex.
Robertus, Diaconus.
Ricardus, filius Scrob, gener suus.
Alfridus, Regis strator.
Anfridus, cognomento Ceoussoote.
Plures alii, dilecti Regi, populo fideles.
Ursus, Episcopus Dorcacestrensis.
Osbernus, cognomento Pentecost.
Hugo, socius ejusdem.

COGNOMINA NOBILIUM, QUI GUILL. NORM. DUCEM IN ANGLIAM SEQUUTI SUNT.

Ex Tabulâ Monasterii de Bello in Angliâ, vulgo *Battail* Abbay, cum hac superscriptione.

Dicitur à bello Bellum locus hic, quia bello
Angligenæ victi sunt hîc in morte relicti:
Martyris in Christi festo cecidêre Calixti.
Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus.
Cùm pereunt Angli, stellâ monstrante Cometâ.

A.

A.

AVMERLE
Audeley
Angilliam,
Argentoun,
Arundell
Avenant
Abel
Awgers
Angenoun,
Archer
Aſpervile
Amonerdvile
Arey
Akeny
Albeny
Aſperemound.

B.

Bertram
Buttecourt,
Bræhus
Byſeg
Bardolf
Baſſet
Bonun
Baylife
Bondevile
Barbaſon
Beer
Bures
Bonylayne
Barbayon,
Berners
Braybuſ
Brand
Bonvile
Burgh
Buſshy
Blundell
Breton
Belaſyſe
Bowſer
Bayons
Bulmere
Broune
Beke
Bowlers
Baneſtre
Belomy
Belknape
Beauchamp
Bandy
Broyleby
Burnel
Belot
Beufort
Baudewine
Burdon
Berteuyley
Barte
Buſſevile
Blunt,
Beauper
Bret
Barret
Barnevale
Barry
Bodyt
Bertevile
Bertine
Belew
Buſchell
Beleners
Buſſard,
Boteler
Botvile
Braſard
Belhelme
Braunche,
Boleſur
Blundel,
Burdet,
Bigot
Beaupount
Bools
Belefroun
Barchampe.

C.

Camos
Chanville,
Chawent
Chancy
Couderay
Colvile
Chamberlaine
Chambernoune,
Cribet
Corbine
Corbet
Coniers
Chaundos
Coucy
Chaworthe
Claremaus
Clarell
Camnine
Chaunduyt
Claruays
Chantilowe
Colet
Creſſy
Courtenay
Conſtable
Chancer
Cholmelay
Corlevile
Champeney
Carew
Chawnos
Clarvaile
Champaine,
Carbonell
Charles
Chareberge
Chawnes
Chawmont
Cheyne
Curſen
Conell
Chayters
Choynes
Cateray
Cherecourt
Chaunvile
Cleroney
Curly
Clyfford.

D.

Deauvile
Dercy
Dine
Diſpencer
Daniel
Denyſe
Druell
Devaus
Davers
Doningſels

Darell

Darell.
Delabere.
De la Pole.
De la Lind.
De la Hill.
De la Wate.
De la Watche.
Dakeny.
Dauntre.
Deſuye.
Dabernoune.
Damry.
Daveros.
De la Vere.
De Liele.
De la Warde.
De la Planch.
Danway.
De Hewſe.
Diſard.
Durant.
Divry.

E.

Eſtrange.
Eſtutaville.
Eſcriols.
Engayne.
Evers.
Eſturney.

F.

Folvile.
Fitz Water.
Fitz Marmaduk.
Fibert.
Fitz Roger.
Fitz Robert.
Fanecourt.
Fitz Philip.
Fitz William.
Fitz Paine.
Fitz Alyne.
Fitz Raulfe.
Fitz Browne.
Foke.
Frevile.
Faconbrige.
Friſſel.
Filioll.
Fitz Thomas.
Fitz Morice.
Fitz Hughe.
Fitz Warren.
Faunville.
Formay.
Formiband.
Friſon.
Finer.
Fitz Urcy.
Furnivall.
Fitz Herbert.
Fitz John.

G.

Gargrave.
Graunſon.
Gracy.
Glaunvile.
Gouer.
Gaſcoyne.
Gray.
Goloſer.
Grauns.
Gurly.
Gurdon.
Gamages.
Gaunt.

H.

Hanſard.
Haſtings.
Haulay.
Huſie.
Herne.
Hamelyn.
Harewell.
Hardell.
Hecket.
Hamound.
Harecord.

I.

Jarden.
Jay.
Janvile.
Jaſparvile.

K.

Karre.
Karron.
Kyriell.

L.

Leſtrange.
Levony.
Latomere.
Loveday.
Logenton.
Level.
Leſcrope.
Lemare.
Litterile.
Lucy.
Liſlay, or Liele.
Longſpes.
Longſchampe.
Laſtels.
Lindſey.
Loterel.
Longuaile.
Lewawſe.
Loy.
Laue.
Le Deſpenſer.

M.

Marmilon.
Moribray.
Morvile.
Manley.
Malebranche.
Malemaine.
Muſchamp.
Muſgrave.
Meſni-le-Villers.
Mortmaine.
Muſe.
Marteine.
Mountbocher.
Malevile.
Mountney.
Maleherbe.
Muſgros.
Muſard.
Mautravers.
Merke.
Murres.
Montagu.
Montalent.
Mandute.
Manle.
Malory.
Merny.
Muffet.
Menpincoy.

Mainard.
Morell.
Morley.
Mountmartin-yners.
Mauley.
Mainwaring.
Mantell.
Mayel.
Morton.

N.

Nevile.
Neumarche.
Norton.
Norbet.
Norece.
Newborough.
Neele.
Normanvile.

O.

Otenel.
Olibef.
Olifaunt.
Oyſell.
Oliford.
Oryoll.

P.

Pigot.
Pecy.
Perecount.
Perſhale.
Power.
Paynel.
Peche.
Peverell.
Perot.
Picard.
Pudſey.
Pimeray.
Pounſey.
Punchardon.
Pynchard.
Placy.
Patine.
Pampilion.
Poterell.
Pekeney.
Peruinxe.
Penicord.

Q.

Quincy.
Quintine.

R.

Roſe.
Ridle.
Rynel.
Rous.
Ruſſel.
Rond.
Richmond.
Rocheford.
Reymond.

S.

Seuche.
Seint Quintine
Seint Omer
Seint Amand
Seint Leger
Souervile
Sanford
Somery
Seint George
Seint Lés
Savine
Seint Clo
Seint Albine
Seinte Barbe
Sandevile
Seint More
Seint Scudemor

T.

Tows
Toget
Talybois
Tuchet
Truſlot
Truſbut
Traynel
Taket
Talbot
Tanny
Tibtote
Truſſell
Turbevile
Turvile
Torel
Tavers.
Torel.
Tirell.
Totels.
Taverner.

V.

Valence.
Vancord.
Vavaſour.
Vender.
Verder.
Verdon.
Aubric de Vere.
Vernoune.
Verland.
Verlay.
Vernois.
Verny.
Vilan.
Umframvile.
Unket.
Urnall.
Wake.
Waledger.
Warde.
Wardebus.
Warden.
Wate.
Waterline.
Watevile.
Woly.
Wyvell.

COGNOMINA EORUM QUI CUM GUILIELMO CONQUÆSTORE ANGLIAM INGRESSI SUNT.

Ex Historiâ MS. Jorvalensi, authore Joanne Bramptono Abbate Jorvalensi, qui floruit anno MCXCIX.

MAUNDEVILE & Daundevile.
Oumfravile & Doumfrevile.
Bolevile & Baskervile.
Evile & Clevile.
Morevile & Colevile.
Warbevile & Cauvile.
Botevile & Stotevile.
Deverous & Canvile.
Mooun & Bohun.
Vipoun & Vinoun.
Baylon & Bayloun.
Maris & Marmioun.
Agulis & Aguloun.
Chamberlain & Chambersoun.
Ver & Vernoun.
Verdeis & Verdoun.
Criel & Çardoun.
Danver & Davernoun.
Hasting & Camois.
Bardolph Botes, & Boys.
Waren & Wardeboys.
Rodes & Denverois.
Auris & Argenton.
Botetour & Botevillein.
Malebouch & Malemein.
Hautevile & Hautein.
Dauney & Deveyn.
Malins & Malvesine.
Morton & Mortemer.
Bravuz & Columber.
Seint Dennis & Seint Cler.
Seint Aubin & Seint Omer.
Seint Philbert, Fyens, & Gomer.
Turbervile & Turbemer.
Gorges & Spenser.
Brus & Boteler.
Crenawel & seint Quintin.
Deveroug & Seint Martin.
Seint Mor & Seint Leger.
Seint Vigor & Seint Per.
Avenel & Paynel.
Payver & Perdel.
Rivers & Rivell.
Beaucham & Beauapel.
Low & Lowell.
Ros & Druell.
Mountabouns & Mountsorell.
Trussebot & Trassel.
Burgas & Burnell.
Bray & Botterell.
Biset & Basset.
Malevile & Mallet.
Bonevil & Bovet.
Nervil & Narbet.
Coinel & Corbet.
Mountain & Mount-fichet.
Genevile & Giffard.

Say & Seward.
Cari & Chaward.
Periton & Pipard.
Harecourt & Hanſard.
Muſgrave & Muſard.
Mare & Mautravers.
Fernz & Ferrers.
Barnevil & Berners.
Cheyne & Chalers.
Danudon & Daungers:
Veſcy, Grey, & Graungers.
Bertran & Bigod.
Trayly & Traygod.
Penbert & Pigot.
Freyn & Foliot.
Dapiſoun & Talbot.
Sauraver & Saunford:
Vagu & Vautort.
Montagu & Mounford.
Forneus & Fornevous.
Valens, Yle, & Vaus:
Clarel & Claraus.
Aubevil & Seint Amous:
Agos & Dragous.
Malherb & Maudut:
Brewes & Chaudut.
Fitz Oures & Fits de Lou.
Cantenor & Cantelou.
Brayſuf & Hulbins:
Bolebek & Molyns.
Moleton & Beſil.
Rochford & Doſevil:

Watervil & Davil.
Nevers & Nevil.
Heynoys, Burs, Burdevon.
Ylebon, Hyldebrond, & Helion.
Loges & Seint Lou.
Moubank & Seint Malou.
Wake & Wakevil.
Coudray & Knevil.
Scaliers & Cleremount:
Beaumis & Beaumount.
Mouns & Mounchamp.
Nowers & Nowchamp.
Percy, Cruce, & Lacy.
Quincy & Tracy.
Stoker & Somery.
Seint John & Seint Jay:
Greyly & Seint Valery.
Pinkeny & Pavely.
Monhaut & Monchenſy.
Lovein & Lucy:
Artos & Arcy.
Grevil & Courcy:
Arras & Creſſy.
Merle & Moubray:
Gornay & Courtenay.
Hauſtlaing & Turnay.
Huſee & Huſay.
Pounchardon & Pomeray.
Longevil & Longeſpay.
Payns, & Pontelarge.
Straunge & Sauvage.

MAGNATES

MAGNATES SUPERSTITES ANNO XX. REGNI WILLELMI. CONQUÆSTORIS;

Et quibus in Comitatibus terras tenuerunt.

COMES EUSTACHIUS. Kent, Surrey, Hauischire, Somerset. Herford, Oxon. Cant. Hunt. Bedf. Essex, Norff. Suff.

COMES MORITONIENSIS. Sussex, Surrey, Berk. Wiltz, Dorset. Somerset, Devon. Cornubia, Mid. Hertford. Buck. Oxon. Gloc. Cant. Northamp. Nott. Ebor. Norff.

COMES DE OW. Sussex, Hunt.

COMES ROGERUS. Sussex, Surrey, Hampscire, Wilt. Mid. Hertford. Gloc. Wigorn. Cant. Warwick, Staff. Salop. — Salopiæ.

COMES ALANUS. Hamteschire, Dorset, Hertford. Cant. Northampt. Derb. Nott. Ebor. Lincoln. Essex, Norff. Suff. — Richmundiæ.

COMES HUGO. Hamschire, Berk. Dorcet, Somerset, Devon. Buck. Oxon. Gloc. Hunt. Northampt. Warwic. Salop. Cestr. Derb. Nott. Roteland. Ebor. Lincoln. Norff. Suff. — Cestriæ.

COMES EBROICENSIS. Berk.

COMES ALBERICUS. Wilt. Northampt. Leicestr. Warwic. Oxon. — Northumbriæ

COMES DE MELLEND. Northampt. Lecestr. Warwik. — mortuus an. xx. Wil. C.

COMES IVO TAYLEBOIS. Lincoln.

WILLIELMUS filius Osberni, Comes Herefordiæ, mortuus anteà.

ODO Comes Albemarlæ, mortuus anteà.

RADULFUS Comes Estangliæ, mortuus anteà.

SIWARDUS Comes, mortuus anteà.

HUGO DE MONTFORT. Kent.

RICARDUS, filius GISLEBERTI Comitis. Kent. Surr. Wilt. Devon. Mid. — Clare.

HAMO, Vicecomes Kanciæ. Kent. Surr.

WILLELMUS DE WARENNE. Sussex, Hamt. — Surrey.

WILLELMUS DE BRAIOSA. Suff. Surr. Hamt. Berk. Wilt. Dorset.

WILLELMUS, filius Ausculfi. Surr. Berk. Mid. — Brembr.

WALTERUS, filius Otheri. Surr. Hant. Berk. Mid.

WALTERUS DE DOWAY. Surr. Somerset, Devon. — W. de Dowai.

GISLEBERTUS, filius Ricerii de Aigle. Surr.

GOISFREDUS.

Essex.

GOISFREDUS DE MANNEVILE. Surr. Berk. Mid. Hertf.
GOISFRIDUS Orlatele. Surr.
ROBERTUS MALET. Surr.
HUNFRIDUS Camerarius. Surr. Hamt. Berk. Wilt. Dorset. Somerset.
RADULPHUS DE FELGERES. Surr.
ALVREDUS DE MERLEBER. Surr. Hamt. Wilt. Somerset.
HUGO DE PORT. Hamt. Berk.
HUBERTUS DE PORT. Hamt.
WILLELMUS DE PERCY.

CATALOGUS NOBILIUM, QUI IMMEDIATE PRÆDIA A REGE CONQUÆSTORE TENUERUNT.

Ex Censuali Angliæ Libro, quem ipse Conquæstor anno regni XX. *confici jussit.*

WILLELMUS, filius Ansculfi.
WILLELMUS Alisius.
Willelmus, Arcuarius.
Osbernus, Accipitrarius.
Willelmus, filius Azor.
Goscelinus, filius Azor.
Gilo, frater Asculfi.
Aiulfus, Vicecomes.
Albertus.
Theodoricus, Aurifaber.
Stephanus, filius Airardi.
Rogerius Arundel.
Robertus de Albemarle.
Ruald. Adobed.
Aiulphus.

Edgarus Adeling.
Nigellus de Albigni.
Milo, frater Ansculfi.
Urso de Abetot.
Hugo Asinus.
David de Argentomago.*
Henricus, filius Azor.
Robertus Albus.
Walterus de Aincurt.
Goiffredus Alselin.
Osbernus de Arcis.
Odo, Arbalistarius.
Norman de Adreci.
Ansgotus.
Edmundus, filius Algoti.

* Angentomo.

5 Humfredus.

Humfredus, filius Alberici.
Aluredus.
Aldid.
Frodis, frater Abbatis.
Willelmus de Arcis.
Alsi.
Rabellus, Artifex.
Gislebertus, Arbalistarius.
Bernardus, Arbalistarius.
Radulfus, Arbalistarius.
Robertus, Arbalistarius.
Gislebertus, filius Richerii de Aigle.

B.

Willelmus de Braiose.
Willelmus Bertram.
Gislebertus de Breteuile.
Hugo filius. *
Willelmus, filius Baderon.
Willelmus Belet.
Hugo Barbatus.
Rogerus de Berchelai.
Rogerus de Belmont.
Serlo de Burci.
Hugo de Bosch-Herberti.
Rogerus de Busli.
Robertus, Bastard.
Aluredus, Brito.
Nicolaus, Balistarius.
Robertus Blundus.
Radulfus Baignard.
Hugo de Belcamp.
Goiffredus de Bech.
Goiffridus de Belvaco.
Maino, Brito.
Hugo de Bolebech.
Nigellus de Berevile.
Gozelinus, Brito.
Urso de Berseres.
Radulphus de Berchelei.
Walterus, Balistarius.
Balduinus.
Humfridus de Buivile.
Hugo de Berneres.
Uxor Boselini.
Robertus de Buci.
Drogo de Beurere.
Willelmus Buenvalet.
Ogerus, Brito.
Rainaldus de Balgiole.
Baldricus.
Radulfus de Burun.
Erneis de Burun.
Rainerius de Brimow.
Waldinus, Brito.
Odo, Balistarius.
Willelmus Blundus.
Heppo, Balistarius.
Thihellus, Brito.
Rogerus Bigotus.
Rodulfus de Belfago.
Humfridus de Bohun.
Bernardus, Balistarius.
Herveus, Bituricensis.
Gislebertus, Balistarius.
Radulfus, Balistarius.
Rainaldus, Brito.
Bigot.
Bezelinus.
Tetbaldus, filius Bernerii.

C.

Comes Eustachius.
Comes de Ow.
Comes Moritoniensis.

* Baldrici.

Comes

Comes Alanus.
Comes Rogerus.
Comes Hugo.
Comes Ebroicenſis.
Comes Albericus.
Comes de Mellend.
Comes Juo Tailebois.
Comes Albericus, mortuus.
Ida, Comitiſſa Bolonienſis.
Juditha, Comitiſſa.
Godeva, Comitiſſa.
Comitiſſa de Albemarlâ.
Albertus, Capellanus.
Milo Criſpin.
Humfridus, Camerarius.
Albertus, Clericus.
Turſtinus, Camerarius.
Herbertus, Camerarius.
Raynaldus, filius Croc.
Gozelinus de Cormelies.
Goiffridus, Camerarius filiæ Regis.
Albericus, Camerarius.
Willelmus, filius Corbucionis.
Robertus, filius Corbucionis.
Willelmus de Calgi.
Radulfus, filius Comitis.
Reimbaldus de Ciceſtre, vel Cireceſtre.
Rogerus de Curcelles.
Rainaldus Canutus.
Walterus de Clavile.
Aiulfus, Camerarius.
Willelmus Chievre.
Girardus, Capellanus.
Sigar de Cioches.
Willelmus, Camerarius.
Willelmus, filius Conſtantini.
Albericus de Coci.
Albericus, Cocus.
Richardus de Curcy.
Chriſtina.
Ansfridus de Cormeliis.
Humfridus, Cocus.
Willelmus de Cahaignes.
Humfridus de Cioches.
Giſlebertus, Cocus.
Wido de Credun.
Godefridus de Cambray.
Rogerus, filius Corbet.
Robertus, filius Corbet.
Radulfus, Cocus.
Colſuain.
Normannus Craſſus.
Goiffredus de Cambrai.
Colgrim.
Walterus, Cocus.
Anſgerus, Cocus.
Hubertus de Caneſio.
Gundwinus, Camerarius.

D.

Walterus de Duay.
Walſcinus de Duay.
Robertus, Diſpenſator.
Walterus, Diaconus.
Herman de Drewes.
Eudo, Dapifer.
David.
Haimo, Dapifer.
Adam, filius Durandi Malaopera.
Godricus, Dapifer.
Rogerus Deus ſalvet-dominas.

E.

Eldredus.
Richardus Eſturmi.

Eddeva.

Eddeva.
Swainus de Effexâ.
Ricardus, filius Erfafti.
Eudo, filius Erfafti.
Eudo, filius Efpirewic.
Edricus, Accipitrarius.
Erchengerus, Piftor.

F.

Radulfus de Felgeres.
Henricus de Ferrers.
Willelmus de Faleife.
Fulcherus.
Robertus Fafiton.
Walterus Flandrenfis.
Vinemarus Flandrenfis.
Willelmus Froiffelew.
Hugo Flandrenfis.
Ricardus, Foreftarius.
Furftinus.
Baldewinus Flandrenfis.
Ranulfus Flamme.

G.

Ricardus, filius Gifleberti Comitis.
Robertus, filius Geroldi.
Durandus de Glowceftriâ.
Walterus Giffard.
Giflebertus de Gand.
Ofbernus Giffard.
Grimbaldus.
Beringarius Giffard.
Godefcalus.
Odo, filius Gamelini.
Godeboldus.
Gotfcelinus.
Girardus.
Robertus Gernon.
Hugo de Grentemaifnil.
Willelmus Gozinboded.
Picotus de Grantebrige.
Girbertus.
Gerinus.
Gofpatric.
Hugo de Gurnay.
Robertus, filius Goberti.
Godwinus.
Hugo, filius Grip.
Grim, præpofitus.

H.

Hamo, Vicecomes.
Ernulfus de Hefding.
Eudo, filius Huberti.
Hafcoit.
Hernulfus de Haftinges.
Aluredus Hifpanienfis, feu de Hifpaniâ.
Herveus de Helion.
Hainricus.
Robertus, Hoftiarius.
Radulfus, filius Huberti.
Robertus, filius Willelmi Hoftiarii.
Helgot.
Hamo.
Willelmus, Hoftiarius.
Hermerus.
Hago.
Tihellus de Herion.
Hachebernus.
Robertus, filius Hugonis.

I.

Rogerus de Iveri.
Humfridus de Infulâ.
Aluredus de Ifpaniâ, v. fup.
Ifeldis.
Ranulfus, frater Ilgerii.

Ricardus de Inganiâ.
Hugo de Iveri.
Willelmus de Inganiâ.
Radulfus de Infulâ.
Ilbertus.
Ilbodus, vel Ilbodo.
Judichaël, five Juikel, Presbyter.
Isaac.
Waldinus, Inganiator.
Rainaldus, filius Jvonis.

L.

Willelmus Lovet, vel Loveth.
Rogerus de Laci.
Hugo Lafne.
Radulfus de Linefi.
Dermannus Lundon.
Rogerus de Luri.
Willelmus Leuric.
Ricardus Legatus.
Geri de Loges.
Albertus Lotharienfis.
Aluredus de Lincolniâ.
Hugo de Luri.
Ilbertus de Laci.
Gozelinus, filius Lamberti.
Gozelinus Loremarius.

M.

Hugo de Montford.
Goisfridus de Manneville.
Robertus Malet.
Aluredus de Merleberg.
Radulfus de Mortemer.
Willelmus Maudoit.
Willelmus, filius Manne.
Goisfridus Marefcal.
Nigellus, Medicus.
Robertus, filius Murdac.
Mathiu *, vel Maci de Moretaniâ.
Willelmus de Moion.
Humfridus de Mauldoit.
Robertus Marefcal.
Aufgerus de Montagud.
Turftinus Mantel.
Martinus.
Hafculfus, vel Hafcoit, Mufard.
Humfridus de Madehalle.
Rogerus de Mucelgros.
Griffinus, filius Muriadoc.
Maino.
Durandus Malet.
Hugo de Montgomeri.
Willelmus Malbedeng.
Hugo de Marâ.
Rogerus Marefcalcus.
Modwinus.
Giroldus, Marifcalcus.
Adam, filius Durandi Mala opera.

N.

Lewinus de Newham.
Willelmus, filius Normanni.
Nigellus.
Normannus.
Willelmus, filius Nigelli.

O.

Odo de Winceftriâ, Taynus Regis.
Walterus, filius Otheri.
Goisfridus Ortale, vel Orleteile.
Ofwaldus.
Willelmus de Ow.
Hugo, filius Ofmundi.
Anfchetillus, filius Ofmundi.
Robertus de Olgi.

* Matheus Mauritanienfis.

Ofbernus,

Oſbernus, Preſbyter.
Willelmus de Odburvillâ, frater Rogeri.

P.

Hugo de Port.
Hubertus de Port.
Willelmus de Perci.
Bernardus Pancevolt.
Ricardus Puingiant, vel Puniant.
Milo, Portarius.
Willelmus Peurel.
Walterus, filius Ponz.
Drogo, filius Ponz.
Radulfus de Pomerei.
Radulfus Paganel.
Willelmus de Poilgi.
Ranulfus Perrel.
Hugo, Pincerna.
Oſbernus, Piſcator.
Robertus, Pincerna.
Willelmus Pantulf.
Picot.
Ricardus, Pincerna.
Rogerus Pictavienſis.
Theodericus Pointel.
Radulfus Pinel.
Alvena, uxor Phin.
Herbrandus de Ponte-Adomari.

R.

Gilbertus, filius Richerii de Aigle.
Turſtinus, filius Rolf.
Walterus, filius Rogeri.
Herbertus, filius Remigii.
Willelmus, filius Ricardi.
Reinbaldus, Preſbyter.
Robertus, filius Rolf.
Gozelinus de Rivere.
Wido de Reinbodcourt.
Reinbaldus.
Willelmus, filius Rogeri.
Heraldus, filius Radulfi Comitis.
Rogerus, filius Radulfi.
Oſbernus, filius Ricardi.
Ricardus.
Rainaldus, Vicecomes.
Robertus de Rodelent.
Rainaldus.
Reſtoldus.
Robertus, filius Rotſcelini.
Rogerus, filius Reinardi.
Radulfus, Arbaliſtarius.
Rabellus.

S.

Edwardus Sareſberienſis.
Willelmus, filius Stur.
Robertus de Stadford.
Radulfus, filius Seifridi.
Hugo Stireman.
Ricardus Sturmid.
Willelmus de Scoies, vel Scochies.
Oſbernus de Salceid.
Walterus de ſancto Walerico.
Robertus de ſaint Legire.
Harduinus de Scalers.
Giſlebertus, filius Salomonis.
Swain, Vicecomes.
Oſbernus, filius Richardi Scrupe.
Swainus de Eſſex.
Willelmus Specs.
Walterus, filius Secheri.
Siboldus.
Stephanus.
Nigellus de Stadford.
Eudo, filius Spirewic.

Ranulfus de Sancto Walerico.
Saisselinus.
Hugo de sancto Quintino.
Stainardus.
Starcolfus.
Robertus de Stratford.
Swain.

T.

Henricus, Thesaurarius.
Durandus, Tonsor.
Radulfus de Todeni.
Gislebertus, filius Turoldi.
Judhel de Totenais.
Ricardus, filius Turoldi.
Robertus de Todeni.
Radulfus Tailgebosch.
Berengarius de Todeni.
Turchillus.
Ilbertus, filius Turoldi.
Turstinus.
Robertus, filius Tetbaldi.
Turoldus.
Hugo, filius Turgisi.
Osbernus, filius Tezzonis.
Gillebertus Tisun.
Willelmus Taillebosc.
Turchillus Præpositus.
Ivo Taillebois.
Tihellus.
Tovi.
Turchil de Warwik.

V.

Hamo, Vicecomes.
Walerannus, Venator.
Croc, Venator.
Aiulfus, Vicecomes.
Humfredus Vis de Lew.
Baldewinus, Vicecomes.
Albericus de Ver.
Petrus de Valoignes.
Bertran de Verdon.
Swain, Vicecomes.
Durandus, Vicecomes.
Robertus de Vesci.
Rogerus, Venator.
Ricardus Vernon.
Walterus Vernon.
Radulfus, Venator.
Robertus de Verli.
Ulketel.
Vavasores Regis.
Rainaldus, Vicecomes.
Ogerus, filius Ungemar.
Willelmus de Warenne.
Willelmus, filius Widonis.
Walterus de sancto Walerico.
Aluredus, nepos Wigoti.
Urso de Vircestriâ.
Wulmarus.
Joannes, filius Waleranni.
Willelmus.
Osbernus, filius Walteri.
Winemarus.
Goiffredus de Wirce.
Turchil de Warwike.
Walchelinus.
Robertus, filius Willelmi.
Willelmus, Hostiarius.
Joannes, nepos Waleranni.
Willelmus de Watevillâ.

An

An addition to note k *at the bottom of page* 13 *in the* Encomium Emmæ, Anglorum reginæ, *concerning the different classes of men in the kingdom of Denmark in the beginning of the* 11*th century, or about A. D.* 1016.

* * * * * * * * * *

The foregoing passage of the *Encomium Emmæ* plainly shews that there were at this time in Denmark several men in a state of slavery, called in this passage *servi*; and others that were freed-men, or that, after having been slaves, had been made free, *ex servis liberti*; and a third set of men who had always been free, but were not noble, and who are in this passage called *ignobiles*, and who probably were the husbandmen and handycrafts-men of the country; and, lastly, a fourth set, who were called noblemen, *nobiles*, and who seem to have been *the warriors*, or *military* part of the people, and who must have been very numerous, since all the whole army of Canute the Dane, when he invaded England after the death of king Swein, his father, is said to have been composed of men of this class, *omnes enim erant nobiles*. And the people of England were, probably, at this period distinguished into different classes of nearly the same kinds. At least it is certain that, before the Norman conquest as well as after it, the great body of the cottagers and handy-craftsmen, (such as blacksmiths, millers, and cart-wrights,) in country villages were *slaves*, or what our old law-books called *Villains regardant, or belonging, to the manor*, or *servi adscriptitii glebæ*, and were alienated, as such, by name, together with their families, and all the goods and chattels they were possessed of, by their lords, or owners. Of this we have a notable example in the history of Crowland-Abbey in Lincolnshire, written by Ingulphus, (who was made abbot of that celebrated monastery by king William, the Conqueror, in the year 1076,) in the grant of the manor of Spalding in Lincolnshire to the said abbey of Crowland, by *Thorold*, (a gentleman of high station and large possessions in that county,) in the year 1051, which was 15 years before the invasion of England by William, duke of Normandy. This grant is in these words:

Ego, Thoroldus *de* BUKENHALE, *coràm nobilissimo Domino meo*, Leofrico, *Comite* Leycestriæ, *et nobilissimâ Comitissâ suâ Dominâ* Godivâ, *sorore meâ*, *cum consensu et bonâ voluntate Domini et cognati mei*, *Comitis* Algari, *primogeniti et hæredis eorum*, *Donavi et Tradidi Deo et Sancto Guthlaco Croylandiæ*, *in manibus Domini Wlgati*, *Abbatis dicti Croylandensis monasterii*, *ad fundationem Cellæ Croylandensium Monachorum*, *in honorem sanctæ Dei genitricis*, *semperque virginis*, *Mariæ*, *in villâ de* SPALDING; *totum manerium meum situm juxtà parochialem Ecclesiam ejusdem villæ*, [*inter manerium prædicti domini mei Leofrici Comitis*, *et ripam occidentalem fluminis ejusdem villæ*] *cum omnibus terris et tenementis*, *reditibus*, *servitiis*, *averiis*, *et utensilibus*, *quæ habui in dicto manerio*, *et in dictâ villâ*, *et in campis ejus*, *tàm in parte orientali fluminis quàm in ejus parte occidentali*, *cum omnibus appendiciis suis*; *scilicet*,

Colgrinum,

Colgrinum, *præpositum meum, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus et mariscis, absque aliquo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Hardingum, *fabrum, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus et mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Lefstanum, *carpentarium, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus et in mariscis, absque aliquo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Ryngulphum, *primum, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus, et mariscis, absque aliquo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Elſtanum, *piscatorem, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus, et in mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Gunterum Liniet, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et campis ejus et in mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Outy Grimkelſon, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ, et in campis ejus, et in mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Turſtanum Dubbe, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ, et in campis ejus, et in mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Algarum *nigrum, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ, et in campis ejus, et in mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Edricum, *filium* Siwardi, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ, et in campis ejus, et mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Oſmundum, *molendinarium, et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus et mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Beſi Tuk, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis et mariscis ejus, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item

Item Elmerum *de* PYNCEBEK, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus, et mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Item Gouse Gamelson, *et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catallis quæ habet in dictâ villâ et in campis ejus et mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinemento:*

Istos servos meos, et omnia bona et catalla eorum, cum omnibus cotagiis quondam meis, situatis in orientali parte fluminis circà ligneam capellam sanctæ Mariæ in villâ de SPALDING, *ab antiquo**, Croylandensi *monasterio pertinentem, cum omnibus juribus et aliis rebus appendentibus, Dedi Deo et Sancto* Guthlaco, *ad constructionem prædictæ cellæ, unà cum omnibus piscationibus meis tàm in mariscis adjacentibus quàm in mari ad dictam villam accedente, in liberam et perpetuam Ele-emosynam meam, pro salute animæ meæ et animarum omnium progenitorum et parentum meorum.*

* *Id est, ut opinor,* [*ab antiquo tempore.*]

Istud meum Chirographum apud Leycestriam, *in præsentiâ multorum* Christi *fidelium ibidem in die sancto Pentecostes collectorum, anno Dominicæ Incarnations M.L.I. Ego* Thoroldus *signo sanctæ Crucis confirmavi.* †

Ego, Wlfinus, *Episcopus* Dorcacestrensis, *ratificavi.* †

Ego, Wlgatus, *Abbas* Croylandiæ, *gaudens acceptavi.* †

Ego, Lefwinus, *Abbas* Thorneyensis, *collaudavi.* †

Ego, Leofricus, *Comes, concessi.* †

Ego, Godiva, *Comitissa, diù istud desideravi.* †

Ego, Algarus, *Comes, consensi.* †

Ego, Turnerus, *Capellanus Domini mei* Wlfini, *Episcopi* Dorcacestrensis, *præsens affui.* †

Ego, Wulnarus, *Capellanus ejusdem domini mei* Wlfini *Episcopi, auscultavi.* †

Ego, Sitricus, *Capellanus dicti domini mei* Wlfini, *aspexi.* †

Ego, Stanardus, *minister domini mei Comitis* Leofrici, *interfui.* †

Ego, Fulco, *monachus* Croylandiæ, *applausi.* †

Ego, Pigotus, *monachus* Thorneiensis, *conspexi.* †.

Ego, Livingus, *Clericus, istud Chirographum manu meâ scripsi, et domino* Thoroldo, *Vicecomiti, tradidi, prædicto* Wulgato, *Abbati* Croylandiæ, *de manu in manum donandum.*

See Gale's edition of the Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres, *in three small folio volumes printed at Oxford in the year* 1684, *Vol. I. page* 86.

In

In this grant, or Chirograph, (as it is there called,) we ſee that thirteen inhabitants of the town, or village, of *Spalding*, with all their family, *totam ſequelam ſuam*, and all their goods and their cattle in the ſaid town, are transferred, or made-over, by name, to the abbot of Crowland, as appendages to the manor of *Spalding*, by *Thorold*, their former lord, or owner. And among theſe we find a man named *Colgrin*, who is called the *Præpoſitus* of *Thorold* in the ſaid manor, which I take to be his *Bailiff*, or chief manager of his concerns and intereſts in the ſaid manor; and another man named *Harding*, who is called *Faber*, and ſeems to have been *the blackſmith* of the town of *Spalding*; and a third named *Leſstan*, who is called *Carpentarius*, and whom I ſuppoſe to have been the *cart-wright*, or maker of *carpenta*, or carts, in the ſame town; and a fourth named *Elſtan*, who was a *fiſherman*; and a fifth named *Oſmund*, who was a *miller*. There is therefore no manner of ground for the opinion that ſome perſons have been inclined to adopt, and which formerly prevailed amongſt many of the ſoldiers of Oliver Cromwell's army about the year 1647, "that in the time of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs of England, "and particularly in the reign of the great and good king Alfred, every man in England "was perfectly free, and that ſlavery was firſt introduced into this kingdom by the "Norman conqueſt." That conqueſt was certainly an unjuſt invaſion and uſurpation, and produced a great deal of miſery in England by diſpoſſeſſing all the Engliſh gentry who oppoſed it, that is, in the end of the Conqueror's reign, (after the ſuppreſſion of numerous rebellions againſt his authority,) almoſt all the Engliſh gentry in the kingdom, of their eſtates, which the Conqueror granted-away to his Norman, and other foreign, ſupporters: but it made no change *as to perſonal liberty* in the kingdom, and but little affected the peaſantry of the country, who only changed their maſters, and became the dependants of their new Norman land-lords, or grantees of confiſcated eſtates, in the ſame manner and upon the ſame conditions and ſervices, (whether as ſlaves, or villains regardant, or as free-men,) as they had before been the dependants of their former Engliſh land-lords.

It may further be obſerved concerning the foregoing grant of the manor of *Spalding*, that the manner of executing it by the grantor and the grantee, and the other perſons whoſe conſent was neceſſary to its confirmation, and the manner of atteſting the execution of it by the other perſons above-mentioned who were only witneſſes of it, was not by either ſigning their names to it or affixing their ſeals to it, but by making the ſign of the croſs after their ſeveral names, which were written at the end of the inſtrument by *Living*, the clerk, or prieſt, whom *Thorold* had employed to prepare and write it out. The art of writing was not, in this remote age, and even for three or four centuries after it, known to, or practiſed by, the generality of people in England, even in the upper ranks of life, but was confined to the clergy and the monks, or ſome of them, who had received a learned education, and the ſcriveners, or other practiſers of ſome branch of the profeſſion of the law. And the other manner of executing written inſtruments, by putting a ſeal upon ſome melted wax at the bottom of the inſtrument, which is now in uſe, had not yet been introduced into England, but was ſo fifteen years after, or at the time of the conqueſt, and was then very ſtrongly enforced by the authority of the Conqueror, to the excluſion of the former practice of executing written inſtruments by each party's affixing the ſign of the croſs immediately after his own name that had been written by the clerk, or ſcrivener, who had prepared and written-out the inſtrument. And the very name of theſe inſtruments of the conveyance, or transfer, of lands, which had till then been called *chirographs*, was changed to the word *charters*, which has ever ſince continued in uſe. This we are diſtinctly told by *Ingulphus* in page 70 in the following words: *Alias etiam*

conſuetudines

consuetudines [*Normanni*] *immutabant. Nam Chirographorum confectionem* Anglicanam, (*quæ anteà usque ad* Edwardi *Regis tempora fidelium præsentium subscriptionibus, cum crucibus aureis, aliisque sacris signaculis, firma fuerunt,*) Normanni *condemnantes, Chirographa* Chartas *vocabant, et chartarum firmitatem cum* cereâ *impressione per uniuscujusque speciale sigillum, sub instillatione trium vel quatuor testium astantium conficere constituebant.*

It may further be observed concerning the foregoing grant of the manor of *Spalding* to the abbot of Crowland, that it was *ratified*, or *confirmed*, by *Wulfin*, Bishop of *Dorchester*, because both *Spalding* and *Crowland Abbey* were at that time in the diocese of *Dorchester*, the seat of which diocese was afterwards, (in a famous English ecclesiastical Council, consisting of bishops and abbots of monasteries, holden, first, at the festival of Easter in the 6th year of the reign of king William the Conqueror, A.D. 1072, in the king's chapel in the castle of *Winchester*, and afterwards, in the following festival of Whitsuntide, in the same year, at the royal town (*villâ regiâ*) of *Windsor*, in the presence of the king himself and of *Hubert*, the legate of pope *Alexander* the IInd.) transferred to the city of *Lincoln*, as we are informed by the following passage of *Ingulphus*, in page 93: *In isto eodem Consilio Statutum est et decretum, secundùm scita Canonum, quòd Episcopi, transeuntes de villis, transferrent sedes suas ad suarum Diocesium civitates.* Dorcastrensis *ergò migravit in* Lincolniam, Lichefeldensis *in* Cestriam, Selesiensis *in* Cicestriam, Shireburnensis *in* Salesbiriam, *et* Ælmanensis *in* Thetford. Lindisfarnensis *autèm à diù transierat in* Dunelmum.

FAMILIÆ

REGUM, DUCUM,

COMITUM, ET ALIORUM

NOBILIUM, QUÆ IN HOC

VOLUMINE* DEDUCUNTUR.

* Id est, in magno volumine ab Andreâ Du-Chesnio edito, ad cujus paginas numeri hîc citati sunt referendi.

FAMILIA

DUCUM NORMANNIÆ:

In quâ Reges Anglorum tres.

N. *vir potens in Daciâ, p.* 70.

I.

1. *Popa* filia Berengarii Comitis, p. 77. = *Rollo,* qui et *Robertus* Dux Normanniæ, p. 83, 84. = 2. *Gisla* filia Caroli Simplicis, Regis Francorum, p. 82, 83.

Gurim, occisus in Daciâ, p. 71.

II.

Sprota ex Danico genere, p. 234. = *Guillelmus I.* cognomento *Longa-Spata,* Dux Normanniæ, interfectus anno DCCCCXXIII. p. 77. 89. = *Leudegardis* filia Herberti Comitis Viromandensis.

Gerloc, uxor *Guillelmi* Co. Pict. 97. 229.

III.

1. *Emma* filia Hugonis Magni Ducis Franc. p. 137. 152. = *Richardus I.* Dux Normanniæ senex dictus, p. 100. 110. 248. = 2. *Gunnor* primò concubina, posteà uxor, p. 311. 312.

IV.

2. *Paphia* seu *Popia,* p. 270. = *Richardus II.* Normanniæ Dux, p. 213. = 1. *Judith* filia Goiffredi Comitis Britanniæ, p. 255.

Robertus Archiepiscopus Rothom. et Co. Ebro.

Malgerius Co. Curbol. p. 260. pater *Guillelmi* cognomento *Werlengi* Comitis Moritolii, p. 660.

N. et *N.* filii, p. 260.

Emma Regina Angliæ, p. 213.

Haduvis uxor Goifredi Comitis Britanniæ, p. 251.

Matildis juncta *Odoni* Comiti Carnot. p. 260.

V.

Malgerius Archiepisc. Rothom. p. 194. 270. 566. 657.

Guillelmus Archacensis, seu Talogii Co. duxit N. sororem Widonis Co. Pontivi, p. 270. 271. 657.

Richard° *III.* Dux Normanniæ sed pauco tempore, p. 213. 255. 257. 566.

Robertus Dux Nor. post fratrem.

Herleva concubina, p. 213. 253. 257. 258.

Willelmus Monachus Fiscannensis, p. 255.

Adelis uxor *Rainaldi* Burgundiæ Comitis, p. 255.

N. juncta *Balduino* Comiti Flandrensi, p. 255.

Papia uxor *Gulberti* Advocati de sancto Galerico, p. 606. 724.

N. adulta obiit virgo, 255.

VI. *Nicolaus* Abbas sancti Audoeni Rothomagensis, p. 213. 258. 530. 710.

Guillelmus nothus, Normannorum Dux, et Rex Angliæ. *Mathildis* filia Baldvini Comitis Flandriæ, p. 178. 213. 266. 267. 277.

VII. *Margareta* filia Comitis Cenomanensis, desponsata tantùm, p. 263. = *Robertus II.* Normanniæ Dux, p. 213. 278. 289. 295. 484. 512. 638. 665. = *Sibylla*, soror Guillelmi Comitis Conversanæ, uxor, p. 299. 780. 784. 810.

N. concubina. = *Robertus II.*

Richardus in Novâ forestâ interfectus, p. 278. 484. 512. 573. 638.

Guillelmus II. cognomento *Rufus*, Angliæ Rex, p. 192. 213. 278. 484. 512. 638. 659.

1. *Matilda* filia Malcolmi Regis Scotiæ, p. 213. = *Henricus I.* Angliæ Rex, pag. 213. 278. 296. 304. 484. 512. 638. 659. 668. = 2. *Adeliza* filia Godefredi Ducis Lovaniæ, p. 306. post mortem Henrici nupsit Willelmo de Albineio, p. 978.

VIII. *Richardus* in Novâ forestâ occisus, p. 780.

Guillelmus apud Hierus. obiit, p. 780. 781.

N. uxor Heliæ de sancto Sidonio, p. 681.

Sibylla filia Fulconis Comitis Andegavensis, sponsata tantùm, p. 838. = *Guillelmus* Comes Flandriæ, pag. 876. 841. 884. obiit an. MCXXVII. p. 887. = *N.* filia *Rainerii* Marchionis, Adelaidis Fr. Reginæ soror uterina, p. 884.

Willelm. cognomento *Adelinus*. *Mathildis* filia Fulconis Co. Andeg. p. 213. 310. 649. 702. 851. 869.

Henricus V. Imperator, p. 297. 702. 763. 838. = *Mathildis* Ducissa Normanniæ. = *Geoffredus* Comes Andegavorum, p. 763. 889. 913. 946.

IX. *Henricus II.* Angliæ Rex, Dux Normanniæ, et Comes Andegavensis. *Vide Familiam Comitum Andegavensium*, paginâ abhinc secundâ.

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* Filiæ Guillelmi I. Regis Angliæ, et Normanniæ Ducis.

VII. *Agatha*, quæ et *Adelis*, *Heraldo* Angliæ Regi, posteà Amfurcio Regi Galliciæ, desponsata, virgo obiit, p. 285. 310. 486. 512. 573. 638.

Constantia uxor *Alani* cognomento *Fergani* Britanniæ Comitis, p. 303. 486. 512. 544. 573. 638.

Adelidis jam nubilis obiit, pag. 512. 573. 638. *Videtur eadem esse cum* Agathâ.

Adela uxor *Stephani* Comitis Blesensis, pag. 310. 486. 512. 573. 638.

Cecilia in Cœnobio sancti Stephani Cadom. Deo sacrata, pag. 282. 307. 486. 512. 548. 638. 648.

VIII. *Stephanus* Comes Boloniæ, et Rex Anglorum. *Vide Familiam Comitum Blesensium et Carnotensium*, paginâ sequente.

PARS

PARS
FAMILIÆ COMITUM
BLESENSIUM, ET CARNOTENSIUM,

E quâ Anglorum Rex unus.

N.

I. *Theobaldus* Comes Blesensis et Carnotensis, p. 228. *Ledgardis*, relicta *Guillelmi I.* Ducis Normanniæ.

II. *Mathildis* filia Richardi I. Normanniæ Ducis, p. 247. = *Odo* Comes Blesensis et Carnotensis, p. 253. = *Berta* filia Conradi Regis Burgundiæ, p. 626.

III. *Odo II.* Comes Blesensis et Carnotensis. *Hermengardis.*

IV. *Theobaldus* Comes Blesensis et Carnotensis, p. 182. 276. 574.

Henricus cognomento *Stephanus* Comes Trecensis.

Alanus Comes Britanniæ, p. 532. = *Berta*, pag. 532. 574. = *Hugo* Comes Cenomanensis.

V. *Stephanus* Comes Blesensis et Carnotensis. *Adela* filia *Willelmi I.* Regis Angliæ et Ducis Norm. p. 310. 313. 573. 708. 723. 785.

Hugo Comes Trecensis. *Constantia* filia Philippi I. Regis Francorum, pag. 310. 574. 677. 817. 857.

Odo Comes Hildernessæ in Angliâ. *N.* soror uterina Guillelmi I. Regis Angliæ, et Ducis Normanniæ, Comitissa Albemarlæ, pag. 294. 295. 512. 522. 574. 681.

VI. *Willelmus* dominus Soleii. N. filia et hæres *Gilonis* domini de Soliaco.

Theobaldus III. Comes Blesensis Carnotensis et Trecensis. *Mathildis* filia Ingelberti Ducis, p. 310. 574. 811. 923.

Henricus Episcopus Vintoniensis, pag. 310. 574. 811. 928.

VIII. *Stephanus* Comes Boloniæ et Angliæ Rex. *Mathildis* filia Eustachii Comitis Boloniæ, p. 310. 313. 574. 702. 811. 902. 928. 974.

Mathildis uxor *Richardi* Comitis Cestrensis, p. 313. 787. 870.

Stephanus Comes de Albemarlâ, p. 294. 681. 843.

VII. *Odo*, p. 810.

Raherius, p. 811.

Henricus de Soleio Abbas Fiscanni, p. 920. 978.

N. uxor *Henrici* Co. Aucensis, pag. 810.

Henricus Comes Trecassinus, p. 985.

Theobaldus IV. Comes Blesensis et Carnotensis, p. 985.

Stephanus Comes Sanceri, p. 985.

Plures filiæ, p. 994.

Eustachius. *Constancia* soror Ludovici Regis Francorum. p. 979. 985. 990.

Willelmus Comes Moritonii. N. filia *Willelmi de Warennâ* Comitis Surreiæ, pag. 993. 996.

N. uxor *Hervei* Britonis, pag. 953.

N. desponsata *Galerano* Comiti Mellenti, p. 903.

PARS

PARS

FAMILIÆ COMITUM ANDEGAVENSIUM,

In quâ plurimi Reges Angliæ et Hierusalem, ac Duces Normanniæ.

N.

I. *Tufredus* cognomento *Martellus*, Andegavorum Comes, p. 482. 532. — *N.* uxor *Alberici* cognomento *Brevis*, Comitis Wastinensium, p. 484. 532.

II. *Gaufredus.* — *Fulco* cognomento *Rechin*, Andegavorum et Turonensium Comes. *Berta*, sive *Bertrada*, *de Monte forti* tertia uxor.

III. *Erenburgis* filia *Heliæ* Cenomanensis Comitis, p. 296. — *Fulco* Comes Andegavensis, Turonensis, et Cenomanensis, ac Hierosolymæ Rex, p. 304. 310. 684. 769. 785. 818. — *Milesendis* filia Baldvini II. Regis Hierusalem, p. 310. 746. 889. — *N.* secunda uxor *Alani* cognomento *Fergani*, Britanniæ Co. p. 310.

IV. *Gaufredus* Comes Andegavensis, Turonensis, et Cenom. *Mathildis* filia et hæres *Henrici I.* Regis Angliæ, et Ducis Norm. p. 306. 310. 763. 769. 871. 889. 903. 946. 977. 978. — *Helias*, p. 310. 871. *Mathildis* uxor *Willelmi Adelini*, filii Henrici I. Regis Angliæ, p. 310. 769. 851. 875. — *Sibylla*, desponsata *Guillelmo* filio Rober. Norm. Ducis, sed nupta Terrico Comiti Flandriæ, p. 310. 769. 838. 841. 876. — *Baldvinus* Rex Hierosolymæ, p. 993. — *Amalricus* Comes Joppæ, Rex Hierosolymæ post fratrem, p. 993. 999.

V. *Henricus* Dux Normanniæ, Comes Andegavensis, Turonensis, et Cenomannensis, ac tandem Angliæ Rex. *Alienor* Comitissa Pictavensis et Ducissa Aquitaniæ, p. 304. 763. 973. 979. 984. 985. 990. — *Gaufredus* Comes Nannetensis, p. 984. 990. 991. 994. — *Willelmus*, p. 990. 991. — *Hamelinus*, spurius. *N. de Warennâ*, Comitissa Surregiæ, relicta Guillelmi Comitis Moritonii, p. 999.

VI. *Willelmus*, p. 989. 991. 992. — *Henricus* dictus *Juvenis*, Angliæ Rex coronatus. *Margareta* filia Ludovici Regis Franc. p. 991. 994. 997. 1004. — *Richardus* Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ. N. filia Raimundi Comitis Barcin. desponsata tantùm, pag. 993. 995. — *Gaufridus* Comes Britanniæ. *Constancia* filia et hæres Conani Co. Bri. et Richem. p. 994. 1000. 1003. — *Joannes* Rex Anglorum, et Dux Norman. p. 1002. 1004. 1005. *Joanna*. 1000.

Posteritas

Posteritas Henrici I. ex concubinis.

* 1. *Robertus de Cadomo* Co. Glocestriæ, et dominus Torinneii. *Mathildis* filia Rober. filii Haimonis, pag. 306. 581. 840. 854. 929. 978.	2. *Richardus.* *Amicia* filia Radulfi de Guader pacta tantùm, p.306.854.856. 867.870.875. 3. *Rainaldus de Dunstavilla,* Co. Cornubiæ, p.915.950.956.	4. *Robertus,* p. 306. 5. *Gislebertus.* 6. *Willelmus de Traceio,* p.306. 7. *Mathildis* uxor *Rotroci* C. Pertic. p. 307. 810. 870. 891.	8. *Mathildis* nupta Conano C. Britann. p. 307. 544. 841. 9. *Juliana* juncta *Eustachio de Britolio,* p. 300. 307. 810. 10. *N.* uxor *W. Goiet,* p. 307.	11. *N.* uxor Vicecomitis de Bellomonte, p. 307. 12. *N.* copulata *Matheo* filio *Burcardi de Montemor.* p. 307.	13. *N.* nata ex Elizabeth forore Waleranni C. Mellenti, p. 307. 14. *N.* uxor *Alexandri* Regis Scotiæ, p. 702.	VI.

Willelmus Comes Glocestriæ, p. 306. 974.	*Philippus,* p. 907. 968.	*Ricardus* Episc. Baiocens. p. 897.	*Mathildis* uxor *Ranulfi* Comitis Cestriæ, p.306.313.512.921.989.	VII.

FAMILIA

FAMILIA
COMITUM CENOMANENSIUM,
QUÆ IN COMITUM ANDEGAVENSIUM
Familiam defiit:

NECNON
Pars Familiæ dominorum de Balgenciaco.

N.

I. *Hugo* Comes Cenomanenfis, p. 487. 532.

II. *Herbertus* cognomento *Evigilans-canes*, Comes Cenomanenfis, p. 189. 487. 532.

III.
- *Hugo II.* Comes Cenomanenfis. *Berta* foror Theobaldi Comitis Blef. relicta Alani Britanniæ Comitis, p. 183. 253. 532.
- *Biota* uxor *Gualterii* Comitis Calvimontis et Medantæ, p. 189. 487. 532. 534.
- *N.* uxor *Lancelmi de Balgenciaco*, p. 684.

IV.
- *Herbertus Junior*, Comes Cenomanenfis, p. 189. 532.
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PARS

PARS
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FRANCORUM,
In quâ EMMA Normanniæ Duciſſa, et MARGARETA Regina Angliæ.

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- *Odo* Rex Francorum, p. 8. 12. 30. 37. 39. 41. 48. 304.
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IV.
- *Hugo Capeth* Rex Francorum, p. 155. 305. 637.
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- *Emma*, uxor *Richardi I.* Ducis Normanniæ, p. 137. 152.

V. *Robertus* Rex Francorum.=*Conſtancia*, p. 176. 256. 305. 637. 638.

VI.
- *Henricus* Rex Francorum, p. 266. 638.
- *Robertus* Dux Burgundiæ, p. 256. 260. 638. 655. 897.
- *Adela*, ſive *Athala*, uxor *Balduini* Comitis Flandr. p. 176. 259. 638.

VII.
- *Philippus* Rex Francorum. *Berta*, filia Florentii Comitis Friſiæ, p. 188. 282. 283. 299. 699. 835.=*Bertrada*, filia *Simonis de Monteforti*, p. 719. 812.
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In quâ una Angliæ Regina, ac Duciffa Normanniæ.

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III. *Baldvinus cum Barbâ* Comes Flandriæ. *Adela*, five *Athala*, filia Roberti Regis Francorum, p. 176. 184. 259. 299. 526. 638.

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VI. *Baldvinus*, Comes Flandriæ, obiit fine liberis, p. 302. 837. 843. 844. 851. 862.

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FAMILIÆ COMITUM
TOLOSANORUM, ET PICTAVENSIUM:

E quâ una Angliæ Regina, Comitissa Pictavensis et Aquitaniæ Ducissa.

N.

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II. N. Comitissa Tolosæ, uxor *Guillelmi* Comitis Pictavensis, et Ducis Aquitaniæ, qui Comitatum Tolosæ invadiavit Raimundo, patruo conjugis suæ, p. 995.

Bertrannus Comes Tolosæ, p. 779. *Hela*, filia *Odonis I.* Ducis Burgundiæ, p. 897.

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Raimundus Comes Tolosæ. *Constancia* soror Ludovici Regis Francorum, relicta Eustachii Comitis Moritolii, p. 995.

IV. *Ludovicus Juvenis* Rex Francorum. — *Alienor*, Comitissa Pictavensis et Ducissa Aquitaniæ, p. 909. 985. 995. — *Henricus II.* Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ, et Comes Andegavensis, Turonensis, ac Cenomanensis.

V. *Maria*, uxor *Henrici* Comitis Trecensis, p. 985.

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Willelmus, *Henricus*, *Richardus*, *Goffridus*, *Joannes*. Vide familiam Comitum Andegavensium, suprà.

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FAMILIA
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In quâ una Angliæ Regina.

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ANGLIÆ ET HUNNORUM,
E quâ nata Margareta uxor Melcomi Regis Scotthorum.

N.

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PARS

PARS FAMILIÆ COMITUM BOLONIENSIUM,

E quâ nata MATHILDIS uxor STEPHANI Regis Anglorum.

N.

I. *Eustachius*, Comes Boloniæ. *Ita*, soror Godefridi Lotharingiæ Ducis, p. 509. 757. — *Goffredus* Episcopus Parisiensis. — *N.* filia, de quâ natus

II. *Eustachius*, Comes Boloniæ. *Maria* filia Melcomi Regis Scottorum, p. 702. 757. — *Godefridus*, Rex Hierusalem, p. 310. 509. 639. 743. 757. 777. — *Baldvinus*, Rex Hierusalem. *Godehildis*, filia Radulfi de Conchis, pag. 310. 509. 576. 689. 757. — *N.* uxor Henrici IV. Imperatoris, p. 509. 639. — *Goffredus*, Episcopus Carnotensis, p. 583. 604. 608.

III. *Mathildis*, Comitissa Boloniæ, copulata *Stephano* Comiti Moritolii, qui Rex Anglorum post Henricum I. factus est, p. 310. 313. 702. 811. 902. 928.

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N.

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II. *Milesendis*, uxor Fulconis Comitis Andegavensis, qui et Rex Hierosolymæ coronatus est, p. 310. 746. 889. — *N.* uxor Buamundi II. Principis Antiochiæ, p. 831.

III. *Baldvinus III.* Rex Hierosolymæ, p. 993. — *Amalricus*, primò Comes Joppæ, posteà Rex Hierosolymæ, p. 993. 999.

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PARS
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In quâ una Normanniæ Ducissa.

N.

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Alanus, Comes Britonum. *Berta*, soror Theobaldi Comitis Blesensis, p. 532. *Eudo*, Comes, p. 188. 191. II.

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COMITUM BRITONUM:

In quâ filiæ duæ Regum Angliæ, et Ducum Normanniæ matrimonio junctæ.

N.

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Conanus, Comes Britonum, p. 310. *Mathildis*, filia Henrici I. Angliæ, p. 307. 544. 841. III.

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FAMILIA

FAMILIA
RADULPHI COMITIS,
FRATRIS UTERINI RICHARDI I.
Normanniæ Ducis.

In quâ et pars Familiæ dominorum de Bellofago.

I.	WILLELMUS I. Dux Normanniæ. — *Sprota*	*Asperlengus* vir dives.		
II.	*Richardus I.* Normanniæ Dux.	*Rodulphus*, five *Radulphus*, Comes Jureii et Baiocensis. *Albereda*, p. 195. 248. 288. 493. 507. 664. 705.		
III.	*Hugo* Episcopus Baiocensis, p. 259. 288. 705.	*Joannes* Episcopus Abrincensis, posteà Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus, p. 195. 288. 289. 493. 507. 705.	*N.* uxor *Richardi* de Bellofago, p. 289.	*N.* copulata *Osberno de Crespon*, p. 289.
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V.	*Richardus de Bellofago*, Monachus Becci, p. 289.	*Willelmus*, Beccensis etiam Monachus, p. 289.	*N.* filia, de quâ natus	
VI.	*Robertus Baviel.* Hic avo suo materno successit, p. 289.			

FAMILIA

FAMILIA
HERFASTI, FRATRIS
GUNNORIS, Duciſſæ Normannorum:
E quâ Domini de Bretolio, Paceio, et Jureio.

I. HERFASTUS, frater *Gunnoris* Duciſſæ Normannorum.

II. *Oſbernus de Creſpon*, Seneſcallus Normanniæ. *N.* filia *Rodulphi* Comitis Jureicenſis, p. 268. 289. 299. 313. 467.

III. *Willelmus*, Normanniæ Dapifer, et Comes Herefordiæ in Angliâ; dominus Inſulæ Vectæ, et Bretolii. *Adelina*, ſeu *Adeliza*, filia Rogerii de Toeneio, p. 182. 202. 208. 278. 281. 283. 299. 460. 493. 521. 527.

IV.
- *Willelmus II.* dominus Bretolii, Paceii, et Jureii. *Adelina*, filia Hugonis de Monteforti p. 299. 300. 527. 576 810. Ex concubinâ verò natus
- *Rogerus* Comes Herefordiæ, p. 299. 527. 534. 576.
- *Emma*, uxor *Rodulfi de Guader* Comitis Norwicenſis, domini de Guader et de Montisforti in Britanniâ, p. 282. 299. 534. 535. 577.
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- *Iſabel* notha, uxor *Aſcelini* cognomento *Goelli*, filii Roberti, domini Jureii et Breherii-vallis, pag. 300. 596. 565. 684. 685. 702.

V.
- (of Willelmus II.) *Euſtachius*, dominus Bretolii et Paceii. *Juliana*, filia naturalis Henrici I. Regis Angliæ, p 300. 307. 577. 810. 948.
- (of Rogerus) *Rainaldus*, p. 536. *Rogerus*, p. 536.
- (of Emma) *Rodulfus de Guader* hæres Guillelmi de Bretolio, p. 300. 849. *Alanus*, pag. 729.
- (of N.) *Rainaldus de Craceio*, pag. 810.
- (of Iſabel) *Robertus de Ibreio*, p. 596. 850. *Guillelmus Lupellus* dominus Ibreii. N. filia Roberti Comitis Mellenti, p. 300. 302. 596. 876. *Rogerius Balbus*, p. 300. 596. 911.

VI.
- (of Euſtachius) *Willelmus de Paceio*, p. 307. 907. *Rogerius*, pag. 307. 907.
- (of Rodulfus de Guader) *Amicia*, ſive *Ita*, pacta *Richardo* filio Henrici I. Regis, p. 866. data verò Roberto Comiti Legreceſtræ, p. 300. 875.

FAMILIA
SORORUM GUNNORIS,
NORMANNIÆ DUCISSÆ:

In quâ Giffardi Comites de Buckingham.

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II. *Humfredus de Vetulis* pater Rogerii de Bellomonte, p. 312. *Vide Familiam Comitum Mellenti.* — *Joſcelina*, uxor *Hugonis de Montegomerici*, p. 311. 313. — *Galterius Giffardus*. N. filia Girardi Flaitelli, p. 312. — *Godefridus*, p. 312.

III. *Galterius Giffardus II.* Comes de Buchingeham, in Angliâ. *Agnes*, foror Anfoldi de Ribothmonte, p. 312, 522. 809. — *Rohais*, uxor *Richardi* filii Gifleberti Comitis, p. 312. — *Willelmus de Archis*, p. 312.

IV. *Galterius Giffardus III.* Comes de Buchingeham, p. 809. 810. — *Mathildis*, uxor *Willelmi* Camerarii de Tancarvillâ, p. 312.

V. *Comites de Buchingeham.* — *Rabellus*, Camerarius de Tancarvillâ, p. 312.

GUNNORDIS

GUNNORIDIS NEPTES EX SORORIBUS, ET EARUMDEM POSTERITAS:

In quâ Comites Warrennæ ac Surrèiæ, nec non origo Dominorum de Baquevillâ, de ſanĉto Sidonio, et de Colungis.

I.

- *N.* uxor *Walterii* de ſanĉto Martino, p. 313.
- *N.* junĉta *Nicolao* de Bacheritvillâ, p. 313.
- *N.* uxor Richardi Vicecomitis Rothomagenſis, p. 313.
- *N.* uxor *Hugonis de Montegomerici*, p. 313.
- *N.* copulata Oſmundo de Centumvillis, Vicecomiti Vernonii, p. 313.

II.

- *Willelmus de Warennâ I.* Comes Surreiæ in Angliâ, p. 278. 313. *Gundreda* ſoror Gerbodi, p. 522. 680.
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- *Walterius* de ſanĉto Martino, p. 313.
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- *Rogerius de Montegomerici*, p. 313. *Vide Familiam Beliſmi et Alenceii Comitum.*
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III.

- *Willelmus II.* Comes Warennæ et Surreiæ. *Elizabeth*, filia Hugonis Magni, Comitis Viromandenſis, p. 296. 314.
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- *N.* uxor *Erneiſi de Colungis*, p. 574. 600.
- *Helias* de ſanĉto Sidonio. *N.* filia Roberti Ducis Nothi, p. 313. 681. 837. 838.
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IV.

- *Willelmus III.* Comes Warennæ et Surreiæ. *N.* filia Willelmi Talivacii Comitis Pontivi, p. 311. 314. 982. 1000.
- *Gundreda*, uxor Rogerii Comitis de Warwic. p. 314. 987.
- *Adelina*, junĉta *Henrico* filio David Regis Scotiæ, p. 918. 988.
- *Richardus de Colungis. Adelaiza*, p. 601.
- *Rogerius*, pag. 574. 608.

V.

- *N.* Comitiſſa Surreiæ, uxor *Willelmi* Comitis Moritolii, p. 993.
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- *Rohes.* *Mathildis.* *Avicia*, pag. 601.
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FAMILIA

COMITUM EBROICENSIUM,

EX RICHARDO I. NORMANNIÆ DUCE.

RICHARDUS I. Normanniæ Dux.

I. *Robertus*, Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et Comes Ebroicensis. *Herleva*, p. 248. 258. 288. 301. 566.

II. *Richardus* Comes Ebroicensis. N. vidua Rogerii de Toenio, p. 197. 269. 301. 566. 838.

Rodulfus de Waceio cognominatus *Caput asini*, tutor Willelmi Ducis, et Princeps militiæ Normann. *Basilia*, filia Girardi Flaitelli, p. 268. 269. 301. 312. 488. 566. 681.

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III. *Willelmus* Comes Ebroicensis. *Helvisa* filia Guillelmi Comitis Nivernensis, pag. 202. 269. 681. 689. 834. 843.

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Emma, alteri Comiti in Siciliâ sociata, p. 464.

IV. *Amalricus de Monteforti* Comes Ebroicensis, p. 301. 834. *Vide Familiam Comitum de Monteforti.*

Berta, copulata *Fulconi* Comiti Andegavensi.

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In quâ et origo Familiæ de Clarâ, et Comitum de Pembroch.

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II.

Gislebertus Comes Brioniæ, tutor *Willelmi II.* Normanniæ Ducis, cognomento Crifpinus, p. 247. 261. 268. 269. 460. 686.

III.

Richardus cognomento *de Benefactâ* feu *de Clarâ*. *Rohais*, five *Roaldis*, filia Galterii Giffardi, p. 300. 312. 493. 535. 687.

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IV.

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Robertus.

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FAMILIA
COMITUM AUCENSIUM,
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